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PERUMĀḶS OF KERALA

Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy

Political and Social Conditions of Kerala
Under the Cēra Perumāḷs of Makōtai
(c. AD 800 – AD 1124)

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M. G. S. NARAYANAN

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Publisher's Note

We are proud to present this masterpiece of Professor M.G.S. Narayanan – a name to conjure with in the world of historical writing not only in Kerala but in the whole country and even outside. Originally the dissertation which earned him his doctoral degree in 1972, this monograph has been eagerly awaited by the world of scholarship. The author got a few copies printed for private circulation in 1996; but that only whetted the appetite of the readers further. We have been finally successful in getting permission to publish this and we present this to the world of scholarship with a sense of fulfilment. We are extremely grateful to Professor Narayanan for his kindness in the matter.

We would like to place on record our sense of gratitude for the considerable amount of time and labour that two of Professor Narayanan's illustrious students – Professor T.R. Venugopalan and Professor Kesavan Veluthat – placed at our disposal as a labour of love. This may be something of a *gurudakshina* for them but it was of immense value to us. It was they who meticulously oversaw the production, especially with the diacritical marks.

Peppin Thomas

for CosmoBooks

This book is dedicated to the memory of the saintly scholar,
Professor Elamkulam P.N. Kunhan Pillai.

He welcomed me, a total stranger, affectionately into his house,
'Satyaniketan', like an old friend,

Placed his time and immense knowledge, and his entire library
at my disposal,

Imparted instruction in Kerala's ancient scripts and languages,
And tolerated my cross examination of his views for four years
continuously.

Without this apprenticeship in Gurukulam style, my training as
historian would have remained incomplete.

M.G.S. Narayanan

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Authors's Note

I am thankful to Sri Peppin Thomas of CosmoBooks for bringing out the text of my Ph.D. dissertation (1972) in this beautiful form, after a lapse of four decades.

While working strenuously on this thesis in the sixties and early seventies of the last century, I was contriving to make it the foundation of future research in the early history of Kerala, and hoping that it should be relevant for at least half a century after completion. I am glad to record that I am not disappointed.

It is chiefly my indifference and reluctance to search for publishers, and my pre-occupation with ongoing research and other activities that caused this delay in presenting the book to the scholarly world. Moreover, some of my ideas regarding the role of the central government and the character of polity were modified when I revisited the sources for preparing a research paper to be presented at a seminar organised by Prof. T.R.Venugopalan at his college in Thrissur (See *State and Society in Pre Modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2002). The paper clarified that, contrary to the general impression, the central government of the Ceraman Perumals did not have much power, and that the Perumals were controlled by the leaders of the Brahmin oligarchy which made the regional polity and society of Kerala unique in India. To indicate this new emphasis a second title has been introduced in this book – Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy.

Some of my students and friends – Dr. Kesavan Veluthat, Dr.K.A.M. Anwar and Dr. M. Gangadhara Menon – had arranged for the printing and circulation of about one hundred copies of the text when I was away in Tokyo as Visiting Research Professor in the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies during 1994-95. This was done with my permission for the convenience of researchers in the field. They had

also added a list of further papers which I published in relation to the subject based on my post-doctoral work on this theme.

Scholars like Prof. M.R. Raghava Varier, Prof. Kesavan Veluthat, Prof. T.R. Venugopalan, Prof. Naduvattam Gopalakrishnan, Dr. Sanal Kumar and Mr. Rajendu have brought out new inscriptional evidence about this period which have enriched our understanding without calling for substantial alterations in interpretation. Let me also place on record a word of thanks to Prof. Kesavan Veluthat and Prof. T.R. Venugopalan for their initiative and hard labour in preparing this text for publication.

Thanks to longevity ensured by modern science, and tolerably good health, I have reaped full rewards and honours for my hard work in the form recognition within our country and outside. My work in the field of historical research has earned for me a good number of friends and enemies even outside the circle of my students. I am thankful to all of them. They made my otherwise uneventful life full of excitement, challenge and suspense. Research has been a passion with me, but I followed it without sacrificing domestic and social life and all their attached pains and pleasures. This was possible because of the generosity of the members of family, my colleagues and students. This enabled me to withstand the trials and tribulations imposed on me by some Calicut University authorities and some political leaders whom I had to oppose in the course of my professional activity. I do not retain any ill-will against them especially since I have been able to overcome the obstacles and recover the losses.

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Contents

Preface 11
Introductory 15
Abbreviations 27

BOOK ONE: BACKGROUND

Chapter I Historiography 31

Legendary Perumāḷs; Tradition as History; Fresh Material; New Synthesis.

Chapter II Survey of Sources 41

Epigraphy: *Dating; Analysis;* Literature: *History; Hagiology; Astronomy; Plays; Poems;* Monuments: *Vandalism;* Sculpture and Woodwork: *Tradition.*

BOOK TWO: POLITICAL HISTORY

Chapter III Chronology of Cēras 63

Early Attempts: *Rāma Rājaśēkhara; Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara; Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga; Kōta Kōta Kēraḷa Kēsari; Indu Kōta; Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya; Ravi Kōta Rājasimha; Rājarāja, Ravi Rāma Rājāditya, Ādityan Kōta Raṇāditya; Rāma Kulaśēkhara;* Local Eras and the Kollam Era.

Chapter IV Early Wars and Alliances 88

Rise of the Kingdom: *Influx of Āryans; Founder of the Kingdom; Pāṇḍyan Wars;* Second Stage: *Cōḷa - Cēra Entente; Relations with Āys; Relations with Mūṣakas; Relations with Cōḷas; A Cōḷa-Cēra prince; Caturānana Paṇḍita; Keralites at Takkōḷam.*

Chapter V Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase 115

Invasions and Vassalage: *Expedition of Rājarāja; Plunder of Malaināṭu; Bhāskara Ravi's Resistance; Conquest by Rājēndra; Cōḷa Hegemony; Exploits of Rājādhirāja; Kerala under the Cōḷas;* Independence and Final Collapse: *Revolt against Kulōttuṅga; Role of Rāma Kulaśēkhara; Fight for Vēṇāṭu; Collapse of the Centre; Epigraphic Evidence; Clues from Chronicles; Significance of Partition.*

BOOK THREE: GOVERNMENT

Chapter VI Nature of Monarchy 149

Dynastic Name; Capital City; Royal Designation and Titles; Caste Symbols and Attitudes; Royal Marriages and Succession; Councillors and Secretaries.

Chapter VII Divisions of the Kingdom 177

Kōlattunāṭu; Puṟaikiḻānāṭu; Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu; Rāmavaḷanāṭu; Ēṟāḷanāṭu; Vaḷḷuvanāṭu; Neṭumpuṟaiyūrnāṭu; Neṭunkālaināṭu; Kālkkaraināṭu; Vempalanāṭu; Kīḻmalaināṭu; Muññināṭu; Nanṟuḷaināṭu; Vēṇāṭu.

Chapter VIII Local Bodies 205

Nagara; Ūr or Grāma; Procedure and Powers; Mūḻikkaḷam Kaccam; Other Kaccams.

Chapter IX Police and Revenue 231

Police Force: *Āyiram; Nūṟṟuvar;* System of Revenue: *Revenue from Trade Centres; Revenue from Āryan Villages; Revenue from Ordinary Villages; Rakṣābhōga.*

BOOK FOUR: SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Chapter X Social System 262

Brahmin Settlers; Other Castes and Communities; West Asian-Colonists.

Chapter XI Economic Conditions 304

Rules and Standards; Coins and Medium of Exchange; Weights and Measures; Interests; Wages and Prices; Trade and Commerce; Land Tenure.

Chapter XII Religions and Religious Culture 336

Buddhism; Jainism; Judaism; Christianity and Islam; Traditional Accounts; Temple Organisation and Culture.

Chapter XIII Architecture, Sculpture, Literature 366

Cave Architecture and Sculpture; Temple Architecture; Temple Sculpture; Script and Language; Bhakti Songs; Philosophical Works; Secular Literature; Stage Plays; Astronomy; History.

Maps 179, 434

Glossary 412

Bibliography 424

Index to Cēra Inscriptions 435

Index 502

Preface

The object of the present study is to provide for the first time a systematic analysis of the history of Kerala under the Cēras of Makōtai (Koḍuṅgallūr) between the 8th and 12th centuries of the Christian era. The secrecy, inaccessibility and obscurity of contemporary records, found in difficult scripts and languages and preserved in different places, made such a task uninviting, with the result that the key period of Kerala history, which gave a distinctive character to the society and culture of this region, remained largely unexplored. The hurdles are not fully overcome and there is no claim of completeness or finality but care has been taken to make the best use of available material in order to reconstruct the past and make it intelligible.

Some technical details deserve mention here. The majority of Cēra inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script and Early Malayalam language, which form the chief source material for the study, have never been properly deciphered and chronologically arranged. Even among the published records there are variations in the texts and interpretation. Uneven quality in decipherment and the need for correction here and there make uniformity of reference impossible. Moreover, there are also 28 previously unpublished records which the present writer deciphered from originals or estampages and 11 previously unnoticed ones too. Therefore, an 'Index to Cēra Inscriptions' had to be prepared separately, giving details of place, materials, date, contents, publication and remarks about corrections and historical importance. This index is presented as a companion volume. All Cēra inscriptions are indicated in the present study by their index numbers and a list of Cēra inscriptions with index-numbers may be found at the end of the present volume. Even such a device does not solve all problems arising out of difference in decipherment and interpretation. Therefore, in many parts of the text, where passages from inscriptions are referred to, the actual reading adopted has been given in endnote.

The authorship and date of literary works attributed to the Cēra period are not free from controversy. They have been discussed earlier by many scholars but the results were inconclusive. However, with the reconstruction of Cēra chronology from inscriptions, many of them automatically fall into place and reveal the sequence of their composition. Even where some doubts remain, the approximate date is available. Therefore, these works also have been used for clarifying the history of ideas and culture, and when a particular view about the date or authorship of a work is adopted in the study, the arguments in support of the choice are briefly indicated.

In the case of Cēra monuments, they are mostly destroyed or renovated and only foundations of temples and fragments of sculpture exhibit the original character. These have not been properly surveyed, listed and photographed before. The two maps at the end will give an idea of the Cēra territory and administrative and social centers of the Cēra period in Kerala.

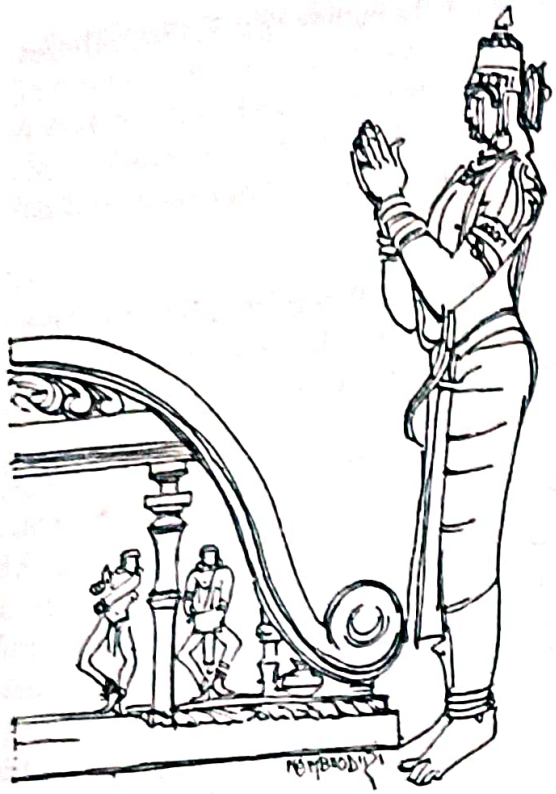
This is the occasion for me to turn back and make a few acknowledgements. I owe a permanent debt of gratitude to the mature wisdom and unfailing generosity of Prof. V. Narayana Pillai, Retired Principal and Professor of History and formerly Dean of the Faculty of Arts in Kerala University, under whose supervision the present work was done. I am also grateful to the University Grants Commission for the three-year research fellowship which made the present study possible in the first instance. Facilities for research were provided by the libraries of the Guruvayurappan College, Calicut; Kerala University, Trivandrum; the State Department of Archaeology, Trivandrum; the Department of History, Calicut University; the office of the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India, Mysore; and numerous temples and institutions which I visited to collect, decipher or verify the source material. I am thankful to the authorities of all these institutions. My special thanks are due to Dr. G.S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India, K.G. Krishnan, Assistant Epigraphist, Dr. K.V. Raman, Assistant Superintendent, Southern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India and N.G. Unnithan, Director of Archaeology, Kerala State, for extending to me the privilege of using facilities at their command.

It is to Professor Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Pillai, Trivandrum that I am obliged most as an individual for training in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Early Malayalam language and the many delightful and useful hours of discussion which I had spent with him over several years. In one sense the present study is a continuation of his pioneering work in the field of

Kerala history and, therefore, it necessarily means that his hypotheses are questioned and reassessed in the course of the work in the light of fresh evidence. The differences between us in approach and conclusion are obvious but they do not in any way diminish the magnitude of his contribution to the field or lower the merit of his inspiration and patronage.

My colleagues in the Department – Dr. T.K. Ravindran, Dr. M.P. Sreekumaran Nayar and Mr. K.K.N. Kurup – have helped me in different ways by placing their time and resources at my disposal. Dr. Nayar has also gone through the whole text and offered constructive criticism at every stage. I have received expert aid from Dr. N.P. Unni, Curator, Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, in the study of Sanskrit sources; Mr. Elaya Perumal, Lecturer, Tamil Department, Kerala University, in the study of Tamil sources; Prof. P.E.D. Nambudiri, Head of the Department of Malayalam, M.E.S. College, Mannarghat, in the study of linguistic aspects of inscriptions; and Vidwan M.R. Raghava Varier in the decipherment of inscriptions. Dr. S. Velayudhan of the English Department, Calicut University, has kindly touched up the language in this text. Secretarial assistance was provided by my wife Mrs. C.M. Premalata and Miss K. Girija. I am indebted to Mr. K. Janardanan and Mr. N. Ussain for technical assistance.

The *Indian Ephemeris* of Swamikannu Pillai has been extensively used as the basis of astronomical calculations for determination of dates. The chronological frame-work of South Indian history is adapted from the works of K.A. Nilakanta Sastri unless otherwise stated. Several works on Tamil history and culture, not always mentioned in endnotes, have been consulted for clarifying the background of ideas and movements which affected Kerala in the period under study. Similarly, general works describing the milieu of Hindu life and thought, like *History of Dharmasastras* by P. V. Kane, have been utilised without specific reference. Diacritical marks are employed for non-English names and words wherever possible, though well-known words like 'Brahmin' and 'Kshatriya' are left as they are and some old spellings are also retained for the sake of convenience.



"Nāsthā dharmē na vasu nicayē naiva kāmōpabhōgē
Yadbhavyam tad bhavatu bhagavan pūrvakarmānuvṛtyā
Ētat prārthyam mama bahumatam janmajanmāntarēpi
Tvadpādāmbhōruhayugagatā niścalā bhaktirastu".

"I have no interest in dharma, or in wealth, or in the enjoyment of love
Let whatever is configured by the actions of the past happen.
This is my prayer, O Bhagawan!
Through the hundreds of lives to come
Let my adoration at Thy lotus feet remain unwavering".

Mukundamāla
Kulaśēkhara Varma

There is a temple of Viṣṇu in the old Cēra capital of Mahōdayapuram in Koḍuṅgallūr, called Tirukkulaśēkharapuram, obviously named after the founder, Kulaśēkhara, the Vaiṣṇavite devotee and king of Kerala. Two Cēra inscriptions have been found in the inner courtyard of the temple. The corner shrine contains an idol most probably representing the royal patron of the temple. The *sōpāna* carries the figures of dancers on both sides. In the Illustration, artist Namboodiri has visualised the figure of Kulaśēkhara immersed in prayer in front of the shrine.

Introductory

In the following study about the political and social conditions of Kerala under the Cēras of Makōtai or Mahōdayapura, a two-fold task is attempted, i.e., that of reconstructing Cēra history of the 9th , 10th and 11th centuries from primary sources, and, secondly, that of interpreting it against the background of the socio-political developments in peninsular India. In the course of the work it was realised that although this Cēra kingdom was nominally a revival and continuation of the Cēra kingdom of the Sangam age, just as its Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa counterparts were in respect of their own predecessors in the respective areas, it was entirely different from its own predecessor in form and spirit.

The ancient Cēra kingdom of the Sangam age, in its developed form, extended from West to East including the central portion of present-day Kerala state and those parts of Koṅgunāṭu which now form the Coimbatore and Salem districts of Tamilnadu state. The establishment and growth of its capital in Karūr-Vañci near Trichinopoly, was the most important development in its political life. It was basically a Dravidian kingdom, exposed to some extent to Aryan influences through Jain, Buddhist and Brahmin missionaries coming from the Deccan through Mysore and the Kalinga region. Except for brief periods the northern and southern parts of present-day Kerala were not included in its territory. Fighting against the contemporary Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas for survival and supremacy, its prosperity was enhanced by trade contacts with the Roman Empire. Its institutions, language, and culture were the same as that of the rest of Tamiḻakam during the Sangam age.

The later Cēra kingdom of the Perumāḷs of Kerala with its capital in Makōtai or Mahōdayapura (Koḍuṅgallūr-Cranganore, on or near the ancient harbour city of Muciri or Muziris) appears to have been founded and ruled by a member of the ancient Cēra dynasty. Nevertheless, in the political and cultural sense it was really a by-product of the Brahmin settlements, established all over the West-Coast in the post-Sangam period, apparently under the patronage of the Cālukyas and Kadambas, and the Āḷupas and Cēras who came within their sphere of influence. According to tradition there were 32

settlements in Kerala proper from Payyanūr in the North to Nīrmaṇ in the South and literary and epigraphic evidence would show that many of the settlements mentioned in traditions were already well-established and powerful even before the advent of the new Cēra kingdom of Makōtai in the 9th century. These Aryan settlements with their Paraśurāma legend (Bhārgava Rāma legend) must have formed part of a long chain of such settlements gradually moving southward from Saurashtra. They had become prominent in Kerala even by the beginning of the 7th century when they were known to Daṇḍin of Kāñchīpura. They had reached Kerala from Karnataka and brought with them a new cultural heritage. They introduced a new and revolutionary factor into the socio-political life of Kerala.

The foundation and growth of these settlements formed the most significant development of the post-Sangam period in Kerala. With their well-organised community life in semi-autonomous temple-centered grāmas (villages) and their common leadership, their Kanarese-Prakrit-Sanskrit languages, their superior agricultural technology and their willingness to befriend and exploit the indigenous population, they became a formidable force in Kerala politics capable of reshaping everything according to their choice. When the old Cēra capital of Karūr in Koṅgu declined owing to periods of domination by Kaḷabhras and Pallavas and conquest by the Pāṇḍyas, and when the whole of Koṅgu became a province of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom by the close of the 8th century, the new Kerala Brahmins must have championed the rise of an independent Cēra kingdom excluding Koṅgu and having its new capital on the West-Coast in Makōtai or Mahōdayapura.

This new Cēra kingdom was, like its predecessor, involved in the Tamil politics and the military adventures of the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas and it also partook in their cultural developments like the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite Bhakti movements and literature. However, the colonies of 'Paraśurāma-Brahmins', peculiar to Kerala and different from the Brahmin colonies in the rest of Tamiḻakam, started Kerala on a different course of independent linguistic and cultural development. The new cultural affiliation to the northern regions, now under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, became clear in the progress of astronomy, the styles of architecture and sculpture, the constitution of the Brahmin village assemblies, and the very language of the inscriptions which is often mistakenly called Tamil but which really represents the early Malayalam language.

The age of the Cēras of Makōtai (c 800–1124 AD), known as Kulaśēkharas in the works of Prof. Eḷamkuḷam P.N. Kunjan Pillai and the new District Gazetteers of Kerala, may be viewed as the key period in Kerala history since it was the formative period for all that is distinctive in Kerala society and culture – the peculiar caste pattern, matriliny, plurality and peaceful coexistence of creeds, Malayalam language, temple-theatre and the style of

sculpture. In the pre-Makōtai period Kerala was just a region of Tamiḻakam with the same society and language. In the post-Makōtai period Kerala was different in many ways from the rest of Tamiḻakam. Thus the later Cēra kingdom formed a watershed in the history of Kerala.

In spite of this it may look strange that famous writers on Kerala history in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century – Shangoonny Menon, Robert Sewell, Burnell, Ellis, Gundert, William Logan, Nagam Aiya, T.K. Velu Pillai, C. Achuta Menon, K. P. Padmanabba Menon, K. V. Krishna Aiyar and P. K .S. Raja to mention only a few prominent names – never even suspected the continuation of the Cēra kingdom beyond 825 AD. For many of them the Cēra Perumāḷs had already disappeared from the scene of history long ago, either in the 2nd century or in the 5th century AD. The situation did not rise from some defect in their scholarship since the majority of Cēra epigraphical records were unknown to the world and even the half a dozen ancient records discovered before 1910 had not been properly deciphered and dated. Even after 1910 with more inscriptions noticed almost every year, no general outline of the period of Makōtai supremacy could emerge for a couple of decades, for many of the texts remained unpublished. The pity is that even recently the writings of these important Kerala historians mentioned earlier continued to provide the material for the works on the history of India and Kerala.

There was a good deal of spade work involved in collecting, deciphering and interpreting the published, defectively published and unpublished inscriptions, refixing the dates of literary works in Tamil and Sanskrit with reference to this new data, and in reconstructing with the help of both forms of evidence the history of the later Cēra dynasty. Then followed the work of assessing its character in the light of ancient and medieval history and within the context of Aryan social and cultural expansion in a Dravidian territory, this task was rendered easier and more profitable by the general progress of historical studies in South India and particularly in the case of the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa, Pallava, Cālukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Āḷupa countries. These provided a general frame of reference for understanding trends in socio-political and economic organisation. Some partial attempts have been made in studying this period in Kerala history by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam and others, especially in some aspects of social history, arts, religion and literature. These have put the later Cēras on the historical map of India. Nevertheless, no systematic and comprehensive project has been undertaken so far although all writing on ancient Kerala history made before 1920, and, much of it made after that, has been rendered irrelevant and obsolete by the new 'epigraphic revolution'.

Even Prof. Eḷamkuḷam's study was based on a limited number of published inscriptions, mainly from Travancore, which may form about half the num-

ber now available. Moreover, the aspects of language and literature were stressed more than political and social institutions, and economic conditions. Architecture and sculpture did not receive detailed attention proportionate to their importance. Therefore, there is a strong case for a fresh enquiry with a more precise application of historical method and perspective.

Authentic texts of the defectively published and unpublished inscriptions were prepared for the purpose of the present study. There were also a few inscriptions newly noticed by the writer in recent years. In many published inscriptions the editors had assumed the language to be Tamil and consequently misunderstood their significance. The unpublished inscriptions, distributed in obscure villages, have been found mostly in the hitherto neglected northern parts of Kerala. Their addition has substantially changed the chronological order and supplied new dimensions to the subject. Apart from decipherment and dating, which called for intensive training in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script and Early Malayalam language, there were also problems of interpretation and correlation. These tasks were accomplished with the co-operation of a number of experts mentioned in the preface.

Literature in Tamil and Sanskrit which could safely be assigned to this period was also used to supplement the evidence. This included the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite Bhakti literature, some narrative poems, philosophical works and stage plays, a dated astronomical work of the 9th century, i.e., the *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya* of Śankaranārāyaṇa, and a historical work, i.e., the *Mūṣakavamśakāvya* of Atula produced in the first half of the 11th century. In the last mentioned case, its authenticity as a work of history and its date have been fixed earlier by this writer in a paper published in the *Proceedings of All India Orientalists Conference*, 1969. It throws light on many aspects of Mūṣaka and Cēra history and the Cēra-Cōḷa relations too. Again, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle, once considered as reliable history and then rejected as nonsense, has been re-assessed and re-interpreted in the light of contemporary epigraphic and literary evidence. As far as it is found to contain genuine tradition regarding the Aryan Brahmin settlements of the post-Sangam period, and the origin, growth and decline of the new Cēra kingdom, it is also used to supplement the data from other sources.

In the final outcome several current notions about the Cēras of Makōtai have been disestablished and several new facts are brought out. The following major findings may be listed here.

Chronology and Political History

The prevailing hypothesis about the origin of the Makōtai Cēra kingdom put forward by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam attributes its foundation to Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār and places him at the beginning of the 9th century. This is based on speculation unsupported by evidence. Examination of epigraphic and lite-

rary material suggests that the first king of Makōtai was Rājaśēkhara in the first half of the 9th century, who was known as Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār also. Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār is identified as the next ruler known to epigraphy as Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara. Kulaśēkhara was not the founder of the dynasty, nor was the term a hereditary title in the line. It was a popular abhiṣēkanāma (coronation title) borne by two, or perhaps more, and epigraphic records have brought out other titles like Rājaśēkhara, Vijayarāga, Kēraḷa Kēsari, Manukulāditya, Rājasimha, Rājāditya and Raṇāditya.

Pāṇḍyan expansionism in Āynāṭu and Koṅgunāṭu is found to have been responsible for the weakening of the old Cēra capital of Karūr in Koṅgunāṭu, and to have produced a counter-action resulting in the rise of Makōtai as the new Cēra capital, and the foundation of Kollam Nagara as a secondary capital, during the first half of the 9th century. The view that Pāṇḍya-Cēra relations improved in the second half of the century, and resulted in a marriage alliance, has been expounded by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and Prof. Eḷamkuḷam. This is clarified by the finding that Pāṇḍyan relations with their Koṅgu-Cēra feudatories improved, while the Kuṭa Cēras or Western Cēras of Makōtai continued their anti-Pāṇḍya posture supporting the Cōḷa against the Pāṇḍya. More facts throwing light on the Cēra-Cōḷa association from 844 AD onwards are brought out. It is found that Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa, and not Āditya Cōḷa, was the military partner of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara. The discovery of the date of coronation (883 AD) and the coronation title (Vijayarāga) of Kōta Ravi fills a gap in our knowledge and helps to understand the law of succession also. Vijayarāga was not the son but the son-in-law, and probably the nephew, of Kulaśēkhara. With the help of *Mūṣakavamśa* the political relations between the Cēras and Mūṣakas are clarified. The Cōḷa-Cēra relations of the first half of the 10th century are analysed with the aid of Cōḷa inscriptions outside Kerala.

The dates of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions are settled and a solution is offered for the riddle of different series in them by postulating that one set starts from the date of actual enthronement and the other set from the date of the formal coronation. The identity of Bhāskara Ravi and Manukulāditya is established. The discovery of the lost portions of the Eramam record (See Index no. A. 40) brings up the Bhāskara Ravi-Kaṇṭan Kāri -Rājēndra Cōḷa synchronism and confirms the dating based on astronomical data. It also substantiates the fact of the Cōḷa victory in Kerala. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri was working under a handicap in tracing the history of the Cōḷa invasions of Kerala undertaken by Rājarāja, Rājēndra and Rājādhirāja, since he did not possess any idea of the existence of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. This is corrected in the light of Cēra inscriptions and some of the problems regarding the time and the extent of the Cōḷa campaigns are solved.

A newly discovered inscription of Ravi Kōta from Tirumaṛṛakōḍe (See Index no. A. 52) helps to identify the successor of Bhāskara Ravi and adds further proof of Rājēndra Cōḷa's political sway over the Cēra kingdom. Incidentally this new record also helps the identification of Viṛṛuvakōḍe celebrated in *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* and reckoned as one of the 13 great Vaiṣṇava centers of Malaināṭu. This Ravi Kōta is identified with Rājasimha of other inscriptions which give only the coronation name. Rājarāja is reckoned as the next ruler on the basis of his inscriptions from different parts of Kerala.

Following the period of Cōḷa ascendancy from 1018 AD onwards, the story of the revolt of Kerala in 1066-7 AD and the defensive wars of Rāma Kulaśēkhara are traced with the help of inscriptions from both sides. The current notion that Rāma Kulaśēkhara's rule ended in 1102 AD is corrected and its extension up to 1122 AD is established. This has helped to clarify the role of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya invasions in the period of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa and Vikṛama Cōḷa in bringing about the disintegration of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. References to Kavi Āḷupa, Udayavarman Mūṣaka, Māna Vikṛama of Ēṛānāṭu, the Cēra king's escape into the sea, and the foundation of Māṭāyi mosque in the epigraphic records of this period are found to be corroborating the *Kēraḷōlpatti* legend about the last Perumāḷ's partition of Kerala and conversion to Islam. However, there is a vital change regarding the date of this event – the popularly accepted date was 825 AD but the new date is 1122-24 AD. The 'Partition of Kerala' is found to be the transformation of districts of the Cēra kingdom into independent principalities.

Governmental Structure

It is found from a study of the royal titles and activities mentioned in Cēra documents that they were hereditary monarchs for most of the time except the period of Cōḷa ascendancy in the 11th century (1018 to 1067 AD). They even flaunted claims to imperial status at times. The references to the Brahmin Council called 'Nālu Taḷi' show the power and influence of the Aryan Brahmin settlements and this is further elucidated by the reverential attitude shown by these Kṣatriya kings towards Brahmins and orthodox Hindu institutions. All these go to support the tradition of *Kēraḷōlpatti* that a Brahmin oligarchy was the power behind the throne. Glimpses of the War Council attended by the governors of districts and commanders of the army are also provided by such records as the Jewish copper-plates and the Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara. The practice of sending princes of the royal family as king's ministers to district headquarters and Brahmin village assemblies can be found in several records of the age.

The Cēra inscriptions present a picture of the division of the kingdom into various districts – big and small – with hereditary or nominated governors

and with Kṣatriyas or Sāmantas or Nāyars in charge of administration. It is revealed that the district governors functioned with a good deal of autonomy subject to supervision by king's representatives. The semi-autonomous nature of local bodies, like the Nagara in towns and Ūr or Grāma in rural areas, can be seen reflected in a number of temple inscriptions. These assemblies were not democratic in character as envisaged by some scholars, but hereditary caste councils of proprietors of land and the functions of a guild or corporation. They created executive committees by rotation, employed servants, and selected tenants for their joint properties. Meeting under the presidency of king's agents or district governors they followed the rule of unanimity rather than majority at all times. They often quoted precedents of Mūḷikkaḷam and other places, proving the urge for uniformity and central direction. Though some scholars have read into their code of conduct an anxiety to protect the tenants and the common people, it was really designed to promote the interests of joint property of the temple corporation by bringing individual members under strict discipline. The powers of tax collection, punishment, protection of institutions etc. enjoyed by the Christian, Jewish and Brahmin Corporations – the first two in towns and the last in villages – reveal the beginnings of feudalism and the peculiar pattern of caste organization in Kerala. Outside these were the crown colonies called Cērikkal, composed of indigenous people and administered directly by the officials of the crown. The feudal principle of contractual rights and hereditary loyalties within a frame-work of hierarchical society is in evidence everywhere.

The nature of 'The Thousand' at the centre and the 'hundred' organisations at the district level had remained obscure. Scholars had speculated that they were democratic and popular assemblies guiding and restricting the royal power. A study of scattered references in epigraphs reveals that here we have the hereditary bodies of companions of honour, exalted bodyguards and men of all work attached to princes, an institution common to all early kingdoms of the Deccan and South India. They follow the model of *Maula* organization prescribed in the *Arthaśāstra* and faithfully described in the 13th century Malayalam translation of the same. This finding throws new light on the character of the medieval suicide-squads of Kerala known as 'Caṅgātam' and 'Cāver', familiar to the Portuguese and the Dutch who came to Kerala. These bodies were nominated by rulers to undertake the protection of temples and temple properties in return for the payment of the protection fee.

Though there is no idea of the total revenue of the state collected by different agencies, various items of professional taxes, house tax, land tax, tolls and customs, protection fee, fine etc. are brought out in the inscriptions of this period in Kerala. A surprising similarity to the revenue system pre-

scribed in the *Arthaśāstra* is noticed here. The procedures of collection, remission and exemption, and the share of different officials are hinted at in the records from the towns and villages. The practice of alienating tax collection rights in favour of temples etc. followed by princes reveals the combination of land ownership and political power in the system of administration.

Social Life

The distribution and names of Aryan Brahmin village settlements furnished by the records justify the *Kēraḷōlpatti* claims regarding the Kerala-wide organisation of Brahmin villages in this period. The growth of Tiruvalla settlement in wealth and power during three or four centuries could be seen reflected in Tiruvalla copper-plates. These temple centered grāmas, with hereditary proprietorship, produced the Brahmin elite which dominated the social system. They also gave rise to the sub-castes of temple-servants and tenant-farmers between the Brahmin and the Sudra communities. Earlier they had conferred Kṣatriya status on ancient local chieftains and they in turn promoted the growth of a Sāmanta sub-caste also. The desire to perpetuate family property by passing it on through the eldest son only led the Brahmins to encourage the younger brothers to seek marriage alliance with all these classes though it was prohibited in the scriptures. This resulted in popularising and perpetuating the remnants of matriliny which had survived among the tribes. At the same time sections of local population like the Pulayar or Paṟayar which were not associated with the Brahmins in temple affairs or state affairs were gradually relegated to the status of serfs and slaves in the fields or pushed back into the forests to lead a semi-nomadic life.

Some anthropologists have advanced fantastic theories about the migration and settlement of Nāyars regarded as a tribe or race and equated with Nāgas. These views disagree with known facts as this particular sub-caste, like other sub-castes of the Vāriyars and Potuvāḷs, could be seen as a product of hereditary occupation with the hereditary title of Nāyakan or Nāyan. Their special association with military work and training and their matrilineal system are in evidence. Glimpses are provided of the Īḻavas (settlers from Īḻam or Ceylon) with fraternal polyandry engaged in toddy-tapping, the Vāṇiyar engaged in oil making and other trades and Vaṇṇār (washermen), Taccar (smiths) etc. These are settled on land as tenants of the church or temple and regarded as subjects of the landlords. The Pulaya slaves are found to have been bought and sold along with village land while the towns witnessed a regular slave trade.

The West Asian colonists are observed to have founded, in those pockets where they settled, corporations like the Aṉṉcuvaṇṇam of the Jews and the

Maṇikkirāmam of the Christians. Their wealth and maritime leadership were exploited by the rulers who conferred on them aristocratic privileges and treated them like another caste-group which recognised their own chieftains and community regulations. Though legends about their settlements in Kerala in the first century A D are not reliable, their prosperous condition during this period is well attested by epigraphic evidence.

It is possible to know much from inscriptions about the use of gold of standard weight in Kaḻañju and Kāṇam and also 'old coins' called 'paḻam kāśu', probably the old Roman *Dinarius* mentioned in one record, as medium of exchange. No Cēra coins are mentioned anywhere. The details of weights and measures and the price of paddy and other articles are registered in the records. It is discovered that the Āḻakku-Uḻakku-Uri-Nāḻi-Paṛa system, prevalent in Kerala till recently, had evolved even during this period and that three different Paṛas were in use. The big Paṛa, known as the new Paṛa containing ten nāḻi, came into use in the period of the Cōḷa invasions. Other bigger measures called Tūṇi and Kalam were in common use and standard weights and measures were maintained by trade guilds, temples etc. Time was usually measured in terms of the length of the shadow though the Ghaṭika system was also known. The rate of interest and wages can be calculated from a few records. Payments were often made by the grant of land held in the form of service tenure. A good deal of information about merchants and merchant guilds like Vaḷanciyar and Nānādēśikaḷ, along with Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam, is provided by the records of the age. Several Kerala merchants in the Cōḷa country and Cōḷa guilds in the Cēra country are indicated. There is also evidence of Kerala merchants in the far off lands of South East Asia.

Land is theoretically crown property and it is often granted in perpetuity to trade guilds and agrarian corporations. Thus Ūrāṇmai or proprietorship, Kārāṇmai or tenancy, and other rights like those of Kāṇam or limited proprietorship and Kuṭimai or occupancy, are also encountered. The Brahmasvam (Brahmin property) and Dēvasvam (Temple property) lands were protected by strict rules and regulations and such proprietors enjoyed special privileges. A system of sub-infeudation by voluntary surrender of property (Kīḻīṭu) also existed and paved the way for the enormous growth of temple corporations in Kerala. Trusts known as Gaṇam or Kaṇam were formed for managing land set apart for special purposes. A surprising continuity coming down to the modern period is noticed in customs and even in the matter of compound names and family names.

Religion and Culture

A highly developed form of temple-oriented Hinduism is found to be holding a dominant position in the field of religion but the prevailing mood

was that of tolerance of other creeds leading to peaceful co-existence like that of wild animals forgetting their natural conflicts in the vicinity of an 'āśrama'. There are epigraphic and literary references to a great Buddhist Vihāra called Śrīmūlavāsa in central Kerala and several Buddha statues of the period are also discovered. Contemporary or near contemporary theatrical works refer to Brahmins' conversion to Buddhism. A representative of the Buddhist centre was given a place in the Perumāḷ's Council. Jainism also had its pockets mostly in the north and south ends of Kerala as evidenced by a few records and sculptures. The most important among them in the Cēra country proper was Tirukkunavāy or Guṇaka, adjacent to Makōtai, which was described earlier as the residence of Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, author of Cilappatikāram, one of the twin epics of Dravidian India. Some of the Jain shrines, as in Tirukkunavāy, Tiruvaṇpūr, Kallil, Paruvaśśēri and Tiruchāṇattumalai are found to have been converted later into Hindu temples. The existence of Judaism is indicated by the presence of Jews and the prosperity of Christianity is attested by the founding of the Church of Tarsa at Kollam and the discovery of a number of old Pahlavi crosses from different parts of Kerala. Both Hindu and Muslim traditions ascribe the introduction of Islam into Kerala to the period of the last Cēra Perumāḷ and this is borne out by the foundation date (1124 AD) of the Māṭāyi mosque, one of the first ten mosques of Kerala.

The Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Bhakti movements patronised by the Cēra kings of the 9th century gave a new impetus to temple building and some of the temples like Tiruvañcikkaḷam, Tiruvalla, Trikkaḍittānam, Trikkākara and Tirumūḻikkaḷam achieved great prosperity with much property and many servants and provision for dance and music, Vedic training and the celebration of festivals like Ōṇam, Viṣu and Tiruvātira. The records offer details of temple organisation and administration. The educated and influential class of Tēvaṭiccī or Naṅgacci (dancing girls of the temple) and Caṭṭar or Cāttirar (Vēdic students of the temple college) appear often in records. This fact gives a clue to their growing prominence in medieval Kerala as reflected in Maṇipravāḷam literature. The present writer had shown earlier that the institution of the Śālai or Ghaṭikai attached to temples had played a prominent role in promoting Aryan political power and Aryan culture in South India (See *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1970). The character and operation of this institution in Kerala during this period is revealed in the documents of the Āy and the Cēra temples. The development of temple-theatre and the peculiar form of Sanskrit-Malayalam play-acting called Kūṭiyāṭṭam, performed by Cākyārs, can be noticed here. It is found to have been initiated by Kulaśēkhara Varma and his courtier Tōlan and it stimulated the growth of Malayalam as a medium of literature.

In respect of architecture and sculpture no proper survey has been made so far to identify the products of this period and study them in detail. Some specimens of 9th century rock-cut cave temples, Jain and Śaivite, are found at Kallil, Chitral, Irunnalakōḍe, Trikkūr, Kaviyūr and Tirunandikkarai. The style of work reflects Pallava- Pāṇḍya influence. They possess cave-pillars and relief sculpture of a high order. Structural temples of the 10th and 11th centuries are many and they are identified by inscriptions found on them but they are often ruined, or they have been renovated, which is worse. They represent the common Drāviḍa type in essentials and contain three types of sanctum sanctorum – circular, apsidal and rectangular. The roofing technique, adapted to the heavy rains and strong winds of the West Coast, alone differentiates them from similar buildings of the Cōḷa empire. In fact, each new development of Cōḷa temple architecture (eg. the formation of Pillars and Pilasters, Kūḍu and Pañjara) found its way to Kerala though the absence of resources probably prevented the structural growth and multiplication of the gōpura and the maṇḍapa. Therefore, it is clear from a study of several examples that the postulate of a Kerala type of temple of indigenous origin, separate from the Drāviḍa type, as advanced by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, must be rejected. The roof alone is different and there is no Kerala idiom in this period in the foundation or the superstructure. This is found to be the case in sculpture also as exemplified by figures of Dvārapāla, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Saptamāta etc. especially in Kīḻtaḷi, Kulaśēkharapuram and other places. Though it is more difficult to date images because they could be replaced any time, several idols in old temples carry the identity marks of Cālukya, Pallava, and Cōḷa sculpture. Similar good work in Drāviḍa style is found in miniature granite panels and balustrades also, the best examples being found in Cōkiram and Kulaśēkharapuram temples.

In the dated inscriptions of this period may be noticed the quick evolution of Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, changing in shape from century to century, and this is important for Kerala since it continued even up to the 18th century while it was replaced earlier by other scripts everywhere else. The changing shape of letters provides an aid in dating undated inscriptions. On the basis of the links between Aśōkan Brāhmi, Tamil Brāhmi and Vaṭṭeḻuttu it is suggested that the term Vaṭṭeḻuttu can be explained as the combination of two words, i.e., 'Vaṭa' and 'Eḻuttu', meaning northern script. The mistaken notion that the language of Cēra epigraphy is Tamil, propounded by Travancore and Madras epigraphists, has already been corrected by other scholars. The new tendencies, operating haltingly and irregularly but with increasing frequency, indicate the quick changes in the spoken language of the Brahmin-Kṣatriya elite, brought about perhaps by the impact of Tuḷu, Canarese, and Prakrit languages which the immigrant Brahmins had as their original spoken languages. Thus the changes which transformed Tamil in Kerala into Malayalam are found to be the by-products of Aryan colonisation which de-

termined the character of the Cēra Kingdom of Makōtai in many other ways also.

A brief review of Bhakti literature, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, produced in Kerala by Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār and Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār, is presented here. Works in Tamil are not produced after the 9th century probably because the spoken and written language underwent decisive changes taking it further away from standard Tamil by this time. Sanskrit poetry of the Yamaka type is shown to have flourished in this period since the chronology of kings enabled the dating of the poets also. Sanskrit dramas of Kulaśēkhara Varma, which depict the influence of Vyāsa and Kāḷidāsa, and the Sanskrit astronomical work named *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya* by Śankaranārāyaṇa, which shows a clear grasp of Hindu classical astronomy, are noticed. On the basis of uniformity of style and imagery, Kulaśēkhara, the royal dramatist and Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār are identified as one and the same. The date of the philosopher named Sarvajñātma has been ascertained. The *Mūṣakavamśakāvya* (c.1020 AD), a unique work of history by Atula, the courtier of Mūṣaka ruler Śrīkaṇṭha, is examined as it is not only an important source book for Kerala history but also the earliest known work of political and dynastic history in Sanskrit literature. Thus the Cēra period is found to have been highly productive in the fields of architecture, sculpture, stage arts, and literature.

This attempt to sketch the political and social history of Kerala under the Cēras of Mahōdayapura is expected to contribute to the understanding of Kerala history in a crucial period. It is also hoped that it will smoothen the way for the further exploration of earlier history of the Sangam age and the later history of the age of small principalities in Kerala. In one sense this is a case study in the process of the Aryanisation of a non-Aryan territory and therefore it may also yield important clues for such studies elsewhere.

Abbreviations

A)	A. B. O. R. I.	*Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
	A. R. A. D. C.	*Annual Reports of Archaeological Department, Cochin State*
	A. R. A. D. K.	*Annual Report of Archaeological Department, Kerala State.*
	A. R. A. D. T.	*Annual Report of Archaeological Department, Travancore - Cochin State.*
	A. R. E.	*Annual Report of Epigraphy.*
	A. R. S. I. E.	*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.*
	B. K.	*Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam.*
	D. E. D	*Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.*
	E. C.	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
	E. I.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
	I. A.	*Indian Antiquary.*
	1. H. C.	Indian History Congress.
	1. H. Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
	J. I. H.	*Journal of Indian History.*
	J. L. S. I.	*Journal of the Linguistic Society of India.*
	J. M. S.	*Journal of Mythic Society.*
	J.N.S.I	*Journal of Numismatic Society of India.*
	J.O.R	*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
	J. R. A. I.	*Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute.*
	J. R. A. S.	*Bengal Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
	J. R. A. S.	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
	K. S. P.	*Kerala Society Papers.*
	L. B. V.	*Lagbu Bhāskariya Vyākhya*
	M. J. L. S.	*Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*
	M. V. K.	*Mūṣaka Vamśa Kāvya.*
	P. K.	*Pandyan Kingdom.*
	R. V. R. B.	*Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin.*
	S. I. I.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
	T. A. S.	*Travancore Archaeological Series.*

B) Ancient India — *Corporate Life in Ancient India.*
Aṭisthāna Śilakaḷ — *Kēraḷa Caritrattinṛe Aṭisthāna Śilakaḷ.*
Castes and Tribes (Thurston) — *Castes and Tribes of South India.*
Cochin Synagogue — *Cochin Synagogue 400th Anniversary Souvenir.*
Comparative Grammar — *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian of South Indian Family of Languages.*
Dravida and Kerala — *Dravida and Kerala in the Art of Travancore.*
Dravidian Culture — *Dravidian Culture and its Diffusion.*
Early Coins — *Early Coins from Kerala.*
Early Sovereigns — *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore.*
Ēṭukaḷ — *Kēraḷa Caritrattinṛe Iruḷaṭaññā Ēṭukaḷ.*
Gaṅgas, The — *The Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ.*
Hindu Iconography — *Elements of Hindu Iconography.*
History of Travancore — *A History of Travancore from the Earliest Times.*
Janmisampradāyam — *Janmisampradāyam Kēraḷattil.*
Kerala — *A History of Kerala.*
Nūṛṛāṇṭukaḷil — *Bhāṣayum Sāhityavum Nūṛṛāṇṭukaḷil.*
Pallavas, The — *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas of Kāñchi.*
Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ — *Kēraḷa Bhāṣayuṭe Vikāsa Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ.*
Paścāttalattil — *Caritrattinṛe Paścāttalattil.*
Praśnaṅgaḷ — *Cila Kēraḷa Caritra Praśnaṅgaḷ.*
Rāṣṭrakūṭas, The — *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times.*
Sanskrit Literature — *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature.*
Studies (Eḷamkuḷam) — *Studies in Kerala History.*
Studies (K. A. N. Sastri) — *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration.*
Vaiṣṇavism (Gopinatha Rao) — *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavism.*
Wynad — *Wynad, Its Peoples and Traditions.*
Zāmorins — *The Zāmorins of Calicut.*

Book One

Background

I. Historiography

Legendary Perumāḷs

The people of Kerala have cherished the legend of the Perumāḷs for centuries. The memory of the last one of them, who is said to have partitioned the kingdom and left for Mecca, is vividly enshrined in tradition and literature. This 'Cēramān Perumāḷ' is often associated with the founding of principalities, temples, churches and mosques, the establishment of the Kollam era, the inauguration of the Ōṇam festival, the introduction of the matrilineal system and the settlement of different communities – in short, with everything important in the life of Kerala. His personality pervades everything in the past to such an extent that anyone is left wondering whether this is one individual or a whole series of them, though it was difficult, until recently, to distinguish between fact and fiction.

It is not easy to pursue a legend back to the time and place of its origin. It must have existed for a long time as a floating tradition before it was ever committed to writing in the form of the *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle. The interest and outlook of the ruling classes naturally colour the representation of events and the survival of a historical tradition depends largely on the continuity of the social order and culture. The sons of the soil take it very much for granted. Therefore, it is the foreigners who first notice it and record it in their writing. This legend has found a place in the writings of some foreigners at least from the 16th century onwards. The first writer to put it on record seems to be the Portuguese writer, Duarte Barbosa (1510 AD), who reproduced from hearsay the story of Cēramān Perumāḷ's conversion to Islam and partition of Kerala.[1] Joas de Barros, another Portuguese writer of the sixteenth century who visited Malabar, and Diogo de Couto who completed the work of Barros (1610 AD), produced slightly different versions of this legend.[2] The Cēramān legend is incorporated in the Portuguese epic *Lusiad* also.[3] Sheikh Zeinuddin, a Malayali Muslim of Arab descent, recorded this legend in c. 1583 AD in his account of the history of Islam in Kerala.[4] The Dutch chaplain Canter Visscher referred to the story in c. 1723 AD in his letters to friends at home.[5] The Dutch commander, Van Adriaan Moens, also men-

tioned it (1781 AD) in course of his tour of Malabar (1801-2 AD).[9] Francis Buchanan, agent of the East India Company, encountered a living tradition about the Cēra kings among the people.[10] The *Granthavaris* (court chronicles) of Calicut and Cochin which belong to the beginning of the 19th century start with the Cēramān Perumāḷ tradition.[11] The anonymous traditional chronicle named *Kēraḷōlpatti* in Malayalam, a product of the 17th or 18th century in its present form, preserves elaborate accounts of several Perumāḷs including the last great one.[12]

It is well-known that legends have no time sense. They tend to grow and absorb new material and often get seriously distorted in the course of transmission from person to person or place to place. In spite of these difficulties the historical reality of a Cēra dynasty was borne out by the 2nd Edict of Aśōka, the Greek accounts of Pliny, Ptolemy, etc., the songs of the Sangam age, the post-Sangam epics of *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkhala* and medieval Tamil Bhakti literature.[13] However, the outlines of political history were blurred in this picture. The general tendency was to assign the Cēra Perumāḷs to the early centuries of the Christian era, and this was supported by certain Kaliyākyas, i.e., chronograms expressing the days or years in terms of Kali era.[14]

Tradition as History

Tradition remained the sole guide to the ancient history of Kerala for a long time. Francis Day (1863) and Rev. Samuel Mateer (1871), two Christian missionaries who wrote books on Cochin and Travancore respectively, fell back on the repeated tales they gathered from the people.[15] Pāchu Moothatu, who published the first history of Kerala in Malayalam, *Tiruvithāmkūr Caritam* (1867), was reproducing the stories of *Kēraḷamāhātmyam.*[16] Shangoonny Menon, the author of *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times* in English (1878), criticised the legendary Purāṇic texts but utilised the same source, giving the story of the Travancore dynasty, which he calls the Cēra dynasty, through the four yugas in an unbroken line of succession. The theories and concepts advanced in his work have been criticised by scholars but they continued to influence the people.[17] The growth of interest in the few ancient copper plates of Jews and Christians during the 19th century gradually turned scholars in a direction different from that of the native chronicles. There was new hope for the recovery of ancient Kerala history though it was not immediately realised. Remarkable progress was achieved in the decipherment and dating of these records in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script by Western and Indian scholars like Ellis, Burnell, Hultzsch, Gundert, Kūkkil Kēḷu Nayar and Venkayya.[18] There were serious mistakes in their decipherment and vast differences of opinion about their dates, but their efforts revealed the existence of some kind of central political authority in Kerala long after the Sangam age.

William Logan, the author of *Malabar*, (1886) the official manual of the district, tried to incorporate in the first volume of his work an outline of Kerala history based on these researches.[16] He distinguished between 'traditionary ancient history' and 'early history from other sources'. He tried to interpret the traditions in the light of the Jewish and Christian copper plates as well as inscriptions from the neighbouring countries and other available evidence. Thus, in spite of scarcity of materials, he set an example in the search for new sources and showed way to use them. The second volume of the manual also contained new data about a number of monuments, relics and inscriptions from the Malabar region.[17]

The princely states of Travancore and Cochin soon followed the example of the British Government in preparing such manuals. However, loyalty to the ruling family often got the better of loyalty to truth in these ventures. Nagam Aiya's *State Manual of Travancore* (1906) was not free from the royalist and parochial spirit of Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.[18] A welcome feature of the book was the classified list of inscriptions discovered by Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai, Honorary Archaeologist in the state.[19] The *State Manual of Cochin (1911)* prepared by C. Achutha Menon, in which the Cēramān Perumāḷ story was dismissed as 'apocryphal,' did not find any substitute for this tradition.[20] In this work also the gazetteer attached to the manual provided valuable information on possible new sources.

K.P. Padmanabha Menon (1858-1919), son of Shangoonny Menon, established a reputation as historian by his two-volume *History of Cochin* (1912-14). His magnum opus was the four volume *History of Kerala* (1924-1937) published posthumously by his 'literary executor', T.K. Krishna Menon. The author knew that it was too early to attempt a connected and complete history of ancient Kerala on account of the gaps in existing knowledge and prepared what he himself called 'Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar', though the editor at the time of publication gave it a more pompous name.[21] In collecting and collating the result of previous research in the field, Padmanabha Menon exhibited remarkable industry and insight. He developed a scholar's objectivity in contrast to the courtier's tradition of his father. Nevertheless, it was already clear that unless new sources were exploited, the historian could not go far at least in regard to the history of the Cēras of Kerala in the post-Sangam age.

Fresh Material

Fortunately, the vigorous search instituted simultaneously by different government agencies began yielding good results as proved by the annual reports of the archaeological departments of Madras, Cochin and Travancore. Apart from the few scholarly papers occasionally appearing in publications like the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Indian Antiquary*, and the

Epigraphia Indica, there was no concerted move so far to bring to light the historical records of Kerala. The Government of Travancore took the initiative in this respect by publishing the *Travancore Archaeological Series* (1910-1938) containing texts and studies of ancient inscriptions, literary works, and monuments with photos, translations and descriptive and analytical notes. Gopinatha Rao, the veteran epigraphist and Indologist who worked as the Superintendent of Archaeology in Travancore, edited the first two volumes. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, editor of the next two volumes and A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar, editor of three volumes which followed them, retained the high standard set up earlier. The remaining three volumes contained only the text of inscriptions already collected before.

A large number of later Cēra inscriptions in copper and stone from different centers in Travancore were published in these volumes and the scholarly editors made every effort to bring out their historical importance. However, no chronological or geographical order was followed in the publication. Early and late records of Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Āy kings and the kings of medieval Vēṇāṭu or Travancore were collected and published as and when they were obtained. Greater attention was naturally paid to the history of Travancore. Moreover, these pioneers worked with the preconceived notion that all the records were in Tamil so that they missed completely the evolution of Malayalam language so clearly reflected in the inscriptions.[22] The editors misunderstood the meaning of several terms in the records and at any rate there was no serious attempt in these publications to reconstruct early history on the basis of the entire corpus of new evidence. In addition to the publication of several inscriptions, the two great achievements of Gopinatha Rao were the discovery of the *Mūṣakavamśa kāvya*, an invaluable source of Kerala history, and the study of the Jaina and Buddha vestiges of Travancore.[23]

The *Bulletins of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, Trichur, which carried the Cochin epigraphic supplement also, appeared from 1930 onwards. The institute (established. in 1925) was able to bring together a team of good scholars like P. Anujan Achan, Superintendent of the Archaeological department of the state, K.R. Pisharodi, T.K. Krishna Menon, V.K.R. Menon, and others. They published several Cēra inscriptions from Cochin and also attempted to reconstruct some aspects of Cēra history in the light of the fresh evidence.[24] The *Kerala Society Papers* (1928-1932), edited by T.K. Joseph, Trivandrum, enjoyed royal and official patronage as well as the co-operation of scholars like K.G. Sesha Aiyar, S. Desivinayagom Pillai, K.V. Krishna Aiyar, Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar and L.A. Ravi Varma and a few foreign experts on Kerala history and culture. The specific contribution of the journal in this field was a detailed study of the early Christian crosses and copper plates of Kerala.[25] The papers also included the analysis of inscriptions and old works

of literature. Some early inscriptions from the Malabar District were published by the Madras Government in the multi-volume *South Indian Inscriptions*, especially the 5th and 7th volumes. However, there was no attempt to evaluate their evidence. The bare texts of inscriptions were printed without introduction, translation or critical notes.

New Synthesis

The whole mass of varied material consisting of Old Malayalam inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, Tamil Bhakti literature, and Sanskrit plays and poems has to be taken together and studied afresh before it could be expected to yield information about history and culture. Besides a working knowledge of ancient scripts and languages, a project like this demands much industry and patience. In the case of the published inscriptions the decipherment is often defective and incomplete and the dates uncertain. Moreover, many of the newly discovered inscriptions from the Malabar area remain unpublished. Similarly the literary evidence of the post-Sangam Cēra period is too riddled with chronological problems to be of much use to the historian.

The appearance of new studies on the history of the Pallavas, Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Gaṅgas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas has been helpful in providing new impetus for the study of Kerala history also. There are many points of contact between the Cēras and their neighbours and much similarity in the nature of ancient and medieval institutions. However, serious and fruitful attempts to trace the history of the Cēra kingdom were not undertaken for a long time. The first attempt of this kind has been made not by a professional historian, but by a language scholar – Eḷamkuḷam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, Professor of Malayalam in the Trivandrum University College. He tried to fill the gaps in existing knowledge with the help of the newly discovered sources. The original Malayalam papers which have recently appeared in book-form in English as *Studies in Kerala History* (1970) took shape in this fashion.[26] Prof. Eḷamkuḷam was on surer ground in discussing language and literature than political or social history, and he has frequently employed concepts in a loose manner, and used language without precision, but he deserves credit for several things. It was he who identified the separate entity of the Cēra kingdom between the 9th and 12th centuries and made a pioneering attempt to trace its history in outline. He discovered the historical importance of *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya* which enabled him to locate Mahōdayapura in Koḍuṅgallūr (Cranganore) as the capital of the later Cēras and fix 844 AD as the initial year of Sthāṇu Ravi Cēra. Incidentally, this date offers the first precise landmark in Cēra chronology. The professor has not only contributed much to the discussion of Cēra chronology in connection with Kōta Ravi and Bhāskara Ravi but also brought forward new hypotheses regarding the history of Cōḷa

invasions, matrilineal succession, and the evolution of caste system and land tenure.[27] A. Sreedhara Menon's observations on the history of the Cēra period in the new *District Gazetteers of Kerala* and the *Survey of Kerala History* (1967) are largely based on the findings and views of Eḷamkuḷam.

Prof. Eḷamkuḷam drew his conclusions about the later Cēras mostly from the published texts of inscriptions. He did not examine the stone originals in several cases and where photos were absent or defective he had to fall back upon the official version. He could not utilize the unpublished inscriptions from the Malabar-Cochin area and this fact has affected his chronological scheme adversely. He was also prevented in this manner from appreciating fully the importance of *Mūṣakavaṁśa kāvya* as a contemporary source. His interpretation of political history, particularly the history of the Cōḷa invasion, is vitiated by local sentiment and love of exaggeration. His total rejection of the *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition regarding the Perumāḷs made it impossible for him to assess correctly the role of the Aryan Brahmin settlements in the socio-political set up of ancient Kerala. Moreover, he projected modern social ideas and prejudices into the past thereby marring an impartial study of social evolution. Therefore, an objective and definitive study of this Cēra kingdom still remains a desideratum for the progress of historical work in relation to Kerala.[28]

Notes and References

1. Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of the Coast of Africa and Malabar*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1866, p. 102. "They say that in ancient days there was a heathen king named Chirimay Peremal, a very mighty lord. And after the Moors of Mecca had discovered India, they began to voyage towards it for the sake of the pepper, of which they first began to take cargoes at Choulam, a city with a harbour where the king of times resides. This will not be less than 600 years ago, for the Indians of that period adopted the era by which these Moors are ruled. And continuing to sail to India for many years they began to spread out therein and they had such discussions with the king himself and he with them, that in the end they converted him to the sect of the abominable Mahamede, wherefore he went in their company to the house of Mecca and there he died, or as it seems probable, on the way thither, for they say that the Malabares never more heard any tidings of him. Before he started this king divided his kingdom among his kinsfolk into several portions as it yet is, for before that time all Malabar was one kingdom".

   This is followed by an account of partition which speaks of the creation of thre kingdoms, Cannanore, Calicut, and Quilon. According to this, they were all free and independent but the kingdom of Calicut, governed by his nephew, alone had the right of coinage. The gift of the royal sword to the Zamorin is also mentioned there.

2. *Barros, Decada I*, Book IX, Chap. III, p. 324. The passage is translated in *R.V.R.I.B.*, II, pp. 53-64. "According to the old account of this country which were read out and interpreted to us when we landed in India, this land which they called Malabar, of 50 leagues of Coastline, was the property of a king called Sarama Perumāḷ, who reigned

here 612 years before we landed in India. This king was so great that in his honour an era was started. He had his headquarters at Choulam, a place greatly frequented by many Arabs, who had become Moors for the sake of commerce. The Moors, led by their fanaticism, while converting many of the Hindus to Mohammedanism, succeeded in converting the very king Sarama Perumāḷ also to Mohammedanism. He then went and lived at Calicut, as it was the centre of pepper growth and Moorish population. The Moors then made him believe that to save his soul it was much becoming to go to Mecca and die there He accepted the advice, and before he left the place, by a last will, divided his kingdom among his nearest relatives". See also Diego de Coutos Da Asia, *Decada VII*, Book X, Chap. I, p. 523. "Xarao Perumāḷ was the most famous of all the Perumāḷs, and the best among them, and so well affected to the Christians of St. Thomas who were living in Cranganore, that he was not doing anything without them, because at that time there were men very holy and of good life, as coming from the first plants of the holy Apostle. And he loved them so, that through them he was converted to our holy faith, in which he lived for some years. Having become old, the Christians persuaded him to go to the house of the Apostle at Meliapor, with the intention of dying there and of being buried there".

In this the conversion to Islam is replaced by the conversion to Christianity but evidently this is a Portuguese distortion of the earlier legend to suit their policies in India.

3. Camoens, *Lusiad*, (Fanshaw's translation), Canto 7, Stanzas 33, 34.
"But certain strangers coming to the realm
From Mecha in the gulf of Arabic
Who brought the Law of Mahomet with them,
(in which my parents educated me)
It so befell, with their great skill, and stream
Of eloquence, these to that degree
This Perumāḷ unto their faith did win
That he proposed to die a saint therein.
.....
Having no heir, left of the royal house,
Before he parted, he did cantonize
His realm. Those servants he loved best he brings
From want to wealth, from subject, to kings".
The greater part of the *Lusiad* was written in India between 1553 and 1559 AD. See Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, 2nd edn., p. 180.

4. Sheikh Zeinuddin, *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, (Rawlandson's translation), pp. 50-6. Acording to this writer a set of Arab Muslim pilgrims touched the port of Cranganore on their way to 'Adam's foot' in Ceylon. The Cēra king invited them to his palace and was converted to Islam as he listened to their conversation. He divided the kingdom among his relatives, framed rules and regulations for their future conduct, and secretly joined the pilgrims when they returned to Arabia. The Sheikh testifies to the popularity of this tradition among the Hindus of Malabar and describes this king as the ruler of the whole of Malabar from Kasergode to Cape Comerin. He rejects the view that these events, took place in the life time of the prophet, and feels that they must be placed at least 200 years after the Hijera.

5. Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter VIII. See K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, 'Visscher's Letters from Malabar', p. 37. "Some will have it that the great Cēramān Perumāḷ, who partitioned Malabar and made laws for it which are still observed, in-

stituted them for two important reasons, the first of which was to confirm the distribution of kingdoms that he had made; for being about to undertake a journey, either to the Ganges in fulfillment of a vow, or, as the Moors say, to visit Mahomet in Arabia for the purpose of embracing his religion, he divided among his favourites the whole of Malabar".

6. Van Adriaan Moens, Memorandum on the Administration of Malabar. See A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 104.

7. Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, II, pp. 34 -9. The native chieftains, Brahmin priests and Christian fathers whom he met in different places told him about the familiar story of the Cēramān Perumāḷ's conversion to Islam, partition of the empire and grant of privileges to relatives and favourites.

8. For the Calicut Granthavari dated 15th Kanni, 986 M. E. (1810 AD) See K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp.67-9. For the Cochin Granthavari of about the same period, see Padmanabha Menon, *Kochirājya Caritram*, I, pp. 28- 30.

9. For a good summary of the chronicle in English, see Logan, *Malabar*, pp. 241 -45. The text of *Kēraḷōlpatti* also has been published. See Dr. H. Gundert, (Ed.), *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Mangalore, 1843. Reprint by Basel Mission Book Depot, Mangalore, 1890 and by Balan Publications, Trivandrum, 1961. There are different versions of the chronicle. For other texts see Dr. C.A. Menon, (Ed.), *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Madras University and Mahadeva Sastri, (Ed.), *Kēraḷacaritam*, Travancore University. We have used the Gundert edition.

10. The Asokan Edict No. II refers to the Kēraḷaputra (Kēraḷaputo) among the South Indian frontier states. The Graeco-Roman writers mention Kelobotros or Kerobotros, evidently their version of Kēraḷaputra, on the West coast of India. The ancient Tamil works of the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, collectively known as Sangam literature, are believed to be composed by the Sangam (Academy) of poets at Madura and contain several poems in praise of Cēra kings including an anthology on the Cēra kings called *Patiṟṟuppattu*. The *Cilappatikāram* of Iḷankō Aṭikaḷ and its companion epic *Maṇimēkalai* of Cāttanār, once included in the Sangam works but now considered to be of later origin, refer to Cēra king Cenkuṭṭuvan and his patronage of the Kaṇṇaki cult. Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār and Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār belonged to the Cēra line.

11. For an account of the system, see Dr. P.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 234. The consonants in such Kalivākyas are assigned numbers according to the Kaṭapayādi system i.e. starting with number one and proceeding up to nine followed by zero and starting again. In compound letters the second or last alone is to be considered. The number thus arrived at is read in reverse order from right to left for obtaining the number of days from the beginning of Kaliyuga. 'Cēramān dēśaprāpyah', 'Swarga sandēhaprāpyah', 'Bhūvibhāga' and 'Urudhīsamāśrayah' are some of the Kalivākyas traditionally associated with the event of the last Perumāḷ's departure.

12. Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumāḷs*, I, p. 43; Rev. Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, p. 14.

13. He was a Sanskrit scholar and court physician of Travancore. "Great credit was due to the author of that pamphlet as he was the first person who made such a praiseworthy attempt", says Shangoonny Menon, *A History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, Preface. The *Kēraḷamāhātmya* in Sanskrit is a recent work in the form of a sthalapurāṇa.

14. Shangoonny Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 41 -3. Regarding the value of this work, Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai observes: "Mr. Shangoonny Menon begins, indeed, his history with Brahma the creator but he fills up his first chapter, which brings down the account to Marthanda Varman, who began his rule just 164 years ago, i.e., within the memory in all probability of the historian's own grandfather, with such questionable materials as to render it difficult to rebut Mr. Sewell's condemnation of the whole as devoid of historical value". See Pillai, 'Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore', *I.A.*, XXIV, p. 250. K.R. Pisharodi and A.G. Warrier go a step further in condemning the book. According to them it "paved the way for the propagation of a series of unwholesome theories and notions which are still rampant in popular books on the subject and which continue to vitiate a correct understanding of Kerala history in its proper perspective". See *R.V.R.I.B.*, VIII, II, P. 62, F.N. 7. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam endorses this opinion. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, I, pp. 68 - 9.
15. *I.A.*, III, p. 334; *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, pp. 115 -42; *M.J.L.S.*, (New Series), V, p. 42; *E.I.*, III, P. 69; IV, pp. 292 -3.
16. Logan, *Malabar*, I, pp. 221 -76.
17. *Ibid.*, II. Appendix XXI.
18. *The Travancore State Manual* was completely revised by T.K. Velu Pillai (1938). The latter observed that "new facts which establish the greatness of Travancore in the distant past and the continuity of its political development in thorough independence have been revealed". See *Travancore State Manual*, (Revised), Preface, p. I. He also felt that "the facts narrated in certain books published by authority in Travancore are being treated as admissions against interest on the strength of which writers seek to advance theories of the political subordination of Travancore to the ancient Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, and after that to the Perumāḷs of Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇam, and the kings of Vijayanagar and the Nāyaks of Madura in later periods". *Ibid.*, p. iv. The sentimental revulsion against these 'theories' prompted him to inject more local patriotism into his work with the result that it lost more in historical value.
19. The inscriptions belonged mostly to medieval Vēṇāṭu but they certainly showed the possibility of searching for similar sources pertaining to an earlier age.
20. C. Achutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, p. 36 ff.
21. The editor, T.K. Krishna Menon, observes: "He (Padmanabha Menon) knew that if he were to write a connected and complete history of ancient Malabar there would be breaks which he could not very well fill up with authentic materials". See K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, Foreword, p. xix.
22. The language is described as Tamil or Western dialect of Tamil in the *T.A.S.* volumes. It was Prof. L.V. Ramaswami Ayyar who started analysing the development of language in these records on the basis of linguistic principles. His work was taken up by others also. See Dr. A.C. Sekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Poona, 1953, and Prof. Eḷamkuḷam, *Kēraḷa Bhāṣayuṭe Vikāsapariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, (Kottayam, 1957). Dr. A.C. Sekhar's study based on inscriptions suffers from the inaccuracy of dates and texts since he had to depend on the published versions of a small number of records in the absence of direct knowledge of the original. For an appraisal, see M.G.S. Narayanan and P.E.D. Nambudiri, 'A Critique of A. Chandrasekhar's Evolution of Malayalam', *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 31, no. 3. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam, who conducted a study of the originals proceeded on more scientific lines. However, this language is still wrongly labeled as Tamil by the Government epigraphists. See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 51.

23. *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 87 -113. *Ibid.*, II, II, pp. 115 -30. See also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavaṁśa Kāvya', *Proceedings of the A.I.O.C*, Jadhavpur, 1969. See also S. Sanku Aiyar, *Kēralavum Buddhamatavum*, Kottayam, 1962.
24. See V.K.R. Menon, 'Medieval Kerala History (825-1498 AD)', *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, I, pp. 1 -36.
25. *K.S.P.* Series 3, pp. 147 -68; Series 4, pp. 169 -204; Series 5, pp. 225 -59 and 267 -9; Series 6, pp. 287 -307 and 320 -23 and 331 -32; Series 9, pp. 205 -24; Series 10, pp. 257 -75.
26. For the purpose of the present study the citations of Eḷamkuḷam's findings and views are taken from his Malayalam books. This is done for three reasons. First, the English version was not available when this work started. Secondly, the translators have taken much liberty with the text, condensing or modifying the author's original statements. Thirdly, the English book contains only a few selected essays leaving out many which are relevant to the history of the Cēras of Makōtai.
27. The findings of Prof. Eḷamkuḷam P.N. Kunjan Pillai in relation to the Cēras of Makōtai were published in the form of separate papers which appeared later on in different books. For later Cēra history the most useful books are *Kēraḷacaritrapraśnaṅgaḷ*, *Kēraḷacaritrattile Iruḷaṭaññ Ēṭukaḷ* and *Janmi sampradāyam Kēraḷattil*. The author has made significant contribution to the history of the Sangam age and the post-Cēra medieval age also. He was able to examine the original sources because he commanded the knowledge of the script and language which many others lacked. The present writer is indebted to him for training in the decipherment of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions and for general guidance.
28. The advances made in the 20th century in the study of Cēra history are not reflected even in standard works where, in spite of some reference to Sthāṇu Ravi and Bhāskara Ravi, there is no understanding of the history of the Cēras of Makōtai. This dynasty does not even figure in the lists of South Indian dynasties and the old legends about the Perumāḷs and the termination of Perumāḷ government by the 9th century are often repeated uncritically by the historians everywhere. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Third edn., 1966, pp. 162 -3; R. Sathianathaier, 'South India', *History and Culture of the Indian People*, IV, chapter, VII, p. 165; P.K.S. Raja, *Medieval Kerala*, (Chidambaram, 1953 and Second Edition, Calicut, 1966), Chapter I; Walter J. Fischel, 'The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of Cochin on the Malabar Coast', *The Cochin Synagogue 400th Anniversary Souvenir*, Cochin, pp. 126 -50.

II. Survey of Sources

It is well-known that in the case of ancient South Indian states epigraphy and archaeology form the most reliable sources of information. Therefore, they naturally receive priority in our discussion of the Cēra kingdom. It was the progress of epigraphic studies that opened up this field in the first instance. The archaeological monuments and relics, though scanty, are also capable of throwing much new light on the character and contribution of the Cēra period in Kerala.

Epigraphy

Until recent times almost every serious writer on Kerala history has regretted the scarcity of materials. Robert Sewell recorded as early as 1884 that "very little is as yet known regarding the rulers of the fertile country west of the Western Ghats", adding that "there is little hope of the tale ever being clearly told" because, according to him, "the few remaining inscriptions in that tract are eminently unhistorical in character".[1]

The authors of the *Malabar District Manual* (1886) and the *Cochin State Manual* (1911) expressed the same view. The former described the country as "peculiarly unfortunate in respect of inscriptions and deeds".[2]The latter explicitly stated that native records anterior to the 17th century were not available.[3] Another scholar who tried to reconstruct medieval Kerala history felt that the difficulty caused by the "extreme paucity of authentic evidence" was "almost insurmountable".[4] However, this trend of thought was only partly justified by the actual situations. The real difficulty is not so much in the scarcity of materials as in the obscurity and chronological uncertainty of old Malayalam inscriptions and the absence of a machinery to undertake their collection and publication with technical expertise. Any meaningful study of literary and other sources had to wait for this foundation to materialise. There were many problems in deciphering, interpreting and dating the existing sources and identifying them as relevant to a particular period of the history of Kerala. Without considerable advance in the palaeographic and linguistic studies and much spade-work in allied fields of epigraphy and literature it was not possible to co-ordinate all the materials and put them to proper use. For this reason pioneers in the field of Kerala history were often

frustrated. There were factors beyond the control of scholars in the field, like the existence of administrative divisions and political interests, which hampered effective team work in this line.

These difficulties have been overcome to a great extent in course of time. For one thing, a large number of inscriptions belonging to the pre-Portuguese period have been published and, secondly, the view that history is chiefly the story of royal wars and dynastic rivalry has changed. Nothing short of a revolution has been accomplished by the newly discovered sources, mainly epigraphical in character. It is now clear that the inscriptions of Kerala are not unhistorical though it is true that they fail to yield as much political history as those from other parts of India. The source materials at present may not be described as plentiful but they are sufficient to form the basis of historical analysis in the case of the Cēras of Makōtai. In quantity and quality the epigraphic and literary output of the Cēra kingdom in its final phase does not suffer much in comparison with those of the Pallava or Pāṇḍya kingdoms which are better known. It certainly compares favourably with that of the Āḷupa and Gaṅga neighbours. The same cannot, however, be said about architectural monuments and sculpture, but on the whole, thanks to the progress in South Indian historical and palaeographical studies, both in their infancy in the beginning of the 20th century, the study of the later Cēra period has now become less tedious and more fruitful.

Dating

Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai was the first to appreciate the unique importance of stone inscriptions in reconstructing Kerala history. He rightly remarked that "a contemporary inscription in a place of public resort, if once deciphered and its age determined, will offer a footing to the historian as sure and firm as the rock on which it is engraved".[5] The epigraphic records discovered by him belonged mostly to the kings of Travancore in the post-Cēra period but the stimulus he gave resulted in the discovery of several Cēra inscriptions by the Archaeological Department of Travancore. A few more have been traced out and published by the Cochin and Madras Departments of Archaeology and a good number of them in the Malabar area are just noticed in the annual reports of epigraphy but not published. A few inscriptions discovered by the present writer may be added to this collection. There are now a total of 150 inscriptions in stone and copper belonging to this period. Of these, 80 inscriptions give regnal years of kings or at least royal names; 25 are dated in Kali era or Kollam era or local temple eras only; and the remaining 45 are without any date but assignable to the period between c. 800 AD and 1122 AD on the basis of the script and language and other internal evidence.[6] Besides these there are many Cōḷa inscriptions of this period which mention a number of persons from the Cēra country and a few Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya

and Rāṣṭrakūṭa records which refer to wars with the Cēras of Makōtai.[7] It will be seen that out of 150 Cēra inscriptions 138 are in stone and only a dozen are in the form of copper plates. However, one of them, namely the Tiruvalla Copper Plates, numbering 43 plates and 630 lines, contains a consolidated list of donations to the temple through centuries. This is not really one inscription but a whole collection of inscriptions.[8] It has been rightly described as the first book in the Malayalam language.[9]

The stone inscriptions are usually found on the granite base or granite pillars of temple buildings or on separate slabs erected in the courtyard or built into the floor or wall or door-frame. They are distributed all over Kerala and they mostly come from worshipping temples in centers with continuous habitation. When they form an integral part of the building, they serve an additional purpose by showing that the structure itself is not later than the inscription.[10] As pointed out earlier, their position in open places in public institutions, i.e. religious centers which commanded the loyalty of the people through centuries, place them almost above suspicion. The reliability of records belonging to this group has been further confirmed by their mutual relationship and the correspondence of internal evidence.

Scholars have rightly been warned about the possibility of copper plates in private custody turning out into forgeries and a few forged copper plate grants are known to students of Indian history.[11] However, the few copper plates of Kerala have passed muster in the hands of eminent epigraphists like Burnell, Hultzsch, Venkayya, Gopinatha Rao, Subramanya Aiyar and Ramanatha Ayyar, and their script, language, style and matter are found to conform to the pattern of contemporary stone inscriptions of Kerala. Some of these copper plates are of unique value as they throw light on the rights and privileges of Christian, Jewish and Buddhist communities.[12] Others are helpful in fixing the dates of Bhāskara Ravi (the Cēra king), Śrīvallavan Kōtai (Governor of Vēṇāṭu) and others.[13] The earliest record of Cēra kings, the palaeographical dating of which is confirmed by other evidence, also happens to be a copper plate.[14]

Analysis

In the case of the published inscriptions the texts given by the government epigraphists have been utilised for the present study with corrections here and there in letters or words made by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam or the present writer after scrutiny of the photos and the original stone. There are other inscriptions which have not been officially published and which are being used for the first time for historical analysis and in their case the present writer has used his own decipherment mostly from the stone original and rarely from the estampages preserved in the Government of India epigra-

phist's office, Mysore.[15] The progress achieved recently in epigraphy and linguistics aids the student of history greatly in dealing with inscriptions. As pointed out by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, epigraphists have firmly established the relative chronology of inscriptions in South India with sufficient precision to decide the date within a century or even less of its actual date.[16] Studies undertaken by Dr. A.C. Sekhar and Prof. Eḷamkuḷam on dated inscriptions have clearly revealed the different stages in the development of inscriptional language so that linguistic techniques are now a useful adjunct to the historian's repertoire.[17] These techniques of epigraphy and linguistics have both been employed in the present study in tackling the problems of chronology and succession.

The great majority of these inscriptions are not royal grants or charters but resolutions of village assemblies or their executive committees. They often use the king's name and regnal year in referring to the date. Occasionally the king's representative known as Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ or Āḷa kōyiḷ, or the governor of the district and his officers, are present in the meeting at the temple. Beyond this the records are not concerned with political history but they deal with matters related to worship and temple management, temple property, tax, rent, donations, etc. Though they provide only meagre information on political history, they supply plenty of material for a study of local administration, social and economic conditions and temple organisation and temple culture.

The historical introduction called praśasti, containing the dynastic myths, royal genealogy and accounts of the achievements of the donor and his ancestors, does not appear in Cēra inscriptions of any type. This has been described by some writers as a misfortune.[18] It is true that in the case of the neighbouring kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas, the praśastis are of immense help in tracing political history and fixing the chronology and the order of succession. The absence of such praśastis in Kerala naturally deprived the scholars of an opportunity to have the full Cēra genealogy and the contemporary official Cēra version of events and policies. This makes it difficult even to settle finally the Cēra order of succession to the throne.[19] It is also not possible to verify the *Kēraḷōlpatti* claim that the Brahmin councillors had a part in the choice of the sovereign.[20] The praśastis would have been helpful in providing a comparative study of the military claims of the Cōḷas and the Cēras in regard to the period of Cōḷa invasions, where only the Cōḷa version is now made available. However, the absence of the praśasti has not made a reconstruction of the outlines of Cēra chronology and political history impossible though it is admitted that the results are incomplete.

With all its shortcomings, the epigraphic evidence in stone and copper forms the mainstay of the student of later Cēra history. Other sources in the form of literature, monuments and tradition may be viewed only as supple-

mentary in character. They acquire meaning and importance, and they can be placed in the proper context, only when viewed in the light of the inscriptional data. This corpus of inscriptional data itself is to be studied in relation to the broad background of contemporary South Indian history and the specific event of the rise of the Cōḷa empire. Such a study has not been undertaken before, and the wealth of inscriptions remained only partly utilised for the study of socio-economic evolution and culture.

Literature

This period has produced a considerable amount of literature in the Sanskrit and Tamil languages. In addition to the literary works composed in Kerala, those produced outside also contain significant references to this region. All of them provide useful material to the historian in delineating the literary trends of the age. Beyond that some are directly helpful in reconstructing chronology and political history, in understanding the progress of scientific, philosophical and historical ideas and religious movements and the history of the Sanskrit theatre. The traditional chronicles composed at a later stage are also helpful in clarifying the picture.

History

The *Mūṣakavamśa kāvya* in Sanskrit is a work of dynastic and territorial history, the earliest surviving specimen of that class in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Its historical importance was at first suggested by Gopinatha Rao who published long extracts and an English summary of the kāvya though he could not identify and locate the Mūṣaka kingdom or establish the kāvya's authenticity as a work of history with the help of epigraphic or other evidence.[21] His successor in the office identified the territory of Mūṣaka as North Malabar with the help of epigraphic records and found out some of the modern equivalents of its place names.[22] Another scholar carried the study further by identifying the Kerala king Jayarāga mentioned in the kāvya with Cēra king Vijayarāga of the inscriptions.[23] With the help of new epigraphic evidence discovered by himself, the present writer has been able to establish the historicity of four Mūṣaka rulers mentioned in the work and on the basis of their dates determine the date of the kāvya too.[24] It is now clear that the *kāvya* was composed in the first half of the 11th century in the court of Kaṇṭan Kāri or Śrīkaṇṭha, the Mūṣaka , younger contemporary and vassal of Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya (962-1021 AD). This date makes its period one century earlier than that of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangiṇi* and gives it pride of place in Indian historical literature. The kāvya provides a challenge to the view that historiography did not flourish in ancient India and establishes the continuity of the 'vamśakāvya' branch in literature.[25]

In view of the above facts, the *Mūṣakavaṁśa* has to be treated as an original contemporary source of first rate importance. The last four *sargas* dealing with events from the middle of the 9th century onwards are definitely historical in character since much of it is corroborated by other evidence.[26] The author gives his name as Atula.[27] It is evident that he was a court poet of the Mūṣakarāja. He traces in fifteen *sargas* the history of that kingdom from the time of Rāma ghaṭa, the legendary founder of the dynasty, to the reign of his patron Śrīkaṇṭha whose period is described in the present tense. The names of Cēra king Jayarāga (Vijayarāga) and Mūṣaka kings Validhara, Vikṛama Rāma, Jayamāni and Śrīkaṇṭha given in the kāvya are found in epigraphic records also.[28] The kāvya includes accounts of the foundation of cities like Kōlam, Valabhapaṭṭaṇam, and Māṭāyi, the renovation of temples like Vaṭukēśvara (Tiruvaḍūr), Ahiraṇēśvara, Cellūr, Śambarapura, etc. and the Mūṣaka wars against the Gaṅgas, Cēras and Cōḷas and occasional revolts in the state. It also mentions the Mūṣaka marriage relations with Cēras or Kēraḷas, Cēdis and Cōḷas. It gives information about the Mūṣaka policy in relation to Buddhism and Brahmanism, foreign settlers and maritime trade. Since the Mūṣakas are shown to be the subordinate allies of the Cēras from the time of Cēra king Sthāṇu Ravi at least up to the time of Bhāskara Ravi, the light thrown by the kāvya on political and social history is of much use in understanding the history of the Cēras themselves.

There are historical or quasi-historical works of this period and a slightly later period in Tamil which deal with Kerala also. These are *Kalingattupparaṇi* by Jayamkoṇḍār, *Vikṛama Cōḷan Ula, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷan Ula* and *Rājarāja Cōḷan Ula* by Oṭṭakkūttan, and Cēkkiḻār's *Periyapurāṇam.* Of these, the work of Jayamkoṇḍār has the Kalinga expedition of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I, the patron of the poet, for its theme and incidentally refers to his Kerala wars also.[29] The three *Ulas* of Oṭṭakkūttan describe the contemporary achievements of Vikṛama Cōḷa, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa II, and Rājarāja Cōḷa II respectively and give some details of the wars and conquests of their predecessors in the Kerala country in the introductory passage.[30]

Hagiology

The *Periyapurāṇam* of Cēkkiḻār, a courtier of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa II, belongs to the period immediately after the disappearance of the Cēra kingdom, but it is a collection of biographies of Śaivite saints including that of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the royal Śaivite Cēra of Makōtai.[31] As such it may be considered as a quasi-historical poem dealing with the lives of persons belonging to four or five centuries. It is based on the earlier work of the 10th or 11th century by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi who arranged the canonical works of South Indian Śaivism more or less in their present form. The purāṇa, written by the follower of a living tradition three or four centuries after the events nar-

rated in the text, may contain a substratum of historical truth regarding the Cēra Nāyanār and his times. This and other purāṇas of a similar type are of more value than Sthalapurāṇas when discreetly used, and when their statements are in agreement with the testimony of epigraphic or other evidence.[32]

Equally important are the *Divyasūricarita* and *Guruparampara* which form the Vaiṣṇavite counterparts of *Periyapurāṇa*, and which are products of the same period. They provide fantastic accounts of Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, the royal Vaiṣṇavite Cēra, which are quasi-historical in nature.[33] The period and identity of this Cēra king are not easy to determine though he may be identified with the Cēra king Kulaśēkhara of Mahōdayapura, the dramatist, on account of striking similarity of ideas and images.[34] The Vaiṣṇavite hagiologies of about the 11th century are not removed from his day by more than two or three centuries and, therefore, may be used as material for his life and times with due caution.[35]

Astronomy

A scientific work of this period which is of much use for chronology and political history is the *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya*, a commentary on the first Bhāskarācārya's astronomical treatise called *Laghubhāskarīya*.[36] It was composed by Śankaranārāyaṇa at Mahōdayapura in the Saka year 791 which corresponds to 869 AD.[37] The work consists of eight chapters written in simple Sanskrit and the colophons at the end of the chapters show that the commentary was named as 'Vivaraṇa'. There are some passages which describe the author's conversations with his royal patron Ravivarma Kulaśēkhara at the capital city of Mahōdayapura. These provide some details regarding the date of the king's coronation, the capital city, and the astronomical activities there.[38]

Plays

A few Sanskrit plays and poems may also be mentioned among the literary sources. It may be stated in general that the plots being puranic and the treatment classical, they do not contain much material on contemporary social or economic conditions in Kerala except by way of illustrating the trend of artistic work and the personality of the author. However, the colophons and prefaces often contain references to royal patrons and the authors themselves and the circumstances which led to the composition. These are of invaluable aid to the historian. Śaktibhadra's play called *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* claims to be the first drama from the South, i.e. from South India, and must, therefore, be placed before other plays from Kerala, probably at the end of the 8th century or the beginning of 9th century if the tradition about

Śaktibhadra's contemporaneity with Śankarācārya is accepted.[39] The two plays *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* and *Subhadrādhanañjaya* were composed by Kulaśēkhara Varma, described in the prelude as 'the author of the Sanskrit campu called *Āścaryamañjari*, 'the Supreme Lord of Mahōdayapura', and 'the Overlord of Kerala'.[40] This Kulaśēkhara is mentioned in the tradition of Kerala as the person who introduced certain reforms in the theatre with the help of his comedian-friend Tōlan.[41] The plays give an insight into the king's ideas and personality and perhaps a few veiled references to a contemporary king named Akālajalada.[42] The royal dramatist must certainly be placed after 700 AD since he mentions Daṇḍin and before or about 920 AD since he is mentioned by the North Indian poet Rājaśēkhara who died at that time.[43] He may be identical with Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār who belongs to the same period since the Āḷvār is to be placed before the middle of the 10th century when the Vaiṣṇava hymns were collected. Therefore, the campūkāvya and the two nāṭakas are more than poetical works; they are valuable sources for the history of the Cēras of Makōtai. A commentary on parts of the two plays described in the colophon as the work of a contemporary and friend of Kulaśēkhara Varma may be included in this group.[44] The author gives particulars about himself, his meeting with the king in his court and the king's directions regarding the action of the plays. He professes to bring out the real and hidden meanings in the text of the drama. For this reason the work is called *Vyangyavyākhya.*

Poems

The three Yamaka kāvyas of Vāsubhaṭṭa named *Tripuradahana, Śaurikatha* and *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* contain prefatory statements regarding the poet and his royal patron.[45] They formed the starting point of a whole series of Yamaka kāvyas in Kerala. Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Sītāharaṇa*, mentions king Ravi alias Manukulāditya.[46] Ravidēva, the author of *Naḷōdaya*, mentions king Rāma alias Rājāditya.[47] Thus the datable Yamaka kāvyas of this period represent the growth of a scholarly and poetic tradition at the court of Makōtai. Some works of another type which may be classified as devotional literature deserve to be mentioned here. The period of the Cēras of Makōtai witnessed the climax of the Bhakti movement of Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites in South India. Two of the Cēra kings, namely, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār and Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār, have been treated as belonging to the select groups of 63 Nāyanārs and 12 Āḷvārs respectively. Therefore, the devotional hymns composed by them in praise of different shrines, mostly outside Kerala, assume great historical importance. Fortunately, these have been preserved.

Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār is known as the author of three devotional pieces *Ponvaṇṇattantādi, Tiruvārūr Mummaṇikōvai*, and *Ādiyula.*[48] They reflect to some extent contemporary life and manners as well as the royal saint's

devotional fervor, mastery of religious lore in Sanskrit and Tamil, felicity of expression and command of a poetic style.[49]

The period of this Nāyanār and his friend Sundaramūrti Nāyanār is not definitely known but different views have been advanced in the matter.[50] At any rate the importance attached to the supremacy of the Pallavas in Sundara's poems indicates that they must be placed before the rise of the Cōḷa power in the middle of the 9th century. Nilakanta Sastri's revised chronology of the religious movements, placing Sundara at the close of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century, appears to be the most reliable.[51] That Cēramān Perumāḷ was not a king of Koṅgu but a king of Makōtai on the West-coast is clear from Cēkkiḻār's *Periyapurāṇam* which gives an elaborate account of his capital city at Koḍungōlūr.[52] Sundara Mūrti Nāyanār's *Tēvāram* song in praise of Tiruvañcaikkaḷam temple supports this view and it also deserves to be treated as a valuable source of information.[53]

The Vaiṣṇavite devotional songs of Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār have been collected in *Nālāyiraprabandham* under the heading *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*. This includes 105 verses, distinguished by colourful, dramatic imagery and sweet and melodious language.[54] It gives the different titles of the royal author and songs in praise of different shrines. The period of this Cēra king is uncertain but it is definitely prior to 1088 AD when a song from *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* is introduced in the daily worship of a temple.[55] In view of his claim to supremacy over the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Kongu and Kollimalai regions he is to be placed before Āditya who created the Cōḷa empire. Therefore, he may be provisionally identified with Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara.[56] The Sanskrit devotional poem called *Mukundamāla* is also attributed to this Āḻvār Kulaśēkhara.[57] It is helpful in comparing the Sanskrit diction of the Āḻvār with that of the royal dramatist of the same name.

The Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite compositions from royal hands throw much light on the history of the Bhakti movement in Kerala. They suggest the process by which the movement spread to this part of the country through the system of pilgrimages and royal influence. There are many problems in determining the exact period of the two great political-religious leaders of Kerala, viz, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār and Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār. Scholars have tried to use both internal and external evidence with great skill but a solution to the chronological puzzle remained elusive. However, the present study has one advantage over earlier attempts in this field. When the chronological framework of political and social history is reconstructed with better precision with the help of epigraphy, it makes a relative chronology of literary works and religious movements rest on surer foundation. Thus a better appreciation of the source value of literary material is now possible.

Monuments

When compared to the contribution of epigraphy, that of monuments belonging to the Cēra kingdom is almost negligible. There are not many dated or datable Cēra buildings and artifacts left intact to inform the world about their creators. At first this may appear strange in view of the large number of contemporary Cōḷa temples on the other side of the Western Ghats, but a careful scrutiny will provide a proper explanation.

The supply of solid workable quality of granite is extremely limited on the West coast except in the extreme south of former Travancore. At the same time perishable materials like laterite, which is incapable of being a good medium for sculpture, and timber, which is excellent for a variety of woodcraft, are available in plenty here. This appears to have prompted men to employ granite sparingly, restricting its use to the foundations of temples alone. The upper portions of all buildings including these temples were mostly built in brick, laterite and wood. This superstructure was short-lived especially in view of the heavy monsoon lasting for several months of the year and the constant winds carrying salinity from the ocean. The landscape is full of ups and downs and the fact that it is often broken by rivers and rivulets must have made the transport of heavy building material, except through water, extremely tedious and costly in early times. The fact that temples were usually built either on high ground or in the midst of green fields must have contributed to this difficulty unless granite was available on the site. Moreover, in the case of low-lying coastal area with soft and wet soil heavy buildings materials were probably not available.[58]

Vandalism

Where nature left some buildings intact, the hand of man appears to have been responsible for much of the loss, wholesale destruction in some cases and damage to form through repairs in many more. In Malabar and Cochin areas the spoliation of several shrines is attributed to Tippu Sultan by the local people. It is not easy to ascertain whether Tippu himself, or his followers, or marauders and plunderers who came in the wake of political confusion, must be held responsible for these acts of vandalism.[59] However, it is true that Malabar and Cochin areas contain greater number of ruined temples than Travancore. Again, where large-scale renovation was effected in the medieval period, changes occurred at least in superstructure and very often in other parts of the building also.[60] In one sense, the continuous occupation of the same site through centuries and comparative absence of major political convulsions or invasions guaranteed the preservation of sacred shrines. However, it also gave opportunity for people to tamper with the original plans and portions of building so that it is difficult even in the case

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of an old Cēra temple to decide what part of it is original and what is late. This difficulty is enhanced by the absence of conspicuous changes of style in construction though slight differences are noticeable.[61]

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Secular buildings like palaces, forts and godowns, not to speak of ordinary residential quarters built in more perishable materials like clay, timber, and palm or coconut leaves, have completely disappeared without leaving any trace on the surface. A typical example of such devastation is found in the old Cēra capital of Makōtai at Koḍuṅgallūr (Cranganore). The site where the palace of Mahōdayapura stood is a piece of waste-land identified by the name Cēramānpaṛambu, i.e., the compound of Cēramān. Even the size of this compound has diminished considerably due to the encroachment of private holdings in recent times.[62] However, archaeological excavations have exposed some old Cēra foundations-walls, wells and sculpture.[63] In the other site of Kollam (Quilon), used as a secondary capital during the days of Cōḷa wars, even the site of the Panaṅkāvil palace of the Cēra period has eluded researchers to-date.[64] Unfortunately no excavations have taken place so far in this and a few other Cēra sites of Kerala.

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In spite of these problems there are a few Cēra monuments, mostly rock-cut caves, and the granite base of shrines and pillars and sculptured panels of temples, which have survived through centuries. The rock-cut caves with peculiar cave-pillars or the rock-wall with relief sculpture can easily be identified as the product of this period since they went out of fashion within two or three centuries everywhere in South India.[65] The old temple portions are identified with the help of inscriptions of the Cēra period engraved on them. The writing often runs continuously from stone to stone and is evidently placed there after the construction of the shrine. In the case of the excavated objects at Koḍuṅgallūr and its neighbourhood they are identified with the help of datable archaeological relics found in the same strata. However, what remains for study is only the ground plan and the plinth and lower portions of the wall, the date of the rest being left to conjecture.[66] These include the Śrīkōyil, the Nālampalam or Cuṛṛampalam, the Maṇḍapa or Maṇḍapas, the subsidiary shrines, and the Prākāra or fortification including the Gōpura at the entrance. When examined against the background of architectural development in the neighbouring and related Cālukya-Āḷupa and Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa countries, this is capable of yielding much information about similar lines of development in Kerala. These materials also help the researcher to visualise the physical set-up in which a temple-oriented culture flourished.

Sculpture and Woodwork

The study of sculpture, apart from relief sculpture on the wall, is facilitated by the images in temples though dating poses a greater problem in their case because the separate image could be taken out and replaced at any

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time. Besides Hindu images there are Buddhist and Jain sculptured images too. The only way to fix their date is to compare them with dated images from other areas, to trace the parallelism in characteristics of style. Reflection of the stylistic features found in dated relief sculpture also furnishes a clue to the date. The changes produced in style due to Hoysāla or Vijayanagara or later Pāṇḍya influence or indigenous evolution in Kerala are more clear-cut in sculpture than in architecture. When properly identified these relics throw light not only on the art of sculpture but also on the patterns of dress, instruments of music and the forms of dance depicted there.[67] While the old Christian crosses reveal the influence of that creed, the letters on them proclaiming the particular order and place of origin, the sculptured panels in temples indicate the popularity of the Hindu puranic lore.

Even after dating there are certain difficulties arising out of the location and custody of images. Those inside the sanctum sanctorum of temples in worship are not open to close inspection by persons other than Brahmins. Their general appearance in full drapery and regalia conceals the original features of sculpture.[68] Images found in ruined temple sites are often mutilated or broken to pieces. The absence of a good archaeological museum with classified and labelled objects arranged period-wise makes the study inadequate. In the present case, the writer has based his observations on study in the Trichur, Trivandrum, and Padmanabhapuram Museums, and in the various temple sites and also on photos and reports both published and unpublished.[69] There are no paintings which can definitely be attributed to the later Cēra period except a few remnants on the cave wall at Tirunandikkara prepared either during the Āy rule or Cēra domination. Coins, weapons, or ornaments, clearly identified as Cēra products, are conspicuous by their absence.

Tradition

There are numerous elusive local traditions regarding Cēras in every village of Kerala which need not be considered here.[70] The *Kēraḷamāhātmya* in Sanskrit is written in the form of a sthalamāhātmya and, professing to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, deals mostly with the mythical and divine origin of temples and is not of much use to the historian.[71] The legends of the Cēramān Perumāḷ, recorded by the European travelers and Sheikh Zeinuddin and also the *Granthavaris* of medieval principalities, appear to have had a common source well known to all sections of the people.[72]

The chief repository of this tradition regarding the Perumāḷs of Kerala is the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, written in Malayalam language. This is different from its counterpart in Sanskrit as it confines the myths and miracles to the first part and deals with political and social history in a matter of fact style in the remaining six parts. The modernity of its language will preclude any assump-

tion that its composition in the present form took place earlier than the 16th century. Some copies explicitly state that it was written at the instance of Tuñcattu Rāmānujan, probably by a disciple, for the benefit of the common people.[73] The claim agrees with the nature of the language. The reference to the coronation of a Kunnalakkōn (Zamorin) at Trikkāvil palace (Ponnani) on Wednesday 30th of Kumbham, 802 ME (1627 AD) and to his wars and conquests would, however, place the writing or the rewriting of the manuscript in the second half of the 17th century.[74] It is probable that the nucleus of such a work existed much earlier and was copied with additions, and probably also interpolations in favour of special interests, from time to time.

Till recent times when the Sangam works and the epigraphic records came to the knowledge of scholars, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* remained the only available source of information for ancient Kerala. For this reason writers on Kerala often described its contents in full and thus unwittingly gave it an exaggerated importance, though they criticised its chronology and suspected the motives which led to its composition.[75] The arguments advanced by them for and against the work are mostly irrelevant today since the epigraphic records have changed the situation fully in regard to the Perumāḷ era. In the new context there is the tendency to go to the other extreme and reject the *Kēraḷōlpatti* completely, suggesting that "one fine morning in the 17th century a Nambūdiri wrote some stories to support the legend of Paraśurāma".[76] This cannot be regarded as the correct attitude. While epigraphic records have shown the absurdity of several statements in the chronicle they have at the same time proved other statements to be true.

The *Kēraḷōlpatti* gives impossible dates in the Kalivākyas and mentions the Cēramān Perumāḷ as a contemporary of Śankarācārya (788-820 AD) as well as Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Ānaguṇḍi (Vijayanagar, 1509-1529 AD).[77] It is to be admitted that mistakes and confusion due to ignorance and carelessness on the one hand, and deliberate attempts to favour group interests on the other, have crept into this chronicle. A general bias in favour of the Brahmins who formed the elite is also to be expected. At the same time at least, part of the confusion was created by the interpreters who took the Cēramān Perumāḷ mentioned there to be an individual ruler.[78] It is now clear from the contemporary records that Gundert anticipated the truth while stating that there has "never been an individual Cēramān" and that "Cēramān is the name of the dynasty of Cēra or Kerala rulers".[79] It must be remembered that while some passages in the chronicle give a list of Perumāḷs brought from outside by the Brahmins to rule according to their instructions for twelve year periods, there is one passage which says that it was the first Cēramān Perumāḷ who was brought in this manner and that his sister was married to a Brahmin so that they could have a line of Kshatriyas to rule over Kerala.[80] This clearly suggests a hereditary kingship and matrilineal succession which is

not in disagreement with epigraphic evidence. It is also affirmed that Cēramān Perumāḷ is the king of Malanāḍu (Kerala) just as Cōḷa Perumāḷ is the king of Cōḷamaṇḍala and Pāṇḍi Perumāḷ is the king of Pāṇḍimaṇḍala.[81] The election of king by Brahmins and ministers in a political crisis is natural and probable. There was no king in Kerala before the 9th century. Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār's election is described in the 12th century work, *Periyapurāṇa*.[82] A parallel to this could be found in the case of the election of Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.[83] The contemporaneity of Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ and Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭa, the author of Yamaka kāvyas, finds mention in the chronicle.[84] It is supported by Vāsudēva's own testimony in the preface to his masterpiece *Yudhiṣṭira-vijaya*.[85] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* statement about the antiquity of 32 Brahmin settlements in Kerala is borne out by the fact that many of them are mentioned in Cēra inscriptions.[86] Moreover, the statement about the Perumāḷ's capital in Koḍuṅgallūr, the place of Nālu Taḷi in the Perumāḷ's council, and the relationship of Nālu Taḷi to the four Brahmin settlements around the capital, are borne out by epigraphic and literary evidence.[87] In the same way the reference to the divisions of Kerala, taxes, and customs and manners and privileges are partly supported by contemporary records also.[88] Moreover, the accounts relating to the post-Perumāḷ era are generally found acceptable to the historian.[89]

These facts would show that the *Kēraḷōlpatti* is not to be rejected outright but used with caution. The statements made there should not be accepted at their face value. However, they contain references which supplement and clarify evidence obtained from other sources of information though it reflects interest and prejudice and suffers from interpolation as well as misinterpretation.

Notes and Reference

1. Robert Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Madras, 1884, II, p. 195.
2. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras, 1886, I, p. 256.
3. Achutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Cochin, 1911, I, pp. 29- 30.
4. V.K.R. Menon, 'Medieval Kerala History - 825 - 1498 AD', *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, I, p. 3.
5. P. Sundaram Pillai, 'Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore', *I.A.*, XXIII, 1895, p. 251. This paper contains a fine survey of sources for Kerala history and a forceful appeal to preserve them properly.
6. Index to Cēra Inscriptions.
7. For details, see chapters IV and V.
8. See Index no. A. 80.
9. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p.100.
10. In the case of circular shrines as in Tirukkaḍithanam the letters follow the bend of the wall. In one instance in Mūḷikkaḷam the line is curved in order to allow space for

the pillar above. Similar adjustments are found in the lines of inscriptions on the curved face of the 'kumudam' or the granite foundation and the hour-glass body of the pillar of a cave at temple. These demonstrate that the writing was done after the construction. However, it is possible that in some cases the stones are taken out and replaced without change in their ancient settings at the time of renovation.

11. Sundaram Pillai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 252. "Copper-plate grants, being mostly the private property of individuals or corporations, always present the chance of turning out to be forgeries in favour of vested interests". Nevertheless, this defect is remediable. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and H.S. Ramanna, *Historical Method in relation to Indian History*, Madras, 1956, p. 69. "Copper-plate grants are not of course so difficult to forge as stone inscriptions are, and a number of forged copper-plates are known, but here again a trained epigraphist has little difficulty in most cases in discovering the genuine from the spurious and one has to say that on the whole copper-plates seem to have fallen under a great measure of suspicion than really should attach to them".
12. Index nos. A. 2, A.6, A. 34, B. 32.
13. Index nos. B. 11and 12.
14. Index no. A. 1.
15. For details regarding the text, see under 'Publication' and 'Remarks' in Index to Cēra Inscriptions.
16. Sastri and Ramanna, *Historical Method*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67. "You can always fix the age of an inscription from its script and if there is one thing of which epigraphists are sure, it is the relative chronology of authentic inscriptions. It means that inscriptions which are not authentic are easily found out. The evolution of the Brāhmi script through various stages, and of other scripts from time to time, has been traced carefully with sufficient precision for us to be able to decide the chronology of an inscription within a century or even less of its true date".
17. See chapter I, note no. 22.
18. *R.V.R.I.B.*, II, p. 9.
19. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has assumed that the statement about the birth of a son to the king Sthāṇu Ravi found in *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya* settles the issue in favour of patrilineal succession. The inferences that the son inherited the title of solar race from his father and succeeded him on the throne are unwarranted since they are not found in the passage. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 100.
20. See chapter the Nature of Monarchy and Chapter on Local Bodies.
21. Gopinatha Rao, 'Extracts from the Mūṣaka Vamśam' and 'Mūṣakavamśa: A Study', *T.A.S.*, II, I, no. 10, pp. 87 - 113.
22. Subrahmanya Aiyer, 'An Unidentified Territory of South India', *J.R.A.S.*, II, 1922, pp. 161 -75.
23. Govinda Warriar, 'Studies in the Mūṣakavamśa', *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, II, pp. 118- 39 and *Ibid.*, VIII, I, pp. 9- 36.
24. M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavamśa', *Proceedings of the A. I. O. C.*, Jadhavpur, 1969.
25. Some scholars have suggested that even *Rājatarangiṇi* cannot be considered as a typical product of Indian historiographical tradition. See A.L. Basham, 'The Kashmir Chronicle' in C. H. Philips (Ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 57 ff ; Romila

Thapar, 'Historical Ideas of *Rājatarangiṇī*' in Mohibul Hasan (Ed.) *Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 3-4, 8-9; T.V. Mahalingam, 'Problems of Historical Writing in South India', in *Problems of Historical Writing of India*, p. 30.

26. Though the evidence came out later, the style itself showed objectivity and vividness in these portions which prompted Gopinatha Rao to express the view that the really historical portion begins there. See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 111.

27. The colophon at the end of the second sarga gives the author's name. "Atulakṛtau Mūṣikavamśē dvitīyassargah". See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 106.

28. The name of Cēra king Vijayarāga is found in Kollam Tarśāppaḷḷi plates no.2. Index no. A. 6. The Mūṣaka king Validhara Vikṛama Rāma i.e. Vikṛama Rāma the nephew of Validhara, is mentioned in Ēḷimala Rāmantaḷi inscription of Kali' year 4029 (AD 929). Index no. B. 3. For details, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 93 -113. The Mūṣaka royal architect Cēmāni (Jayamāni) is mentioned in an undated Tiruvaḍur inscription. Index no. B. 16. He must have taken his title from the royal patron. The Mūṣaka king Śrīkaṇṭha is mentioned as Kaṇṭan Kāri , the Rāmakaṭa Mūvar in Eramam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, Index no. A. 40.

29. For text and English translation, see V. Kanakasabhaipillai, 'Tamil Historical Texts', *I.A.*, XXII, 1893, pp. 149–50. See also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 13 -14.

30. For text and English translation, see *I.A.*, *Op. Cit.* See also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 33-4, 347, 663 -70; *Historical Method*, p. 45.

31. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 674 -6.

32. For an evaluation of this work as a source of historical information see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p.12 and *Historical Method*, p. 44.

33. For an evaluation, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 13 and 681.

34. For detailed information, see Chapter on Architecture, Sculpture and Literature.

35. For an evaluation, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 13, 681.

36. For the text, see P.K. Narayana Pillai, (Ed.), *Laghubhāskarīya*, Trivandrum, 1949. For details see the Chapter on Chronology.

37. *Ibid.* Introduction, p. X.

38. See Prof. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 95 -106 and note no. 36 above.

39. See K. Kunjunni Raja, *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1958, pp. 209 -11. For the text, see Balamanorama Series, no. 9, Mylapore, 1926.

40. See K. Kunjunni Raja, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 8 –19. For the text of *Tapatīsamvaraṇa*, and *Subhadrādhanañjaya* see Trivandrum Sanskrit Series nos. 11 and 13.

41. Kunjunni Raja, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11. It is believed that king Kulaśēkhara introduced and popularized 'kūṭiyāṭṭam', a form of Sanskrit play-acting peculiar to Kerala, and adapted several Sanskrit dramas to this reformed theatre. His confidant and courtier Tōlan is said to have supplied the Malayalam passages which are spoken by the Vidūṣaka.

42. A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar, 'Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār', *T.A.S.*, V, II, p. 112.

43. *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* refers to Daṇḍi in the preface: "Kāḷidāsa harṣa daṇḍippamuhāṇam mahākavinām". The *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa, composed in 1258 AD, gives a sloka in praise of Kulaśēkhara's *Āścaryamañjari* which is attributed to poet Rājaśēkhara.
"Dūrādapi satām cittē
Likhitvāścaryamañjarī

Kulaśēkharavarmagryaś
Cakārāścarayamañjarī".

44. This work is unpublished. The author's preface is quoted in full by Uḷḷūr S. Parameswara Ayyar, *Kēraḷasāhityacaritram*, I, p. 128 ff. It is also reproduced in Kunjunni Raja, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9 -10.
45. See Kunjunni Raja, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 19-30.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
48. For the texts and commentary, see M. Raghava Iyyengar, (Ed.), *Cēravēntar Ceyyuṭ Kōvai*, II, Travancore University, Trivandrum, 1951, pp. 54 -111, 112 -135, 136 -163.
49. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *A History of Tamil Language and Literature*, Madras, 1956, p. 112.
50. A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar suggested the beginning of the 9th century. See 'Chēramān Perumāḷ', *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 28, pp. 96 -104. Dr. C. Minakshi suggested the first half of the 9th century. See *Administration and Life Under the Pallavas*, Madras University, 1938, Chap. XX, pp. 299 -304. S. Govindaswami, after examination of different views, offered the beginning of the 8th century. See 'A Note on Chērāman Perumāḷ', *R.V.R.I.B.*, VIII, 1939, pp. 37 -44. Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai suggested the same period for different reasons. See, *A History of Tamil Language and Literature*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 109 -10.
51. Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 43-4.
52. Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār Purāṇam.
53. For the text see M. Raghava Iyyengar, *Cēravēntar Ceyyuṭ Kōvai*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 278–82.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 3- 54.
55. *S.I.I.*, III, p. 148.
56. See Chapters on Chronology and Architecture, Sculpture and Literature. In this period, no other Kulaśēkhara is known from epigraphy or other sources.
57. For the text, see V.V. Sarma, (Ed.), *Mukundamālā*, Trivandrum, 1947.
58. Regarding the soil and climate of Kerala, see Logan, *Malabar*, I, pp. 1 -38; K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, pp. 76-85.
59. See Malayalam inscriptions of AD 1801 and AD 1831 at Tiruvañcikkaḷam in the old Cēra capital referring to the repairs ordered by Rāmavarma, king of Cochin, after the destruction caused by the śāstrabāhya (barbarian), evidently Tippu Sultan of Mysore. *T.A.S.*, VI, II, 191 - 2. See also C.K. Kareem, 'An Introduction', *History on the March*, Ernakulam, 1966, p. 53. The writer criticises the view that Tippu Sultan destroyed the temples of Kerala and brings out evidence in support of his policy of tolerance.
60. A typical example is the Tiruvañcikkuḷam Śiva temple cited in the previous note. A Rājasimha inscription (Index no. A 55) on the base of a subshrine within the *prākāra* proves that the present plan belonged to the Cēra period but the buildings are completely renovated. Other examples are the Mūḻikkaḷam, Irinjālakkuḍa, Tirukkākara and Kaṇḍiyūr temples which have been reconstructed, most probably without giving up the ground plan or the foundation in granite.
61. The later buildings like Guruvāyūr, Padmanābhapuram etc. exhibit considerably greater stylisation and repetition of the members, and more elaborate ornamentation.

62. See *A.R.A.D.C for 1926-7*, pp. 9 -11.
63. See *A.R.A.D.C for 1944 - 5, 1945- 46, and 1946- 47*. The present writer also participated in the excavations in and around Cēramān Paṟambu organised by the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle in 1970.
64. Eḷamkuḷam, *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśam Caritradṛṣṭiyil*, pp. 98 -108 and Appendix, pp. 30 -34.
65. See Chapter on Architecture, Sculpture and Literature.
66. For this reason the distinction between Dravida and Kerala forms of architecture suggested by Stella Kramrisch is out of place. See *Dravida and Kerala in the Art of Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1947, pp. 1 -2.
67. For example, see Ramanatha Ayyar, 'Two Sculptured panels at Tirukkaḍithānam', *T.A.S., V, II, no. 60*, pp. 183 -87. See also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Dēvadāsi system in Kēraḷa', *Kalāmaṇḍalam Annual*, 1968.
68. The only exception to this rule is the cave shrine at Irunnalakkōḍ where the present writer was formally admitted into the shrine and allowed to inspect and photograph the sculpture. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Karinkallil Oru Kavita'. *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp.1-9.
69. Several valuable pieces of sculpture lie neglected and unlabelled in the courtyard and lumber-rooms of the Trichur museum. The same is the case in Padmanābhapuram also. The exhibits in the museums of Kerala are not sufficient for a study of Cēra sculpture. See Chapter XIII.
70. In the opinion of Dr. Burnell, most of the local traditions are "merely attempts at explanation of the unknown through current ideas, which, in South India, amount to the merest elements of Hindu mythology, as gathered from third rate sources". See *South Indian Paleography*, Mangalore, 1874, Intn., p. 1. P. Sundaram Pillai endorses this view stating that "in South India all legendary lore is of the most mischievously misleading character". He adds that "we cannot travel far, even in Travancore, without constantly coming across hills, valleys, streams, temples and hamlets, which are believed to be connected with the incidents of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*". See *I.A., XXIII*, p. 252.
71. "*The Māhātmyam*", says Logan, "is full of the usual inflated Brahmanical legends and is not so worthy of serious analysis as its more popular form, the *Kēraḷōlpatti*". See *Malabar, I.* p. 222. In this connection, the opinion of P. Sundaram Pillai on sthalamāhātmyas in general may be quoted here: "Whatever may be the historical value of the real and old ashtadasa purāṇas, to follow the sthalamāhātmyas as faithful guides would imply an unconditional surrender of all canons of historical criticism. They all profess to be integral portions of the old 18 purāṇas; but it is an open secret that their manipulation can scarcely be said to have ended... But whether old or new, it would be a satisfaction to find in these works of skill even remote references to events historical. For true to their function, these religious compositions begin and end with gods and contend to chronicle only their miraculous dealings with friends and foes". See *I.A., XXIII*, p. 251. For a discussion of the historical value of *Kēraḷamāhātmya*, see Gundert, *M.J.L.S., XIII, II*, p. 97; Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala, III*, pp. 89 ff.
72. See Chapter on Previous Research.
73. Gundert, (Ed.), *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Reprint, 1961, p. 129.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

75. Robert Sewell observes: "The *Kēraḷōlpatti* is a very fine specimen of a native attempt at history. It may contain germs of truth, and it certainly embodies a number of scattered traditions, but in the attempt to weave these into a connected story the author is signally unsuccessful". *List of Antiquities*, Madras, 1884, II, p. 197. He rejected the dates of historical events mentioned in the early passages, saying that they "are probably entirely fictitious and must not be for a moment depended on", *Ibid.*, p. 196. Shangoonny Menon pointed out "numerous discrepancies and glaring mistakes" and the habit of "confusing occurrences of modern with those of ancient days" but he accepted as history a good part of the account found in the chronicle. See, *A History of Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1878, pp. 38 -40. Logan pointed out that "these traditions are mainly of Brahmanical origin" and the Brahmins being "notoriously careless of history", he concluded that "what is substituted for the real history of this period in these traditions is a farrago of legendary nonsense, having for definite aim the securing to the Brahmin caste of unbounded power and influence in the country". See, *Malabar*, I, p. 244. This observation comes at the end of a detailed summary of the chronicle. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-45. Padmanabha Menon wrote that "the book as it is can have but little claim to historical accuracy". According to him, "it is full of anachronisms, absurdities, and contradictions, or is an ill-digested and uncollated collection of different versions, huddled together in inextricable confusion". See, *History of Kerala*, I, p. 37.

The contrary opinion was also expressed by some scholars. Nagam Aiya remarked: "What is traditional need not necessarily be false, and when that tradition is found closely interwoven with the details of the daily life of a population and its impress still left on the behaviour of races and classes towards each other as in Kerala, it attains the rank of authentic history". See, *Travancore State Manual*, I, Trivandrum, 1906, p. 210. A.G. Warriar also expressed the same opinion, "Wading through the intricate web of the Perumāḷ history as embodied in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, one is irresistibly led to the conclusion that it is highly unsympathetic and grievously unjust if not grossly untrue, to characterise it lightly and in a vein of pseudo-historic criticism as 'a farrago of legendary nonsense' unworthy of the serious attention of the sober-minded historian". See, *R.V.R.I.B.*, II, p. 40.

76. Eḷamkuḷam, *Paścāttalattil*, p. 37. In fact, the Paraśurāma story figures only in the first part of the chronicle. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has a way of making such sweeping condemnatory observations against Brahmins and their institutions. See also *Janmisampradāyam*, p. 20. This could be the product of intense moral indignation against the caste system and its inherent injustice. From the historian's point of view it is improper to project the values of the present into the past. Brahmin power was a reality in Kerala throughout the medieval period and there was no need for them in the 16th 17th or 18th century to concoct stories to establish, justify or preserve their dominance.

77. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 21, 39, 50- 74. Śankara is generally believed to have flourished in the 8th– 9th centuries, perhaps 788-820 AD. For these dates, see Sastri, *South India*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 428, 31I. It is stated that the last Cēramān Perumāḷ was sent by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Ānaguṇḍi at the request of the Brahmins to rule over Kerala for 12 years. It is added that when the Perumāḷ refused to return even at the end of 36 years Kṛṣṇarāya invaded Kerala (pp. 50-54). Critics have pointed out the absurdity of this passage. However, they forget that the 'rāya' is described in one place as the Pāṇḍyan king who was fed up with the Cōḷa overlordship of Kerala (p. 55). It is possi-

ble that some 'clever' scribe inserted the name of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya which was not originally there.

78. For two serious attempts at interpreting the Cēramān legend found in the chronicles, see Logan, *Malabar*, I, pp. 221-45; Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, pp. 420-67.
79. Gundert, *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, p. 116.
80. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 18-19.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
82. Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār Purāṇam, Verse nos. 10-15.
83. See Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 154.
84. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.
85. See Vāsubhaṭṭa, *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, Preface. Note no. 45 above.
86. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 27. See also Chapter X, F.N. 16.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 26. See Index no. A. 68 and 71 and *L.B.V.*, Chap. III, pp. 42-44. For details see the Chapter on Nature of Monarchy.
88. See Chapters on Divisions of the Kingdom, Police and Revenue, Social System, and Economic Conditions respectively.
89. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 314; P.K.S. Raja, *Medieval Kerala*, p. 19 ff.

Book Two

Political History

III. Chronology of the Cēras

The absence of the usual 'praśasti' (historical preface) in Cēra inscriptions made the reconstruction of Cēra chronology difficult for scholars for a long time. In fact, this was the main stumbling block in the study of the history of the Cēras of Makōtai. Though several copper plates and stone inscriptions had been discovered, they did not furnish any precise date except the regnal years of each sovereign. It was only by a slow and laborious process of correlating facts from different sources that the sequence of kings could be established. In the course of a tedious progress through stages a few landmarks have now been established. With some improvements these could be made to serve as the framework of a chronological system for the history of the Cēras of Makōtai.

Early attempts

In the former state of Travancore, the government epigraphists postulated an Āditya Cōḷa-Sthāṇu Ravi Cēra synchronism on the basis of a Tillaisthānam inscription.[1] A Parāntaka Cōḷa-Vijayarāga Cēra synchronism was postulated on the basis of a Tiruvoṛṛiyūr inscription.[2] They also established an Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence on the basis of internal evidence from the respective inscriptions from Trikkākkara.[3] Finally they discovered the Kollam inscription of the 13th year of Rāma Kulaśēkhara dated simultaneously in the year 278 of the Kollam era.[4] Combining these data with speculative ideas drawn from epigraphic and literary sources, Ramanatha Ayyar suggested a chronological scheme.[5]

In Cochin the government epigraphists had been able to discover some records of Sthāṇu Ravi and Kōta Ravi in addition to those published already in Travancore. They also came across the statement of the Kali year in a Kōta Ravi inscription from Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi temple.[6] In the light of these findings they proposed an alternative scheme of chronology in which they left out some of the kings in the earlier list including Rājaśēkhara, Kulaśēkhara and Rama Kulaśēkhara whom they considered as kings of Travancore.[7]

Prof Eḷamkuḷam P. N. Kunjan Pillai of Kerala University has been able to discover the exact date of the coronation of Sthāṇu Ravi.[8] He also proposed alterations in the dates of Kōta Ravi and Bhāskara Ravi, propounded the concept of three different kings named Bhāskara Ravi, and with some other additions and omissions put forward a revised list of kings and a new chronological table.[9] Even this arrangement is inadequate in several ways. Therefore, it becomes necessary to go into the details of chronology, taking up each king separately, before making an attempt to understand the course of the political history of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. The inadequacy of the epigraphic material which is devoid of praśastis and proper dating had compelled earlier scholars to seek the aid of Bhakti literature and tradition for the reconstruction of chronology.[10] This created a lot of confusion, because the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite hagiologies and *Kēraḷōlpattii* tradition which contain valuable historical material have often proved to be undependable in the matter of dates. In this context it is more proper to rely on clear epigraphic evidence alone for dates and leave the gaps to be filled up when more information becomes available.

Rāma Rājaśēkhara (c. 800-844 AD)

The earliest Perumāḷ known to epigraphy is Rājaśēkhara. The only copper-plate of this king, opening with the benedictory phrase 'namaśśivāya', describes him as Rāja Rājarājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka Rājaśēkharadēva and 'Perumān Aṭikaḷ' and refers to the 12th year of his reign.[11] The term 'Perumān Aṭikaḷ' clearly shows that he was not a petty local ruler but a great sovereign. There is no date in the copper plate except the regnal year. The similarity of Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters to those of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭila Varman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya and the late character of Grantha letters in comparison with Kāśākuḍi and the early Pallava grants led the expert editor to state that "the paleography of the inscription does not warrant us to assign the record to a period earlier than AD 750 or later than AD 850".[12] Now that the date of coronation of Sthāṇu Ravi is definitely known as 844 AD, the Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate of Rājaśēkhara which closely resembles the Syrian copper plates of Sthāṇu Ravi in script and language may be assigned to the first half of the 9th century with greater confidence. It has been suggested that a passage in *Śivānandalahari* attributed to Śankarācārya contains a concealed reference to this king Rājaśēkhara.[13] This will go to show that king Rājaśēkhara was alive even before 820 AD, the year of the death of Śankara, but the date of Śankara, the authorship of the work, and the nature of the reference are not free from suspicion.

Another piece of literary evidence which has not been considered so far in this connection comes from the Sanskrit poet Vāsubhaṭṭa. He refers to his royal patron as Kulaśēkhara, evidently Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara, in his mas-

terpiece called *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.[14] The same poet refers to his royal patron as Rāma in two poems and in one of them he gives the second name of the king as Rājaśēkhara.[15] Commentaries written centuries after the work have not taken these subtle differences into account and have taken Rāma as the personal name of the king and Kulaśēkhara as the second name while dismissing the term Rājaśēkhara as a figurative expression.[16] However, in the context of the known Rājaśēkhara-Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara sequence established with paleographical evidence, the direct testimony of the court poet which agrees with it may be accepted. Therefore, it may be concluded that king Rājaśēkhara had Rāma as his personal name. The poet's testimony also helps to show that Rājaśēkhara was the immediate predecessor of Kulaśēkhara.

Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (c. 844- 883 AD)

The Kottayam Syrian Christian Copper plates of Sthāṇu Ravi were known to the scholarly world for a long time.[17] However, there was some difficulty about their date though epigraphists rightly placed them late in the 9th century.[18] In recent years the exact year of Sthāṇu Ravi's coronation was discovered with the help of definite statements found in the astronomical treatise *Laghubhāskarīya Vyākhya* composed in the Cēra court at Mahōdayapura by Śankaranārāyaṇa in 870 AD.[19] This is an epoch-making discovery since it gives the first clear landmark in Cēra chronology.

Nevertheless, the end of his reign is not so clearly demarcated as its beginning. A stone inscription mentioning the regnal year of Sthāṇu Ravi gives his 11th year, and his 17th year is mentioned in a copper plate.[20] However, the astronomical work was written when this king had completed his 25th year.[21] Till recently this king was treated as a contemporary of Āditya Cōḷa and a partner in the latter's Koṅgu campaign on the basis of a Tillaisthānam inscription referring to joint action by 'Toṇḍaināṭu Pāvina Cōḷan Palyānai Kō Kaṇṭan āyina Rājakēsari' and 'Cēramān Kō Tāṇu Ravi' honouring a chieftain called Vikki Aṇṇan.[22] The identification of the Cōḷa king Rājakēsari of Tillaisthānam record with Āditya Cōḷa has now been proved to be a mistake.[23] In the light of this finding the present writer has shown that earlier assumptions regarding Sthāṇu Ravi's continuation up to 885 AD are unacceptable.[24] However, since Kōta Ravi is known to have come to the throne in 883 AD it may be provisionally accepted that Sthāṇu Ravi continued up to that year though the possibility of another king between 870 AD and 883 AD cannot be ruled out completely in the present state of our knowledge.

Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga (c. 883-913 AD)

A certain Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ Vijayarāgadēva is mentioned in the second set of the Syrian copper plates.[25] He is present when Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of the district, and his officers give certain privileges to Mār Sāpir Īśo, the

builder of the church of Tarśa. Another inscription not far removed from this in script and language refers to Vijayarāga as the husband of Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, daughter of Kulaśēkhara, evidently Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara.[26] There is yet another inscription of the 29th year of Cōḷa king Maturai Koṇṭa Parakēsari (936 AD) which records a gift by Nīli, daughter of Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga, who is also called Iravi Nīli, daughter of Cēramānār Vijayarāgadēva.[27] It is not known whether her father was living at the time, but it is clear that he was king of Kerala or Cēramānār.[28] Since the daughter is called Iravi Nīli, the first part of the name indicating the father's name, this king must have had 'Iravi' (Ravi) as his personal name and Vijayarāga as a second name. He must have succeeded his father-in-law on the throne. He must be the same person who is described as Kerala king Jayarāga in the *Mūṣakavaṁśakāvya*.[29]

It is known that Sthāṇu Ravi had a son born to him in or about 870 AD.[30] The fact that a son-in-law succeeded him shows three different possibilities. (a.) Vijayarāga was a nephew of Sthāṇu Ravi and as such possessed a hereditary matrilineal right to the throne. (b.) In case the succession was patrilineal, it is possible that the son of Sthāṇu Ravi had predeceased his father or still remained a minor at his father's death so that the situation called for a departure from the normal course. (c.) In the absence of a fixed law of succession to the throne, the choice of an electoral college fell on Vijayarāga. The first of these three possibilities may be accepted as the most plausible in this case.[31]

There are other epigraphic records also for the period following Sthāṇu Ravi. A number of records mentioning the 15th, 17th, 20th, 27th, and 30th years of Kōta Ravi are found in different parts of Kerala.[32] When some of these were discovered the government epigraphists attributed them to the 12th century and identified this Kōta Ravi with another mentioned in a Shermādēvi inscription of the Pāṇḍyan king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva I.[33] The discovery of the statement of the Kali year in a Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi record of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, led scholars to bring Kōta Ravi to the 10th century.[34] This passage was deciphered as 'kaliyukam nālāyirattumuppata' meaning 'kali year 4030' and this corresponds to 929-30 AD.[35] However, it was pointed out later that such a statement will not agree with the statement of Jupiter position at the beginning of the record and that it ought to have been 'kaliyukam nālāayirattu muppattañcu' meaning 'kali year 4035' corresponding to 934 AD.[36] The assumption was that the last three letters were probably lost or misplaced due to the rearrangement of the stones. On inspecting the slab it is found that such an assumption is unwarranted since the ending in the last line is uniform with those seen above. The passage itself needs to be deciphered in a different way, as 'kaliyukam nālāyirattumoppata' meaning 'kali year 4000'. This new reading gives 900 AD as the 17th year of Kōta Ravi, and it

suits the position of Jupiter in Mithuna also.[37] Therefore, the coronation of Kōta Ravi must be placed in 883 AD.

Kōta, the first part of this king's name, should be the father's name, or the uncle's, as the case may be. It is clear that 'Ravi' in the second part contains his real personal name. It has already been observed that 'Ravi' was the personal name of Vijayarāga and, therefore, it may be suggested that Kōta Ravi and Vijayarāga were, in fact, one person, his full name being Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga. In this the first part is the ancestral name, the second part is the personal name and the third part is the official second name. His rule must have extended from 883 AD to somewhere about his 30th year in 913 AD which is the latest regnal year mentioned in his inscriptions.[38]

Kōta Kōta Kēraḷa Kēsari (c. 913 - c. 943 AD)

There is a gap in our knowledge between 913 AD which is the last known year of Kōta Ravi and 943 AD which is known to be the starting point of another Cēra king Indu Kōta. The exact year of the termination of Kōta Ravi's rule is not known. Probably he continued for a few years more. However, we have two records, one of Kōta Kōta at Kāvuntaṛa and the other of Kēraḷa Kēsari at Trikkākara, which resemble Kōta Ravi records in script and language.[39] If they are not placed in this gap they have no place in the 10th century or in the 11th century up to 1021 AD. Therefore, the kings mentioned in these two records may be tentatively placed in the period 913-943 AD. It is possible that the two records refer to the same ruler who had Kōta Kōta as his personal name and Kēraḷa Kēsari as his coronation name.

A certain Kēraḷa Kēsari Adhirājarājadēva is found among the Cēras of Koṅgu also.[40] There are no dates but the Koṅgu Cēras mentioned in epigraphic records of the Coimbatore-Karūr area may probably belong to the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries on account of their palaeographical features.[41] However, there is no indication so far to suggest a relationship between the Cēras of Koṅgu and the Cēras of the West coast in Makōtai or the identification of Kēraḷa Kēsari belonging to the former group with Kēraḷa Kēsari of the Makōtai line.[42]

Indu Kōta (c. 943- 962 AD)

The date of this king has been fixed in relation to that of his successor Bhāskara Ravi. A comparison of two sets of names figuring in Trikkākara records of Indu Kōta and Bhāskara Ravi respectively has enabled scholars to establish the sequence of these two rulers.[43] Palaeography and language also agree with this conclusion. A number of records referring directly or indi-

rectly to the reign of Indu Kōta, sometimes referred to as Indēśvaran Kōta also, have been discovered from different parts of Kerala.[44]

The latest of these, dated in the 17th year, shows Jupiter in Kaṉṉi.[45] His successor Bhāskara Ravi starts his reign during a year with Jupiter in Dhanu.[46] Therefore, it is definite that Indu Kōta ruled at least for two years more since Jupiter takes that much of time to pass through Tulām and Vṛścikam. This gives 19 years for Indu Kōta. In view of the extra-ordinary length of the next reign with a span of 59 years it is logical to assume that Indu Kōta's successor started quite early in life. Therefore, it would be natural to expect that Indu Kōta had a comparatively short reign and that he did not rule for 12 years more when Jupiter could be found in Dhanu once again after completing a full cycle.[47]

Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya (962 - 1021 AD)

The Jewish copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi from Cochin had been engaging the attention of scholars for quite a long time but they did not provide a clue to the royal donor's precise date. Even an approximate idea based on their palaeographical and linguistic features had been slow to emerge since the knowledge of other dated records from Kerala came to the scholars' aid only in recent times.[48] Moreover, the confusion caused by Jewish legends and the native legend of the Perumāḷs resulted in a tendency to push back the date as far as possible. Thanks to the discovery of more inscriptions and the work of several scholars, the dates of the Jewish plates and their donor are now settled.

A Trikkaḍithānam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi in which the year portion is damaged, mentions Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa as governor of Vēṇāṭu and Naṉṟuḷaināṭu, and refers to Śrīvallavan Kōta as a previous governor of Vēṇāṭu and the immediate predecessor of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa.[49] The Māmpaḷḷi plates of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, supplies a definite year (149 M.E. corresponding to 973 AD) in his life time.[50] Therefore, it may be concluded that Bhāskara Ravi was either a contemporary of Śrīvallavan Kōta or came soon after him. This "interesting triple synchronism" of Bhāskara Ravi, Śrīvallavan Kōta, and Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa has "silenced once for all" the attempts to take Bhāskara Ravi to a period earlier than the second half of the 10th century.[51]

Another triple synchronism established recently is that of Bhāskara Ravi, Kaṇṭan Kārivarman and Rājēndra Cōḷa.[52] This fixes the lower limit of his date and makes it impossible to take him to a period later than the first half of the 11th century. Thus we have the period of about a century between 950 AD and 1050 AD to place all the Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions discovered so far, as they all exhibit the same characteristics of script and language.[53]

In this context it may be pointed out that the statement of the position of Jupiter necessitates a grouping of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions into two series, one with the initial year as Dhanuvyāḻam and the other with the initial year as Mēṭavyāḻam.[54] On the basis of a Tirunelli plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, giving full astronomical data like position of Jupiter, date, month, week day and asterism or nakṣatra, the initial year of the Mēṭavyāḻam series has been fixed as 978 AD and this year is acceptable.[55] The initial year of Dhanuvyāḻam series was also calculated as 1046 AD on the basis of similar data from a Perunna inscription, 14th year.[56] However, this is unacceptable for several reasons. For one thing it postulates a distance of more than a century from the initial year of the other series, and is, therefore, incompatible with the unity of script and language in Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions.[57] Secondly these inscriptions of the second group are closer in character to the Māmpaḷḷi copper plates of 149 M.E. (973 AD) than to the Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara dated 278 M.E. (1102 AD).[58] Moreover, the assumption that Dhanuvyāḻam series began from 1046 AD would imply that it continued up to 1104 AD since the series goes up to the 58th year and this would be an encroachment upon the rule of Rāma Kulaśēkhara which started from 1089 AD.[59] Again, it takes Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, successor of Śrīvallavan Kōta, about a century away from 973 AD, the known date of the latter. Finally this assumption disagrees with the finding about the contemporaneity of Bhāskara Ravi in his 58th year with Rājēndra Cōḷa. (1012-1044 AD)

The alternative suggestion put forward recently that 962 AD which agrees with the astronomical data could be the initial year of Dhanuvyāḻam series may now be considered.[60] This agrees fully with the other conditions, i.e., the unity of all Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions in time; the nearness of all Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions, especially those referring to Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, to 973 AD, the known date of his predecessor Śrīvallavan Kōta; the absence of encroachment into the known regnal years of other kings; and the contemporaneity of Bhāskara Ravi in his 58th year with Rājēndra Cōḷa. Therefore, this position is acceptable.

Thus we have two series of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions. The A series begins with Dhanuvyāḻam in 962 AD and extends up to the 58th year with Ciṅgavyāḻam in 1020 AD. The B series begins with Mēṭavyāḻam in 978 AD and extends up to the 43rd year with Tulāvyāḻam in 1021 AD. The question arises as to how the existence of two sets of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions in the same period could be explained satisfactorily. It has been suggested that there were two Bhāskara Ravis in the same period, Bhāskara Ravi I and II respectively, one ruling as the senior prince and the other ruling as the junior prince or crown prince, each using his own regnal years.[61] This does not appear to be natural. The appointment of the crown prince with the right to employ his own regnal years could be found among contemporary Cōḷas in

their imperial phase.[62] However, the practice was justified there by the continuous aggressive warfare and extension of territory into new regions which required to be consolidated. Such a situation did not exist in Kerala. Even the Cōḷa wars had not started in 978 AD when the new series of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions were inaugurated.[63] Moreover, the two series of records have the same royal name with no difference in titles and they come to an end almost simultaneously, the first in 1020 AD and the second in 1021 AD.[64]

In view of these facts it is more logical to assume that there are two series of inscriptions belonging to the same ruler. Their existence may be explained without postulating a second king of the same royal name. The long span of records going up to the 58th year proves that Bhāskara Ravi came to the throne quite early in his life. It may be assumed that he was a minor of eight years at the time of enthronement and that after 17 years, when he reached the age of twenty five, the regular coronation ceremony was performed. In that case it is possible that one series of inscriptions came to be dated on the basis of the formal coronation. The distinction between the two series could be indicated by the difference in Jupiter position. This inference is further supported by certain hints in the epigraphic records of the age. A passage in Tiruvalla copper plates mentions the land gift made to the temple by king Manukulāditya 'while he was 'iḷamkō'.[65] This word may mean crown prince or boy-king and may, therefore, refer to the period before the formal coronation of Bhāskara Ravi alias Manukulāditya.

So far we have 24 inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravi, 14 of A Series, 5 of B Series, and 5 without a statement of the position of Jupiter and, therefore, classified as C Series, recovered from different parts of Kerala.[66] The largest number of inscriptions and their widest geographical distribution, ranging from Pullūr near Kāñjaṅgāḍ in the North to Perunna in the South, belong to this ruler.[67] He also appears to have enjoyed the longest period of reign going up to the 59th regnal year and probably reaching 60 or more.

The second name of Bhāskara Ravi had remained unknown till recently. The discovery of the Pullūr -Koḍavalam inscription has cleared the point and proved that he was known as Bhāskara Ravi alias Manukulāditya.[68] The name of Manukulāticcamangalam for a suburb of Trivandrum shows that actually his kingdom extended further than Perunna in the South into the former Āy region also.

Ravi Kōta Rājasimha (c. 1021 - c. 1036 AD)

Some inscriptions found in the Gōpālakṛṣṇaswāmin temple at Maṉṉārkōyil, near Ambāsamudram in Tinneveli district, Tamilnadu, clearly show that two Cēra kings - Rājasimha and Rājarāja - ruled in the first half of the

11th century as feudatories of the Cōḷas. One of the records dated simultaneously in the 24th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa (1036 AD) and the 15th year of the first Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya, speaks of a gift by the Cōḷa emperor to the temple called 'Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar' built by Cēramānār Rājasimha in that place.[69] However it is not clear whether the Cēra king was dead or alive at this time. Another inscription dated in the 14th year of this Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya, i.e., one year previous to the first record, also refers to a gift of lamp to this temple by Cēraḷan Mātēviyār Āticci, queen of Cēramānār Rājasimhadēva.[70] Therefore, it may be inferred that Cēramānār Rājasimha ruled immediately after Bhāskara Ravi and that his reign continued approximately up to 1036 AD.[71] That Rājasimha was not a Koṅgu Cēra or a Cōḷa puppet but possessed authority over Kerala is proved by two stone inscriptions from the neighbourhood of the capital city of Makōtai. The one belonging to Tāḻakkāḍ is dated in the 3rd year of his reign and the other from Tiruvañcikkaḷam temple registers a gift of land by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ to Rājasimha Peruntaccan, evidently the chief architect of Rājasimha's palace.[72] Both exhibit 11th century characteristics of script and language. It is possible that Rājasimha was the coronation name of the Cēra king who had the personal name of Ravi Kōta. This is indicated by a record of Tirumaṛṛakōḍe temple dated in the 8th year of Kō Ravi Kōta who is mentioned as a contemporary of Cōḷa king Parakēsari Varman, i.e., Rājēndra Cōḷa.[73]

Rājarāja, Ravi Rāma Rājāditya, Ādityan Kōta Raṇāditya (c. 1036-1089 AD)

A Maṉṉārkōyil inscription of the 16th year of Cōḷa viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya (1037 AD) mentions the name of Cēramānār Rājarāja.[74] He is mentioned in another inscription at the same place belonging to the reign of Cōḷa Viceroy Māṛavarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya.[75] The year portion in this record is damaged but Māṛavarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya must be the successor of the first Cōḷa Viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya.[76] From these two inscriptions it may be learnt that Cēramānār Rājarāja came to the throne as the successor of Cēramānār Rājasimha some time about 1036 AD and continued at least for some years beyond 1040 AD when Māṛavarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya came to the throne at Madurai.

Earlier scholars have not included the name of this Cēramānār Rājarāja in the chronology of the Cēras of Makōtai probably because they suspected that he was not a ruler of Kerala but only a Koṅgu Cēra prince. However, it is now found that there are three of his inscriptions in the northern parts of Kerala. One of them recently discovered by the present writer is at Trichambaram but the year portion is not clear beyond that it was dated in some year after

the 4th year.[77] The two others, one from Tiruvaṇṇūr and the other from Indianūr, are dated in the 8th year (4+4).[78] In these the royal name was wrongly deciphered as 'Vāḷa Irāmar' by the government epigraphists and this version was followed by other scholars also.[79] After careful scrutiny, the present writer is convinced that the name reads 'Iraiyirāyar'.[80] 'Rājaśēkhara' becomes 'Irāya cēkara' or 'Irāyira' and 'Rājasimha' becomes 'Iraiyinga' in the old Malayalam language.[81] Similarly 'Rājarāja' becomes 'Iraiyirāya' also. Though Rājarāja is thus identified as a regular Cēra king of Makōtai there is at present no way of ascertaining the length of his reign. His Kerala inscriptions exhibit 11th century characteristics in script and language and thus agree with the period suggested by the Maṉṉārkōyil inscription of 1037 AD. His rule must have terminated sometime in the middle of the 11th century.

There are two other Cēra kings whose inscriptions exhibiting 11th century characteristics are noticed in Kerala and they too must be assigned to a period in the second half of the century before the year 1089 AD which saw the coronation of Rāma Kulaśēkhara. One of them is Ravi Rāma whose 2nd year is mentioned in an inscription from Trikkaḍithānam temple.[82] That Ravi Rāma is different from Rāma Kulaśēkhara is clear from the position of Jupiter in Mīṇam in the 2nd year, since Jupiter stood in Vṛścika during the 2nd year of the latter.[83] The question remains whether this Ravi Rāma is to be placed immediately after king Rājarāja and before Ādityan Kōta or between Ādityan Kōta and Rāma Kulaśēkhara. Since both Ādityan Kōta and Rāma Kulaśēkhara are found to have had the title Cakṛavartikaḷ, those two kings may be tentatively placed near each other and thus Ravi Rāma would come immediately after Rājarāja.

Though the only epigraphic record of Rāma does not give the second name of this king there is a literary source which leads to the inference that he possessed the second name Rājāditya. Ravi, the author of a Sanskrit *Yamaka kavya* called *Naḷōdaya*, mentions the name of his royal patron as Rāma alias Rājāditya.[84] There is no other king named Rāma in the whole of this Cēra period to whom this second name could be attributed.[85] Therefore, it may be inferred that the full name of Ravi Rāma of Trikkaḍithānam inscription was Ravi Rāma Rājāditya.

The next ruler who naturally comes between Ravi Rāma Rājāditya and Rāma Kulaśēkhara (coronation 1089 AD) is Ādityan Kōta alias Raṇāditya Cakṛavartikaḷ. His 5th year when Jupiter stood in Makaram is mentioned in an inscription at Paṛamban Taḷi temple.[86] This record also gives his second name as Raṇāditya, and title of 'Cakṛavartikaḷ'. His name was wrongly deciphered as 'Āticca Iruḷi Irāmar' (Āditya Rishi Rāma) by the Cochin epigraphists who were followed by other scholars also.[87] On careful scrutiny the present writer deciphered the name on the slab as Āticcan Kōtai and he also discovered another fragmentary inscription at Nallūr, near Feroke, in which the 7th year

of Ādityan Kōta is mentioned.[88] The position of Jupiter in Mīṉam in the 7th year, and the nature of script and language, affirm that the said inscription belongs to the reign of the same ruler as mentioned in the Paṛamban Taḷi inscription. There is no possibility at present to ascertain the exact starting point or duration of his reign, though it is certain that it came to an end in 1089 AD when the reign of Rāma Kulaśēkhara was inaugurated.

Rāma Kulaśēkhara (1089 -1122 AD)

The date of this king is found in a Kollam (Quilon) inscription of 13th year with Jupiter in Kaṉṉi which mentions the year 278 of the Kollam era (1102 AD).[89] The king's name is mentioned as Rāma Tiruvaṭi and Kulaśēkhara Cakṛavartikaḷ. Some scholars have expressed the view that he is not a Cēra king of Makōtai but a king of Vēṇāṭu because he is found to be staying at the Panaṅkāvil palace in Kollam which is known from the Māmpaḷḷi copper plate of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, as the governor's official residence.[90] They have argued that the reference to the regnal year may be explained as the sign of Vēṇāṭu's independence. However, the mistake in this argument is exposed by the reference to 'Nālu Taḷi' which was the Brahmin council of the Perumāḷ of Makōtai.[91] Moreover, at this period Vēṇāṭu could not have had several 'sāmantas' (feudatories) and the rule of a Cakṛavartikaḷ even if we assume that the district had already been transformed into a principality by gaining independence.[92]

Again there is the Perunna inscription of Kulaśēkhara, 10th year, in which the script and language and the position of Jupiter in Karkaṭaka proclaim the identity of the ruler with the ruler mentioned in the Kollam inscription cited above.[93] In this record the ruler is stated to have been residing at Neṭiya Taḷi, (evidently the great Taḷi mentioned as one of the Nālu Taḷi at the Cēra capital) and issuing his orders from there.[94] A Tiruvālūr inscription of Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ, 3rd year, with Jupiter in Makaram, two Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi inscriptions of Rāma , 10th and 11th years, with Jupiter in Karkaṭakam and Ciṅgam respectively, and a Quilandy inscription of Kulaśēkhara without the regnal year also belong to the same period of reign.[95]

The year 1102 AD, the date of the Kollam (Quilon) inscription of 13th year, has been taken as indicating the close of Rāma Kulaśēkhara's reign.[96] However, an inscription from Tiruvalañcuḻi temple near Tanjore in the Cōḷa country, dated in the 4th year of Vikṛama Cōḷa (1122 AD), mentions the offer of a 'tumbamālai' (garland of Phlomis or Leucas indica, holy to Śiva) to the deity in the name of Cēramānār Rāma .[97] This Rāma cannot be different from Rāma Kulaśēkhara and, therefore, we have to assume that his reign continued at least up to 1122 AD if not longer.

This is the last known epigraphic record referring to a Cēra king of Makōtai. Moreover, scholars have discovered a medieval Malayalam sloka which names the last Cēramān as Rāma .[98] A local tradition recorded by Rev. Mateer in the 19th century says that the last Cēramān Perumāḷ anointed his son Vīra Kēraḷa as king of Vēṇāṭu before his final departure.[99] There is one epigraphic record of a certain Vīra Kēraḷa, king of Vēṇāṭu, in the period which follows immediately after the period of Rāma Kulaśēkhara. This is dated in 301 M.E. (1126 AD) and is found at Cōḷapuram temple.[100] The time sequence of the last reference to the Cēramān and the earliest epigraphic record of an independent Vēṇāṭu king Vīra Kēraḷa shows the genuine character of this local tradition.

Local Eras and the Kollam Era

The astronomical work *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya* (870 AD), produced in the court of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara, mentions the Kali era and the Saka era.[101] In one place it mentions the regnal year of the sovereign also.[102] The usual practice in Cēra inscriptions was to state the date in terms of the regnal year of the king. In addition to this they often furnished astronomical data like the position of Jupiter, the position of the sun (the month) the date of the calendar month, the weekday and the nakṣatra.[103] These are extremely helpful in calculating the date of kings and sometimes in verifying such dates already discovered from other sources. In rare cases the days or years from the beginning of 'Kaliyuga' are given in Cēra inscriptions.[104] Where this is found along with regnal years or at least royal names it is of immense help to the historian.[105] The Saka era is not mentioned in any epigraphic record of this period of Kerala. There is at least one record of this period where the year is stated in terms of Hijera.[106]

Another interesting practice in Cēra epigraphy is the use of local eras, mostly the temple eras which calculate the date from the establishment of Jain or Hindu temple.[107] This is found in the case of Tirukkuṇavāy, Trikkaṇḍiyūr, Trikkākara, Trikkulaśēkharapuram, and Kiṇāḷūr. It shows how an institution sometimes used its own foundation era for the purpose of reckoning years just as it used its own standard measure.

The well-known Kollam era, which is also called Malayalam era in the later period, seems to belong to this category of local eras in Kerala. In the Cēra period it is used only in two inscriptions both issued from the city of Kollam, the headquarters of Vēṇāṭu.[108] In both cases the phrase 'Kollam tōṉṟi' meaning 'since the inauguration of Kollam' is employed'.[109] Evidently this refers to the foundation of the city of Kollam. Another era referred to as 'Kollam aḻinta' meaning 'since the destruction of Kollam' was reckoned by the Pāṇḍyas for some time in memory of the capture of Kollam by their king

Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa in Saka year 1019 or 1097 AD.[110] This would support the assumption that the Kollam era or Kollam tōṉṟi era was a local era calculated from the date of the foundation of Kollam since the other was evidently started in imitation of this to signify the destruction of the Kollam town.

Some objections have been raised by scholars against such a logical assumption. First, it has been argued that Kollam city was in existence even before 825 AD when this new era started.[111] The evidence brought out in support of this argument is not satisfactory. On the one side it is based on the identification of 'Koulam Māle' in Cosmas Indikopleustes with Kollam.[112] On the other it rests on the assumption that Kollam is mentioned in the records of the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) of China.[113] Koulam Māle could be 'Kōlam aḷi', i.e., the harbour of Kōlam which was the headquarters and chief harbour of Kōlattunāṭu. Moreover, the reference to Kollam in Tang records alluded to by Ma Huan, may be true but there is no reason to assume that it belonged to the period before 825 AD as that empire lasted for about a century more.

Secondly it is felt that a local era based on the foundation of a Christian settlement could not have been universally accepted as the Malayalam era and made the basis of astronomical calculations and the calendar in due course.[114] In this connection it must be remembered that the Christian settlement at Kollam and the establishment of Kollam city are not the same. The former was part of the latter phenomenon. It would appear that originally the whole region of Vēṇāṭu was part of the Āy-Vēḷ territory of the Sangam age.[115] Consequent on the expansionist moves of Pāṇḍyan kings in the 8th century Viḻiñṉam was captured and the Vēḷ king was destroyed. This Pāṇḍyan thrust into the West coast attracted the Cēra forces into the south, and in 792 'Cēramānār paṭai' was still fighting in the vicinity of Viḻiñṉam causing death and destruction there.[116] Later on the Kollam era started in 825 AD. It is known that some years prior to the period of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara, (844-883 AD) Vēṇāṭu had become a district under the Cēras with Kollam as the capital. Therefore, it would follow that the liberation of the Vēḷ country from the Pāṇḍyan yoke, its absorption into the Cēra kingdom, and the establishment of Kollam city as the capital of Vēṇāṭu, came as the result of a big Cēra victory against the Pāṇḍya in the beginning of the 9th century. In this context the importance attached to the foundation of the Kollam harbour city is understandable. Its military political and commercial value which made it a second capital of the Cēras during the three centuries from 9th to 12th is beyond dispute. It is not surprising that Kollam era eventually came to be recognised as the Malayalam era and used by astronomers and kings of all parts of Kerala.

Theories which associated the Kollam era with a certain king of Vēṇāṭu named Udaya Mārtāṇḍa, or with the departure of Cēramān Perumāḷ to Mec-

ca, or with the Ōṇam festival, or with the mandate of Śankarācārya are wholly fictitious and without any support in early legend and literature.[117] They were the products of wild speculation during the 19th century when the history of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai and its customs and practices were not known and when the Kollam Syrian Christian copper plates, where the Kollam city is mentioned, were attributed to the period before the beginning of the Kollam era. The view that the Kollam era is an extension or adaptation of the Saptarṣi or Bhārgava era is also unacceptable. The former is a solar era commencing from Ciṅgam or Kaṉṉi while the latter is luni-solar in character commencing from the month of Mēṣa or Caitra.[118]

In view of these facts it is possible to agree with Prof. K.K. Pillay that the Kollam or Kollam tōṉṟi era was, as the name itself indicates, associated with the foundation of Kollam town.[119] It is also clear that at first it remained a local era, used in Kollam city alone and perhaps in the whole district of Vēṇāṭu and that its widespread employment in Kerala occurred at some later stage.[120]

Notes and References

1. Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 76-7. For Tillaisthānam Inscription, see Index no. A. 5.
2. Subrahmania Aiyar, *T.A.S.*, II, III, p. 162. For Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Inscription of Parāntaka Cōḷa, 29th year, see Index no. A. 17.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
4. Ramanatha Ayyar, *T.A.S.*, V, I, no. 13, pp. 41-46. For Kollam Inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, see Index no. A. 71.
5. *Ibid.*, Part II, no. 29, p. 114.

Ruler	Approximate Date
1. Rājaśēkharadēva	800-825 AD
2. Kulaśēkhara Varma alias Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār	825-850 AD
3. Rāma	850-870 AD
4. Sthāṇu Ravi	870-900 AD
5. Vijayarāgadēva	900-935 AD
6. Kulaśēkhara Varma the Dramatist	935-955 AD
7. Indu Kōṭa Varma	955-971 AD
8. Bhāskara Ravi Varma	978-1036 AD
9. Rāma Kulaśēkhara	1089-1102 AD

6. Govinda Warrier, 'Taḷi Inscriptions of the Cochin State', *I.H.Q.*, IV, pp. 154-5. For Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi Inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, see Index no. A. 9.
7. V.K.R. Menon, *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, I, P. 11.

Ruler	Date
1. Sthāṇu Ravi	c. 875 AD
2. Vijayarāgadēva	c. 936 AD

3. Ravi Kōta alias Kōta Ravi Varma	912-932 AD
5. Indu Kōta	932-978 AD
6. Bhāskara Ravi Varma Tiruvaṭi	978- 1036 AD

8. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, Second Edition, pp. 95-106.
9. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, Second Edition, pp. 152-4.

	Ruler	Date
1.	Kulaśēkhara Varma	c. 800-c. 820 AD
2.	Rājaśēkhara	c. 820-844 AD
3.	Sthāṇu Ravi Varma	844- c. 885 AD
4.	Rāma Varma	c. 885-917 AD
5.	Kōta Ravi Varma	917-947 AD
6.	Indu Kōta Varma	944-962 AD
7.	Bhāskara Ravi Varma I	962-1019 AD
8.	Bhāskara Ravi Varma II	979- 1021 AD
9.	Vīra Kēraḷa	1021-c. 1028 AD
10.	Rājasimha	c. 1028- c.1043 AD
11.	Bhāskara Ravi Varma III	c. 1043 - c. 1082 AD
12.	Ravi Rāma Varma	c. 1082-1090 AD
13.	Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara	1090-1102 AD

10. For example Ramanatha Ayyar and Eḷamkuḷam have mixed up the legendary dates of Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār with the epigraphic evidence. Eḷamkuḷam went a step further and assumed that the Āḷvār whom he identified with the dramatist of the same name was the founder of the new Cēra dynasty of Makōtai. He also imagined that 'Kulaśēkhara' was a hereditary title of these Cēras of Makōtai. This is not warranted by the epigraphic evidence.
11. Vāḷappaḷḷi Copper plate of Rājaśēkhara, 12th year. See Appendix 1. Index no. A. 1.
12. Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 8-14. He discussed and rightly rejected the view that this king Rājaśēkhara could be identified as the Prākrit poet Rājaśēkhara.
13. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, (Second Edition), P. 52.
"Agaṇitaguṇa dāyaka prabhur mē
Jagadadhipō hṛdi rājaśēkharōsti".
14. Vāsubhaṭṭa, *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, (Kāvyamāla Series No, 60)
"Asti sa gajarājagati rājavarō
.....
Tasya ca vasudhāmavtah kālē
Kulaśēkharasya vasudhām avatah".
15. Vāsubhaṭṭa, *Tripuradahana*
"Asti sa kavilōkanātah kṣitibhṛd
.....
Bhūtikaram vyālapati sphurat karam
rājaśēkharam vyālapati
Rāmasamatvādēva sṛaṣṭa rāmākhyam
akṛtamatvā dēvah".
See also *Śaurikathōdaya.*
"Jayati sudhāmā Rāmah
Kṣitipālah kāvyavīrudhārāmah".

16. See Kunjunni Raja. *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, p. 20 and the footnotes. The commentary on *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* by Acyuta called *Vijayadarśika* says:
"Kulaśēkharasya ityabhiṣēkakṛtam nāma pitrādikṛtam tu rāmavramēti".
Another commentary by Śivadāsa called *Ratnapradīpika* says:
"Kulaśēkharasya kulaśēkhara itināmavatah
Ētadabhiṣēkakṛtam nāma. Pitrādi kṛtam tu rāmavarmēti".

17. For the history of these plates, see *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 60- 62. The Syrian Christian bishop of Angamalee deposited them with the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century. With the surrender of Cochin by the Portuguese to the Dutch, and later by the Dutch to the English, they also changed hands. They were traced by Col. Macaulay, British resident in Travancore, in 1806, and handed over to the Kottayam seminary of Syrian Christians. During the disputes between two sections of the Syrians only 4 out of 6 plates were produced in court, the remaining two being supposed to be lost. These two were traced by Gopinatha Rao in 1916 and published with new translation and notes.

18 Burnell, *I. A.*, III, p. 315; Gundert, *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p.118; *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 76-77. See Index no. A.2. Gundert mistook the name Sthāṇu Ravi for Sthāṇu Ravi Gupta but this was corrected by Gopinatha Rao in his edition. The latter identified Sthāṇu Ravi as a contemporary and ally of Cōḷa king Rājakēsari Varman who conquered Toṇḍaināṭu with the help of a Tillaisthānam inscription. (Index A.5.) This Rājakēsari was, however, wrongly identified as Āditya Cōḷa and the period was fixed accordingly as the second half of the 9th century.

19. Eḷamkuḷam, 'Sthāṇuraviyuṭe kālam' *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 95-106. The opening verse in the astronomical work invokes the deity called 'Sthāṇu'. This is applicable to the God Śiva as well as the ruling king. See *L.B.V.*, Chap. I, p. 1. "Sa sthāṇurjayati tṛirūpasahitō lingēpi lōkārcitah". The court astronomer also gives the full name of the king Ravi alias Kulaśēkhara and the date of an eclipse elsewhere. See *L.B.V.*, Chap. IV, p. 65.
"Angartvambara nanda dēvamanubhir yātē dinānām gaṇē
Grastē tigma mayūkhamālinitamōbhūtē parāhnē divi
Pṛṣṭā prāggrahaṇād dvitīyaghaṭika grāsa pramāṇam ravēr
Bhartrā śrī Kulaśēkharēṇa vilasad vēlāvṛtāya bhuvah".
Anga = 6. Ṛtu = 6. Ambara = 0. Nanda = 9. Vēda =4. Manu = 14. The number, when deciphered and read in reverse order, comes out as 1449066. This is equivalent to 3967 years and 86 days of the Kali era. It corresponds to the 25th of Mithuna of year 41 of the Kollam era. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam also noticed that the said eclipse is actually mentioned in a record of Amōghavarsha Nṛpatunga at Nilgaṇḍu, Dharwar district, Karnataka. There is another reference also in the text to the date of work in terms of the Saks year. See *L.B.V.*, chap. 1, P. 4. "Ēvam Śakābdah punariha candra randhramuni sankhyayā asmābhiravagatah". Candra = 1. Randhra = 9. Muni = 7. In reverse order this will indicate 791. This year corresponds to 870 AD. Further, the author mentions the meeting of Guru (Jupiter) and Śauri (Saturn) in Cāpa (Dhanu) and states that it happened when the king had completed 25 years.
See *L.B.V.*, Chap. VII, p. 87.
"Cāpapraviṣṭa guru śauri samatva kālam
Yāmyōttaram gamanamantaratah pramāṇam
Ācakṣva sarvamavagamya bhaṭōktamārgād
Ityuktavān raviraśēṣa nṛpābhivandyah"
"Tadā pancavimśati Varṣāṇyatītāni dēvasya".

This conjunction occurred in AD 869 and, therefore, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam pointed out that the king Sthāṇu Ravi's initial year fell in 844 AD.

20. Iriñjālakkuḍa stone inscription, 11th year, Index no. A.3; Tiruvāṟṟuvāy copper plate of Sthāṇu Ravi, 17th year. Index no. A. 4.

21. See Note no. 19 above.

22. Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 76-77; Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ* pp. 98-9; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 115.

23. See T.V. Mahalingam. "An Interregnum in Pallava History", *J.I.H.*, XLI, I, pp. 287-303. The writer has proved with the help of epigraphic evidence that Toṇḍaināṭu Pāvina Cōḷan Palyānai Kō Kaṇṭan alias Rājakēsari was the Poṭṭāppi Cōḷa king named Śrīkaṇṭa Cōḷa who ruled from 817 AD to 845 AD.

24. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, PP. 114-21. The present writer has shown that since Cōḷa king Śrīkaṇṭan ruled from 817 AD to 845 AD and Cēra king Sthāṇu Ravi ruled from 844 AD onwards their joint action could be placed in 844-5 AD. This takes away the ground for Prof. Eḷamkuḷam's assumption that Sthāṇu Ravi ruled up to 885 AD to be able to become partner of Āditya Cōḷa's Koṅgu campaign.

25. Kollam Syrian Copper plates, no. II, Index no. A. 6. L1, 6-7, 16-17, 25-26, 39-40. 'Kōyilatikārikaḷ Viyarākaṇṭēvar uṭpaṭa iruntaruḷippiṭi naṭatti nīrtuḷḷiyoṭu kūṭa ayyanaṭikaḷ tiruvaṭiyum iḷamkūṟu vāḷiṉṟa rāma tiruvaṭiyum atikārarum prakṛtiyum aṟunūṟṟuvarum puṉṉaittalaippatiyum pūḷaikkuṭippatiyum ulpaṭavaccu ---'. Ayyan Aṭikaḷ Tiruvaṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, is mentioned in Kollam Syrian Copper plates no. I of Sthāṇu Ravi, 5th year, Index no. A.2 also. Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ, the junior prince, is not mentioned there.

26. Tirunandikkara Insicription, Index no. A. 7, L. 2. 'Kulacēkaratēvar makaḷār vicaiya rākatēvar tēviyār kiḻānaṭikaḷ tirunandikkarai paṭṭārakarkku tirunandā viḷakkeri vatāka ---'.

27. Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Inscription, Index no. A. 17, L1. 2-3 and 5-6. 'Nīli Kēraḷarājasya Vijaya rāgasya sutā' and 'Cēramānār Vijayarāgatēvar makaḷ iravi nīli'.

28. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam does not take this into account when he places a certain Rāmadēva as the successor of Sthāṇu Ravi. See *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 101. He fixes the order in this manner on the strength of a fragmentary sloka in *L.B.V.*, Chap. III, p. 42.
'---- ripumathanam karttu kāmēna rājnā
Cārairvārtām viditvā ravikulapatinā rāmadēvēna lagnam'.
This Rāmadēva is described as Rāja and Ravikulapati and stated to have moved out to fight the foes on getting information from spies. The author does not say when or where this event occurred. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam takes Rāmadēva to be the eldest son of Sthāṇu Ravi but there is no such hint in the passage. It is possible that the author is referring to an event in the previous reign of Rāma Rājaśēkhara or that the word Rāmadēva (printed in the text as Rōmadēva) is a miselection for Rāgadēva. It is also possible that Rāma, the prince, did not survive the battle.

29. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII, slokas. 49-50.

30. The birth of a son to Sthāṇu Ravi is mentioned in *L.B.V.*, Chap. III, p. 42.

'Putrah śrī ravivarmadēvanrpatēr dīptāmśuvamśōditah
prāsādēdhikṛtē mahōdayapuē tatrāpi sēnāmukhē
Bhēryam vimśati tāḍitāsu ghaṭikāsvāvir babhūvātha kim
Lagnam mēṣadaśamśake savitari prācyām diśi kṣamāpatē'.

31. The popularity of the custom of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter among the rulers and peoples of the Deccan has been pointed out by A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūtas and Their Times*, Part III, Chap. XIV, p. 343. *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīya*, the 12th century translation of *Arthaśāstra*, mentions that Southerners followed this practice, Book III, Chap. II. 'Dākṣināṭyarkku mātulakanyākkaḷē vivāham ceyyumatu paṟṟum'. See chapter on Nature of Monarchy for the order of succession.

32. Cōkkūr, 15th year; Nedumpuṟam Taḷi, 17th year; Aviṭṭattūr, 20th year; Trippaṟangōde, 27th year; Poṟaṅghāṭṭiri, 27th year; Indianūr, 27th year; and Tiruppūṇithuṟa, 30th year. Index nos. A. 8-16.

33. *A.R.E.* for 1926-7, pp. 102-3; *T.A.S.*, V, p. 174, VI, no. 52, p. 64.

34. A.G. Warriar, 'Taḷi Inscriptions of the Cochin State', *I.H.Q.*, IV, pp. 154-5; *R.V.R.I.B.*, I, p. 43. The two halves of the inscription on two separate slabs found in the place were registered separately as nos. 15 and 17 of 1106 M.E. in Cochin and no. 344 and 343 of 1924 in Madras. On comparing the content, script and language, A.G. Warriar discovered that they really formed the two parts of one record. The first part begins with the statement of the regnal year (Kōta Ravi 17th year) and the position of Jupiter (Mithuna) and the second part ends with the statement of the year in Kali era. Therefore, the record helps to fix the initial year of the sovereign.

35. *I.H.Q.*, IV and *R.V.R.I.B.*, I. *Op. cit.*

36. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 152-3. He showed that in Kali year 4030 Jupiter stood in Makaram and not Mithunam as stated in the record and, therefore, suggested, without seeing the original stone, that the other letters making the number 4035 instead 4030 must have been there.

37. Jupiter moves about 30.35 degrees in the course of a year. The statement of Jupiter position is a common feature of Cēra inscriptions and it helps the calculation, and sometimes the correction, of a given date.

38. Tiruppūṇithuṟa Inscription, Index no. A. 16.

39. Kāvunthaṟa inscription of Kōta Kōta, 4th year, Index no. 18. The present writer examined the record at the site in order to check the characters for an approximate idea of date. Trikkākkara inscription of Kēraḷa Kēsari Perumāḷ, Index no. A.19. The name of the king is clear but no regnal year is mentioned.

40. No. 271 of 1961. The Cēras of the Sangam age had an important stronghold in Karūr in Koṅgu. In the 7th and 8th centuries, Pallava and Pāṇḍyan expansionism reached Koṅgu also. It is likely that the surviving Cēras of Koṅgu were feudatories of the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and the Cōḷa. The exact relation between the Cēras of Karūr and Cēras of Makōtai in our period remains obscure.

41. For details on the Cēras of Koṅgu, See nos. 706, 707, 709, 710, 711, 713, 714, 715 & 716 of 1905; nos. 129 and 133 of 1909; nos. 147 & 148 of 1910; nos. 519 and 521 of 1922 and nos. 269, 270 and 271 of 1961. See also *J.R.A.S.*, VIII, PP. 2-6; *M.J.L.S.*, VIII; *I.A.*, IX, pp. 47-50; *E.I.*, III, pp. 78-82; M. Arokiaswamy, *The Koṅgu Country*, (University of Madras, 1956), pp. 194, 253 ff; Lefanau, *Salem*, (District Manual), II, pp. 349, 365- 8; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, (First Edn.), Vol. II, p. 57. Part II, pp, 584-5. Several inscriptions of these Cēras in copper and stone are found in places like Veḷḷālūr Nāmakkal, Paḻani, Pērūr, Dhārampuram, Eṟōḍe and Tirukkaṇṇapuram. Several names of rulers like Ravi Kōta, Kaṇṭan Ravi, Vīrakōta, Vīra Nārāyaṇa, Vīra Cōḷa, Vīra Kēraḷa, Amarabhujangadēva and Kēraḷa Kēsari Adhirājarājadēva are mentioned there. They have prefixes like 'Kō Kaṇṭan' and are described as members of Candrādityakula or the luni-solar race.

This distinguishes them from the Cēras of Makōtai who are described as members of Sūryavamśa or the solar race. The Koṅgu Cēras of epigraphy are placed in the 9th, 10th or 11th centuries on palaeographical evidence. It is significant that they employ the prefix 'Kō Kaṇṭan' employed by the Cōḷa king Śrīkaṇṭha in the Tillaisthānam inscription. See Note no. 13 & 14 above. All these kings must have been Cōḷa feudatories. Koṅgu was conquered earlier in the 8th century by the Pāṇḍyas and probably the Koṅgu-Cēras of Candrādityakula were the products of Pāṇḍya-Cēra alliance.

42. The Madras Government epigraphists have wrongly identified Ravi Kōta of the Koṅgu Cēra group with Kōta Ravi of Makōtai, *A.R.E.*, 1906, II, Para II.

43. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *T.A.S.*, III, II, no. 35, pp. 161-2. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II. pp. 146-8. Subrahmanya Aiyar first pointed out that significant relationship in the case of two pairs of witnesses in Indu Kōta and Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions from Tṛkkākara. These may be presented in tabular form here:

Family Name	Indu Kōta	Bhāskara Ravi
1 Veḷḷiyāmpaḷḷi.	Pōḻan Cāttan (16th year, Index no. A. 25 and 17th year, no. A. 26)	Cāttan Kumaran (13th year, Index no. A. 30)
2. Paṉṟitturutti.	Kaṇṇan Pōḻan (16th year, Index no. A.25)	Pōḻan Kumaran (31st year, B Series- Index no. A. 45)
3. Perumanai-kkōṭṭattu	Kēcavan Caṅkaran (17th year, Index no. A. 26)	Kēcavan Caṅkaran (6th year, A series- Index no. A. 28) Caṅkaran Tāmōtaran (31st year, B series Index no. A. 45)

In the first and second cases above, those appearing in Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions are the immediate successors of those appearing in Indu Kōta inscriptions, as indicated by their first (ancestral) names. In the third instance the same person appears in the records of the two rulers from the same place. Moreover, his immediate successor appears in a later inscription of Bhāskara Ravi also. This is sufficient to establish the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence.

44. Mānipuram, 3rd year; Pudukkōḍe, 3rd year; Tiruvanvaṇḍūr, 5th year; Tirumūḻikkaḷam, 5th year; Tṛkkākara, 10th year, 16th year and 17th year; Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi, 17th year; and four undated inscriptions from Tṛkkākara with his name. Index nos. A. 20-27 and B 7-10.

45. Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi, 17th year, Index no. A. 27. LI., 1-2. 'Kōvintēśwaran kōtaikku ccellāniṉṟa yāṇṭu patinoṟāmāṇṭaikketir āṟāmāṇṭū kanniyil viyāḻannilkka'.

46. See Chronology under Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya.

47. Jupiter passes through the 12 signs of the Zodiac approximately at the rate of one sign a year. See Note no. 37 above.

48. For a history of the attempt at decipherment and dating, see Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 31; Walter Fischel " The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of Cochin on the Malabar Coast", *The Cochin Synagogue 400th Anniversary Souvenir*, Cochin, 1968, pp. 126-50 and *Caritṛam*, Trivandrum, 1971, no. I, pp.9-28. Moens the Dutch Governor of Cochin, gave the earliest account of Jewish copper plates in *Buching's Magazine*. This was followed by the account of Anquetil Duperron. F.W. Ellis attempted their deci-

pherment and translation in *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, II, (Madras) along with an excellent facsimile. Dr. Gundert published an English translation based on a Hebrew version in the same issue of the journal. According to him the Hebrew translator was ignorant and careless and the Hebrew version was only about a hundred years old at that time. See also, Burnell, 'The Oriental Settlement Deed of the Jewish colony at Cochin', *I.A.*, Bombay, 1874, III, pp. 333-4; E. Hultzsch, *E.I.*, Calcutta, 1899, III, p.69. The last mentioned version is generally accepted as reliable. However, it contains a few small mistakes. See, Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 133-56. The present writer found Eḷamkuḷam's text to be the most accurate. For a survey of recent studies and work on the copper plates, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Caritram*, no. III, pp. 22-32. For other early references to the date and character of the work, see Kūkkil Kēḷu Nair, *M.J.L.S.*, V, p. 42; Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 140; Caldwell, *Grammar of Dravidyan Languages*, 1875, Introduction, p. 89; and Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix XII, no. 1, pp. CXV-CXVII.

49. Index no. A. 32.

50. Index no. B. 11.

51. See Ramanatha Ayyar, *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 61, p. 189.

52. See M. G. S. Narayanan, 'Kaṇḍan Kārivarman', *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 79-92. An Eramam inscription (Index no. A. 40) was wrongly identified by the Government epigraphists as belonging to the 59th year of Kaṇḍan Kārivarman alias Irāmakuṭa Mūvar. See *A.R.S.I.E.*, p. 52; no. 523 of 1930. The text remained unpublished and historians accepted this interpretation. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, P. 223. A fresh estampage of the inscription showed that the said inscription is dated in the 58th year of Bhāskara Ravi Varman when Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Irāmakuṭa Mūvar was ruling over the district concerned. In this context the reference to Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati in the text establishes the tripple synchronism of Bhāskara Ravi, Kaṇṭankāri and Rājēndra Cōḷa.

53. Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 46. When Swāmikaṇṇu Pillai raised the possibility of two rulers named Bhāskara Ravi on the basis of astronomical data, Gopinatha Rao clarified this point. He remarked: "Palaeography unfortunately does not throw any light whatsoever, all the documents noticed hitherto being written in the same kind of Vaṭṭeḻuttu, practically of the same period". This view is reinforced by later findings. However, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has suggested that a difference in language is noticeable in two Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions and that they belong to a later period. He gives two examples for a later stage of evolution in language, i.e., 'nanṟuḻenāṭṭinu" and 'vannirunnu'. Swarasamvaraṇam (the substitution of 'e' for 'ai' in 'nanṟule) is the first example and Anunāsikātiprasaram (the substitution 'nna' for 'nta' in two places) in the second example are not, however, as new as he observed. They are present even in records of Indu Kōta and in other Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions also. See M.R. Raghava Varier, 'Linguistic Peculiarities', reproduced from *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, 23-8-70) in *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp.110-13.

54. *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 45-46 and 49-51. The Zodiacal progress of Jupiter, which stays in one sign for approximately one year before passing into the next sign, is calculable. When several Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions giving the regnal year and the position of Jupiter were analysed by Swāmikaṇṇu Pillai in the light of this principle it was found that in one group Jupiter ought to have been present in Dhanu while in the other group Jupiter ought to have been present in Mēṭam during the initial year. See also Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, pp. 136-50. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam's calculations confirmed this

view but he observed that there are two Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions belonging to a third group in which Jupiter ought to have been present in Kanni in the initial year. However, in one example there is a mistake in decipherment of the year. It was read as thirteen (11 + 2) instead of eighteen (16 + 2). Similarly in the second example, statement of the position of Jupiter referred to a previous year and not to the year of the inscription.

55. *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 50. This gives 1021 A.D. as the 43rd year of the sovereign. Swāmikaṇṇu Pillai suggested some other possible dates in the 12th century for these Tirunelli copperplates of the 43rd year. However, he himself rejected such alternatives later as could be seen from his *Indian Ephemerals* and his letter to K.N. Daniel. See also *I.A.*, LIII, pp. 185 ff; Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, p. 146. There is no other possible date which suits the astronomical date between 950 A.D. and 1150 A.D.

56. *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 50.

57. Besides the unity of script and language, the presence of the same persons or their relatives of the next generation, in Tṛkkākara inscriptions of the two groups also prove the point that both groups cannot be separated in time. This may be indicated by the following table.

Family Name	Bhāskara Ravi Inscriptions (Series A)	Bhāskara Ravi Inscriptions (Series B)
1. Ciṟumaṟṟappuḷai.	Kōtai Kēraḷan (6th year, Index no. A. 28)	Kōtai Nāraṇan (21st year, Index no. A.44) Kōtai Nāraṇan, Kōtai Kēraḷan (31st year, Index no. A. 45)
2. Neytamaṅgalattu.	Kēcavan Tēvan (58th Year, Index no. A. 41)	Kēcavan Tēvan (21st year, Index no. A. 44)
3. Perumanai-kkōṭṭattu.	Kēcavan Caṅkaran (6th year, Index no.28)	Caṅkara Tāmōtaran (31st year, Index no. A.45)

58. For Māmpaḷḷi plates of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, 149 M. E. (974 AD), see Index no. B. 11; For Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year. 278 M. E. (1102 AD), see Index no. A. 71.

59. See Note no. 58 above.

60. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 142-4.

61. This idea was first suggested by Swāmikaṇṇu Pillai. See Note no. 53 above. Gopinatha Rao, however, felt that "the question of the possibility of the existence of two Bhāskara Ravivarmans cannot be considered for want of sufficient materials and must remain open until fresh evidences are obtained". See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 46. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has definitely accepted the postulate of two Bhāskara Ravis in the same period and a third Bhāskara Ravi at a later date. See, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 136-50.

62. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 142, 183, 195-6.

63. See Chapter on Cōḷa Invasions.

64. See Index no A. 41 and 46.

65. *T.A.S.*, II, III, P. 188, LI. 285-6. 'Manukulāticca tēvariḷaṅkōkkālattamaicca pūmiyāvō', Index no. A. 80.

66. See Index nos. A. 28 to 41 for A Series; Index nos. A. 42 to 46 for B Series; and Index nos. A. 47 to 51 for C Series.
In addition to these 24 inscriptions, the 4 inscriptions of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu (Index nos. B. 11 to 14), may be classified among Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions.

67. Pullūr-Koḍavalam inscription, 58th year, (A Series) Index no. A. 39; Perunna inscription, 14th year (A. Series) and 33rd year (C Series) Index nos. A. 33,49; Gopinatha Rao and Eḷamkuḷam have mentioned Tirunelli in Wynad as the northern limit. See, *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 32. Eḷamkuḷam also had expressed the doubt whether the Cēra kingdom included Kōlattunāṭu in north Kerala, see *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 109. The publication of the text of the Pullūr Koḍavalam inscription by the present writer has removed all doubts regarding the northern extension of the Cēra.

68. See Note no.67 above. This record gives his second name in L1. 1-4 "Pākkaraniravi varman āyina manukulāticca tēvar". This enables the identification of Manukulāticca Tēvar found in a Tirumūḻikkaḷam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 48th year, (index no. A. 37), and in Tiruvalla plates, L 1. 285, 302 (Index No. A. 80). It also helps to identify the royal patron of Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Sītāharaṇa*, and Sarvajñātma, author of *Saṁkṣēpaśarīrika*. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Identity and date of Manukulāditya', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vāraṇāsi, 1969, pp. 73-78. Earlier historians like Bhandarkar had identified Manukulāditya as Cālukya Vikramāditya II. See R.G. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 86.

69. See Index no. A.56 and 57also. For more details, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p.203.

70. See Index no. A. 55. The importance of Mannarkōyil for the Cēras might have been derived from the fact that according to tradition the Cēra king Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār spent his last days there. A temple named after him also exists there.

71. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam places a certain Vīra Kēraḷa as the successor of Bhāskara Ravi on the strength of references in Cōḷa records to the defeat of a prince named Vīra Kēraḷa by Rājādhirāja. (See Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 117-18; *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 154. See also nos. 107 of 1892, 221 of 1894, 114 of 1896 etc. *S.I.I.*, II, I, pp. 51-8.) However, this praśasti of Rājādhirāja employs the title 'tennavar' for three princes - Sundara Pāṇḍya, Mānābharaṇa and Vīrakēraḷa - and describes the fight against the Cēra separately. The term 'tennavar' meaning 'southern' is used commonly as an epithet of the Pāṇḍya and not the Cēra. Moreover, had Vīra Kēraḷa been the Cēra king there is no need to include him in the group of Pāṇḍyan princes and omit his name where the Cēra is mentioned. Perhaps Eḷamkuḷam is misled by the name Vīra Kēraḷa which could also apply to Pāṇḍyan princes born of Cēra or Kēraḷa princess. Even if Vīra Kēraḷa hailed from Kēraḷa there is no ground for assuming that he was a Cēra sovereign.

72. See Index no. A. 54 and A.58.

73. See Index no. A.52.

74. Index no. A. 59. This Cēra king Rājarāja confers an additional gift of land to a village for the maintenance of the temple called 'Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar' built by Cēra king Rājasimha.

75. Index no. A. 60.

76. For details of Cōḷa history regarding these rulers, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 202-3.

77. Index no. A. 61.

78. Index nos. A. 62 and 63.

79. See Note no. 76 above. See *A.R.S.I.E* for 1895, and *A.R.I.E.* for 1937; *S.I.I.*, V, no. 784, p. 338; Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix. XII, no.5. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam tried to read the name as 'Bāla Rāma'. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 150-1.

80. This Tiruvaṇṇūr inscription was lying neglected in the compound of the Collectors' bungalow, Kozhikode. On the present writer's request it has been transferred to the Trichur Museum. The Indianūr inscription is now preserved in the Department of History, Calicut University.

81. For the old Malayalam forms of Rājaśēkhara, see Cōkiram inscriptions, Index nos. C. 18 and 20; Rāyiranallūr inscription, Index no. C. 21 and Painkaṇṇūr inscription, Index no. C.22. For the old Malayalam form of Rājasimha, see Tiruvañcikkaḷam inscription, Index No. A. 58.

82. Index no. A. 64. The government epigraphists and other scholars have taken the regnal year expressed as 'iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikketirāmāṇṭu' as meaning 2+1=3. However, in such opposition where 2 is mentioned on one side and no number on the other it means only two and not three.

83. Perunna inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 10th year, Index no. A. 68. When Jupiter is in Karkiṭaka in the 10th year, it must be in Vṛścika in the 2nd year, allowing a distance of eight signs between the two positions.

84. For details of authorship and publication of this work, see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Kerala's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*, pp, 22-23 and 29-30. The preamble of *Naḷōdaya* says:
'Asti sa rājānīte rāmākhyō yō gatih parā jānītē

Avidūrājādityā kṛtāl pabhēdaivā bhūssarājādityā
Yēna sa Rājādityā tridivāl samyuktaśatrurājāditya'.

85. The first known king Rāma has the second name Rājaśēkhara and the last known Rāma has the title of Kulaśēkhara. Index nos. A. 1 and A. 71.

86. Index no. A. 65.

87 A.G. Warriar, *K.S.P.* Series, II, pp. 341-5; Vasudeva Poduval, *T.A.S.*, VIII, no. 33-1, p. 39; Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p.50.

88. Index no. A. 66.

89. Index no. A. 71.

90. S. Sanku Ayyar, *Ajñātabhāgaṅgaḷ*, pp. 42-62. For a confused reading of the text, see *A.R.A.D.T.* for 1095 M. E. The year was deciphered as 16 (14+2) instead of 13 (11+2) and the king was taken to be a ruler of Travancore. These mistakes were corrected in *T.A.S.*, V, pp. 40-41.

91. See Chapter on Nature of Monarchy.

92. Kollam (Quilon) inscription, Index no. A. 71. L1. 43-60. 'Nānku taḻiyum āyiram aṟunūṟṟuvarum (ēnā)nāṭu vāḻkkai māna vikkirāmanāna (puntuṟai)kkōn mutalāyuḷḷa cāmantarum tirukkaikkīḻkūṭiyirukka ttirukkai naṉaiccaruḷiyāvitu'. The present writer reads the passage differently from the Government epigraphists, but the reference to Nālu Taḷi and Cāmantar are not changed.

93. Index no. A. 68, Perunna inscription of Kulaśēkhara.

94. See Note no. 83 above. See L1. 10-15. 'Nālu taḻiyaiyum tirukkuṇṟappoḻaiyum kūṭṭi koṇṭu neṭiya taḷi irunnaruḷi'.

95. Index nos. A. 67, 69, 70 and 72.
96. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*. pp.125-8; and *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 154.
97. Index no. A. 73.
98. Ullūr S. Parameswara Ayyar, *Vijñānadīpika*, IV, P; Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 147-8.
"Ārum nēriṭṭu nillār ariya neṭuvirippōṭetō vāṇmēlallō
Nīrēki paṇṭōṭukkattakhilaguṇanidhē cēramān rāmavarmā".
This refers to the gift of the royal sword to the ruler of Ēṟānāṭu (Neṭiyiruppu) by the last Cēramān, a tradition preserved in *Kēraḷōlpatti* and the Granthavari of Calicut.
99. Rev. Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, (1871), p.14.
100. *T.A.S.*, IV, I, no.3, pp. 17-18. It states the 'year opposite the Kollam year 301'. ("Kollam tōṉṟi 301 māṇṭinetirāmāṇṭu") This need be taken only as meaning 301 and not as 302 as the editor has done.
101. See chapter on Chronology, Note no 19.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Index no. A. 33, 46, 71; B. 2, 11.
104. Index no. A. 9; B. 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 21.
105. Index no. A. 9; B. 3, 21.
106. Index no. B. 25.
107. Index no. B. 1, 18, 19, 22, 23. See also, *T.A.S.*, I, pp.292-5.
108. Index no. A. 71and B. 11.
109. Index no. A. 71, L1 2-10. "Kollantōṉṟiyirunūṟṟeḻupatteṭṭāmāṇṭai kkaṉṉiyil viyāḻam puka ciṅgaññāyiṟṟu onpatu ceṉṟa nāḷ". Index no. B. 11. L1. 1-3. "Kollantōṉṟi nūṟṟu-nārpattonpatāmāṇṭu tulāttuḷ viyāḻanniṉṟa miriccika ñāyaṟṟu ñayiṟāṇṭa accuvati innāḷāl".
110. See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 71-3. The author quotes from Taylor's *Historical Manuscripts* I, p. 203, a record of May-June 1328 AD, referring to the Muslim occupation of Madura which states the year in terms of Śālivāhanaśakābda 1246 corresponding to the year 227 of Kollam aḻintayāṇṭu, Rudhirōdgāri varsha, month of Āni. See also Sastri, *Studies on Cōḷa History and Administration*, (Madras), p. 191. Naralōkavīra alias Ponnampalakkūttan, a feudatory and general of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I, is credited with the capture of Kollam in a record of the Chidambaram temple. *S.I.I.*, IV, p.33.
111. Gopinatha Rao presented the hypothesis that the Kollam era had its origin in the settlement of Christian traders under the lead Mār Sāpīr Īśo in spite of the fact that he had assigned the Kollam Tarśāpaḷḷi copper-plates to the later part of the 9th century. He raised the question whether Hindus will accept a foreign Christian settlement as the starting point of an era but argued that it was possible in view of the foundation of the Gupta era, Cālūkya era etc. based on some such events and the adoption of the Christian era in modern India. See, *T.A.S.*, I, pp. 22-23.
K.P.P. Menon felt that the Kollam city existed prior to 825 AD. He quotes a letter written by Jesus Jebus of Adiabene, the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, (died in 660 AD), to Simon, Metropolis of Fars (old name of Persia), in which 'Colon' is mentioned. See Assemani III, part II, p. 437, quoted in K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, pp. 270-71. However, this author himself was aware of the fact that according to Yule and Burnell this word was an arbitrary and erroneous rendering of Assemani's Latin. The

Syriac text has 'Kōlah'. See *Hobson-Jobson* I. Edn. Note on p. 569, quoted in Menon, *Ibid*. This could have been Kōlam or Kōlapaṭṭaṇam in North Kerala.
Prof. Eḷamkuḷam observes that Kollam city is referred to in Cosmas Indekoplesteus, Jesus Jebus, and the records of the Tang dynasty in China. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 110, f.n.

112. See Note no. 111 above. The term employed by Cosmas Indekoplesteus - Koulam Māle – may also refer to the city of Kōlapaṭṭaṇam in North Kerala.

113. See Note no. 111 above. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam derived this information from a reference in Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala*, I, p. 280. "Ma Huan tells us that Quilon (Kollam) was known to the Chinese navigators of the Tang dynasty". However, since the exact period of reference is not clear, it is possible that Ma Huan refers to the situation at the close of the 9th century.

114. See Note no. 111 above.

115. See Chapter on Early Wars and Alliances. Note no. 39 and 40.

116. *Ibid*. Notes no. 38 and 39.

117. For a restatement and review of different earlier theories regarding the Kollam era, see K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, IV, pp. 265-75; Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, I, pp. 64-99; Dr. K.K. Pillay, 'The Kollam Era', *Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai Commemoration Volume*, (Trivandrum, 1957), pp. 73-8.

118. Kielhorn, 'A Note on Saptarshi Era', *I.A.*, XX, (1891), pp. 149-54; Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, Saptarshi Era; Robert Sewell, *Indian Chronography*, (London, 1912), Note on the Kollam Era, p.18. Para 42. A.

119. See Note no. 117 above.

120. For an account of the later progress and prosperity of Kollam city as the capital of independent Vēṇāṭu, see K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, pp. 276-81; Eḷamkuḷam, *Paścāttalattil*, pp.115-21.

IV. Early Wars and Alliances

The peculiar character of the Cēra inscriptions, with the total absence of praśasti or historical introduction, makes the delineation of political history difficult. The epigraphic record is generally devoid of hints regarding the origin of the kingdom, and the vicissitudes through which it passed, though some statements acquire new significance in the light of the history of the Cōḷa empire as revealed through the Cōḷa inscriptions and literature. Against this background of the history of the Cōḷa empire, the inscriptions of the Cēra kingdom together with its literature and legends help us in understanding the outlines of the history of the Cēras, though many details still remain vague in the present state of our knowledge.

An attempt has been made in the previous chapter to establish the chronological order of the Cēra kings of the period between 9th and 12th centuries. The fact that they had their capital at Makōtai (Sanskrit: Mahōdaya) in Koḍuṅgallūr (modern Cranganore), which was also known by its ancient name of Muciri, becomes clear from the sources. In fact, epigraphy, literature, monuments and tradition all point to the same conclusion. The famous Jewish copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi, one of the few royal grants of the Cēras, were issued from Koḍuṅgallūr, therein called by ancient name of Muyirikkōḍe.[1] The presence of the six feudatories and the Commander of the army also show that it was the capital.[2] Moreover, two inscriptions of Rāma Kulaśēkhara from Perunna and Kollam (Quilon) respectively, refer to Nālu Taḷi in the council of the king.[3] Nālu Taḷi finds mention in a 12th century record in Tirukulaśēkharapuram in Koḍuṅgallūr.[4]

Apart from epigraphy, literary sources like *Laghubhāskarīya Vyākhya*, *Periyapurāṇam* and Kulaśēkhara's plays indicate the capital which is referred to as Makōtai or Mahōdaya.[5] Perhaps this was the name of the royal quarters while the harbour town still continued to be called by its ancient name Muciri and the name of Koḍuṅgallūr applied to the city as a whole.[6] However, the name of Makōtai for the royal quarters could not be very old since it is not mentioned anywhere in the whole range of Sangam literature and the post-Sangam works like *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*.

The great Tiruvañcikkaḷam temple associated with Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the nearby Tirukulaśēkharapuram temple associated with Kulaśēkhara Āḻvar, the Kīḻttaḷi and Ciṅgapurattaḷi which were two of the ancient Nālu Taḷi, and above all the site now called *Cēramān Paṟambu* (Cēra mān Compound), all prove the location of the Cēra capital at Koḍuṅgallūr. Excavations at Cēramān Paṟambu have yielded relics going back to the 9th-10th centuries, though not to earlier times.[7] The 14th century work *Kōkasandēśa* points to this compound as the abode of the Cēra kings who controlled all Kerala.[8] Tradition as recorded in *Kēraḷōlpatti* also mentions the king's palace at Koḍuṅgallūr and the arrangements at Nālu Taḷi for the Perumāḷs Brahmin councillors to reside.[9]

Rise of the Kingdom (c. 700-844 AD)

The history of the origin and early development of this Cēra kingdom of Makōtai remains obscure. There are only certain casual references in epigraphy and literature and confusing legends about the background of the rise of this kingdom. It is distinguished from the earlier Cēra kingdom of the Sangam age by its new capital Makōtai. The site of the Sangam Cēra capital Vañci is the subject of an inconclusive debate among scholars, some identifying it with Karūr-Vañci in Koṅgudēśa and others putting forward various claims for places on the West coast including Tirukkāriyūr.[10] The weight of evidence would go in favour of Karūr-Vañci, especially after the discovery and the decipherment of a number of 2nd century Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions, mentioning the names of several Cēra kings of Sangam literary fame as donors, from the neighbourhood of Karūr.[11] Whatever be the location of ancient Vañci, it is clear that the Cēras of the Sangam age controlled Karūr in the interior as well as the two harbour towns of Toṇḍi (Tyṇḍis) and Muciri (Muziris) on the West coast.[12] Gradually, towards the close of the Sangam age, Karūr seems to have acquired much prominence. Whether it was the ancient Vañci or not, Karūr came to be known by the 8th-9th centuries as 'Vañci mānakaramāṉa Karūr'.[13] Therefore, it may be assumed that when the Cālukyas, Pallavas, and other powers refer to the conquest of Kerala they invariably mean the Cēras of Karūr, i.e., the Cēras of Koṅgudēśa. It is possible that with the decline of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century AD, there was a corresponding decline in the East-West maritime trade.[14] This would have brought about an eclipse in the prosperity of the coastal cities which thrived on such trade. Nothing is heard of Muciri or Toṇḍi for a long time after the twilight grandeur of the Sangam age.

Influx of Aryans

Meanwhile the influx of Aryan Brahmins coming from the North seems to have silently brought about a transformation of the West coast, causing the

differentiation of its language and culture from the rest of Tamiḻakam through the establishment of their 32 colonies.[15] The Cālukyas were great patrons of the Brahmins and the Aryan culture, and their kings had issued several copper-plate charters to Brahmin settlers all over their territory. The Cālukyan city of Aihōḷe or Aihōḷapura, which is also mentioned as Ahichatrapura, is to be identified as the Ahikshētra of Tuḷu and Kerala Brahmin tradition.[16] The *Grāmapaddhati* which gives an account of 32 Aryan Brahmin settlements in Canara[17], and the *Kēraḷōlpatti* which mentions 32 other settlements in Kerala, both describe Ahichatra as the original home of the Brahmins. The legendary Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsi, seems to have had a share in the large-scale settlement of Aryan Brahmins on the West coast of South India.[18]

The Cālukya epigraphic records of the 7th and 8th centuries mention the conquest and subjugation of Kerala and the transformation of Keralas into vassalage on the same lines as the Āḷupas of south Karnataka before.[19] That this is no empty boast is clear from the advent of the 32 Aryan Brahmin settlements with pronounced Tuḷu-Cālukya characteristics before the 9th century in Kerala.[20] These settlements represent a novel feature as they are conspicuously absent in the Sangam literature and they, at least many of them, are present in the epigraphic records of Cēras of Makōtai.[21]

There is no clear picture of the political history and administration in the Cēra kingdom of Koṅgu during this period when they were subordinate to the Cālukyas. The earlier Sangam works and inscriptions would suggest that at least during the close of the Sangam age some members of the Cēra royal family lived in the capital Karūr while others ruled in Toṇḍi and Muciri.[22] This same system could have continued in the post-Sangam period from the 4th century onwards, and when the Cālukyas and Pallavas and later on the Pāṇḍyas became the overlords they must have exercised this right to send governors to this part of Kerala. Perhaps this is what the traditional Brahmin chronicle of *Kēraḷōlpatti* describes as the system of Brahmins assembling at Tirukkāriyūr (Karūr) and bringing Perumāḷs from the other countries or 'Paradēśa'.[23] When the organised Brahmin settlers of the new 32 colonies became prosperous and powerful they naturally must have had an important role in the administration and also in the choice of the governor stationed at Muciri or Muyirikkōḍe.

Governors from Outside

The Governors from outside must have been appointed by the Cēras of Karūr in Koṅgu or by their overlords, the Cālukyas, Pallavas or Pāṇḍyas at later times. The Pāṇḍyas claim to have conquered the Cēras again and again during the 7th and 8th centuries and the Pāṇḍyan kings bear titles which proc-

laim their overlordship of the Koṅgu region.[24] However, the exact point in time when the Cēra or other governors were discontinued following the foundation of a new Cēra kingdom at Makōtai cannot be ascertained with the help of the sources available at present. It is possible that a political revolution supported by the new powerful Aryan Brahmin oligarchy enabled some governor belonging to the Cēra dynasty to become the founder of a new kingdom with its capital at Makōtai near the site of ancient Muciri of the Sangam age. As pointed out earlier, the Brahmins of the Aryan settlements had become established and prosperous by the 8th century. They could very well have had a share in promoting the foundation of this kingdom at some time in the beginning of the 9th century. Their traditional chronicle, *Kēraḷōlpatti* gives an account of such a development which may be summarised here.

Finding anarchy and mutual conflicts intolerable, the representatives of the 64 settlements (32 of Tuḷu and 32 of Kerala) elected the representatives of 4 settlements as leaders and they brought Perumāḷs from outside Kerala. These Perumāḷs were to rule for periods of twelve years according to certain rules and regulations. After a long time of rule by the Perumāḷs they brought the Cēramān Perumāḷ, a Kṣatriya prince. He was not sent back after the term of 12 years. His sister, a Kṣatriya princess, was married to a Brahmin so that the off-spring could be good Kṣatriyas of the solar race. When this Perumāḷ ruled for 36 years, and did not return even after that, the overlord, called Kṛṣṇa Rāyar, invaded Kerala. The subjects were divided in their loyalties but they finally decided to forgo the pattern of government laid down for them by Paraśurāma and allow Cēramān Perumāḷ to rule over Kerala.[25] In spite of some discrepancies in detail, this account is convincing in its outlines.[26] In the absence of clear-cut epigraphic or literary evidence regarding the foundation of this Cēra kingdom, this Brahmanical tradition may be provisionally accepted. It has the advantage that it suits the known background of Kerala's early connection with Koṅgu in the Sangam age, the subsequent conquest of the old Cēra capital in Koṅgu by the Cālukyas, Pallavas, and Pāṇḍyas, and the emergence of the new Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.

Founder of the Kingdom

This Cēramān Perumāḷ, who became the founder of the new kingdom, is described in *Kēraḷōlpatti* as a contemporary of Vāsubhaṭṭa, who is described elsewhere in the same work as the courtier of Kulaśēkhara and disciple of Mahābhārata Bhaṭṭa.[27] Vāsubhaṭṭa must be the same as the famous Yamaka poet Vāsubhaṭṭa, author of *Tripuradahana, Śaurikathōdaya* and *Yudhiṣṭira-vijaya,* and disciple of Bharata guru, who has been identified earlier as the contemporary of Rāma Rājaśēkhara and Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara.[28] On the basis of this Cēramān Perumāḷ- Vāsubhaṭṭa-Kulaśēkhara synchronism, Rāma

Rājaśēkhara, the immediate predecessor of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara, may be taken to be the first Cēramān Perumāḷ who is described as the founder of the dynasty in the traditional chronicle.

This late chronicle is partly supported by the 12th century version of the choice of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār found in *Periyapurāṇam*. According to this, the Cēra ministers consulted among themselves when the ruling Poṛaiyan king retired into the forest for penance, and requested Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār to take up the reins of government according to the 'custom of Malaināṭu'.[29] At first he refused to do so because of his absolute devotion to Lord Śiva but agreed later.[30] This Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the friend of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, has been placed by different scholars in different periods but he certainly comes within the time bracket from 750 to 850 AD on account of the references to the Pallavas and earlier Nāyanārs in the works of Sundara.[31] That the Cēra Nāyanār was a king of Makōtai is explicitly stated by Cēkkiḻār. That his accession to the throne was not based on any direct hereditary claim, patrilineal or matrilineal, is implied by the consultations among ministers and the reference to the custom of Malaināṭu after the previous king's departure. This Śaivite king, elected by the Cēra ministers according to *Periyapurāṇam*, could very well be the first Cēramān Perumāḷ of *Kēraḷōlpatti* fame. He must also be identified as Rāma Rājaśēkhara (c. 800-844 AD) of the Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate. The benedictory phrase *'Namaśśivāya'* in the copper plate shows that king Rājaśēkhara was a Śaivite.[32]

The kinship of the rulers with the Cēras of the Sangam age is clear from the dynastic name. That the government in the 9th century was a monarchy based on some form of hereditary right is proved by the references to 'Kēraḷavamśa', or Kerala dynasty, in *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhyā*, though the exact order of succession is not clear from the nature of the evidence.[33] That there was domination of the West coast of Kerala in the post-Sangam pre-Makōtai period by Cēras of Koṅgu, who were themselves often subject to other powers, has been clearly established with the aid of epigraphic evidence quoted above. Again the foundation of the Brahmin settlements in the post-Sangam period is borne out by their prosperity evident from the epigraphic records of the 9th and 10th centuries. All these imply some form of viceregal rule in the pre-Makōtai period, which developed later on into an independent dynastic rule. The prominent place occupied by the Brahmin settlements in the period of our study, as proved by epigraphy, adds to the value of the testimony of the Brahmin-oriented *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle, late though it may be. In the absence of more concrete contemporary evidence, the legend, which agrees with the historical background, is to be accepted provisionally and an attempt made to interpret it with the help of available epigraphic and literary evidence.

Thus the first independent ruler of Makōtai must have been the Śaivite king Rāma Rājaśēkhara (c. 800-844 AD) who may be identified as the Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār of legend and literature. On the basis of this identification it may be inferred that he was on friendly terms with the Pallavas. His friend, Sundara, with whom the Cēra went on pilgrimage to Cidambaram and Nāvalūr, is known as a great protagonist of Pallava sovereignty in South India.[34] The Pallavas were fighting continuously against the Cālukyas on one side and the Pāṇḍyas on the other.[35] The Pallava friendship must have helped the Cēra in shaking off the old Cālukya and new Pāṇḍya threat of domination. The imperial title 'Rājādhirāja Paramēśwara Bhaṭṭāraka' borne by Rājaśēkhara may be taken as the symbol of this new boldness and independence.

Pāṇḍyan Wars

The 8th and 9th centuries witnessed the expansionism of the Pāṇḍyan power in the southern tip of the peninsula. This brought them into conflict with the Cēras on two fronts, one in Koṅgu country and the other in the Āy country. The renewal of the capital city of Vañci (Karūr) along with Kūṭal (Madurai) and Kōḻi (Uṟayūr) by Rājasimha I Pāṇḍya (730-65 AD) signifies the Pāṇḍyan occupation of the Cēra capital in Koṅgu country.[36] However, the Cēra's resistance appears to have continued from behind the shelter of the Western Ghat ranges. When Jaṭila Parāntaka Pāṇḍya (765-815 AD), the donor of the Madras Museum plates of the 17th year, went to war against Atikan of Takaṭūr, the Keralas and Pallavas went to the aid of the latter though the Pāṇḍyas drove them back to the two quarters from which they had emerged.[37] These details of the Pāṇḍya-Cēra wars in Koṅgu bring out the story of the establishment of Pāṇḍyan supremacy in that region. They show how the territory of the ancient Cēra kingdom, except the West coast, gradually passed into the Pāṇḍyan sphere of influence.

Then the Pāṇḍyan king destroyed Viḻiññam and conquered the king of Vēḷs taking possession of the fertile country along with his magnificent treasures.[38] This event appears to be the same as mentioned in the earlier Vēḷvikkuḍi plates of the 3rd year of the Pāṇḍyan king as the suppression of the rebellious Āy Vēḷ.[39] Therefore, both the Koṅgu conquest and the Viḻiññam campaign have to be placed in c. 765 AD, i.e., the beginning of his reign. The Vēḷs and Āys are mentioned together in Sangam works as if the two terms were synonymous and applied to the same group of people and they are represented as having had close relations with the Cēras of the Sangam age.[40] Towards the close of the Sangam age Pāṇḍyan supremacy had extended to the Āy territory though it is likely that the Āys gained their independence during the Kaḷabhra interregnum.[41] The fresh attempt of the Pāṇḍyas, after their revival, to conquer the Āy Vēḷ at the close of the 8th cen-

tury seems to have brought the Cēras into the conflict and prolonged the struggle. The Pāṇḍya are still found fighting against the Āy king Caṭayan Karunantan at Aruviyūrkkōṭṭai in 788 AD, i.e., the 23rd year of Jaṭila Parāntaka.[42] Again, the 27th year of the Pāṇḍyan king (792 AD) witnessed the continuation of the fight at Viḻiññam and Karaikkōṭṭai, this time with the Cēramānār paṭai (Cēra army) on the opposite side.[43] By the middle of the 9th century the Cēra king Sthāṇu Ravi (c. 844-883 AD) was overlord of Vēḷnāṭu or Vēṇāṭu which had its headquarters at Kurakkēṇi Kollam and the Pāṇḍyan king Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha (815-862 AD) was the overlord of the Āy country with its headquarters at Viḻiññam, the old capital sacked by Pāṇḍyan king Jaṭila Parāntaka.[44]

From this it may be inferred that the final outcome of the Pāṇḍyan invasion of Āy-Vēḷ country, followed by the prolonged Pāṇḍya-Cēra conflict, was the partition of the traditional Āy-Vēḷ territory into two, the northern half passing under Cēra hegemony and the southern half being absorbed in the Pāṇḍyan sphere of influence. The foundation of the Kollam (Quilon) city in 825 AD from which year the Kollam era is counted, signifies also the creation of Vēḷnāṭu (Vēṇāṭu) and the extension of Cēra power into the Kollam region.[45] In setting up the port of Kollam and extending liberal patronage to the foreign Christian merchant Mār Sāpir Īśo the Cēras exhibited their anxiety not only to strengthen and secure Vēṇāṭu as a bulwark against possible Pāṇḍyan aggression in future, but also to develop a new harbour in the south to rival the glory of Viḻiññam which passed into the orbit of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.[46] This was the background against which Kollam (Quilon) developed into a second capital of the Cēras in the 10th and 11th centuries.

The Pāṇḍyan king Jaṭila Parāntaka (765-815 AD) completed the conquest of the Koṅgu country by defeating the Atikamān of Takaṭūr (Dharmapuri) and driving out the Pallavas and Kēraḷas who seem to have made a "combined effort" in order to "set some limit to the growing aggression of the Pāṇḍyas".[47] The historian of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom has rightly interpreted the construction of a temple of considerable size in a place called Kāñcivāyppērūr near Coimbatore in the Koṅgu country as indicating the consolidation of Pāṇḍyan power in that area.[48] It is also demonstrated that the whole of Koṅgu, east of the Western Ghats, now passed into the Pāṇḍyan realm and that the Cēras of Koṅgu were now reduced to a state of Pāṇḍyan vassalage. It was under these circumstances that the West coast province of the Cēra country became an independent Cēra kingdom with its own capital at Makōtai. The Cēra ministers' choice of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the Cēra prince who resided in Tiruvañcikkaḷam temple as a devotee of Śiva, as the king of the country as described in *Periyapurāṇam* must be viewed against this background of the eclipse of Cēra power in the Koṅgu region. Thus the Pāṇḍyan occupation of Karūr Vañci and subjugation of the whole of Koṅgu

country at the close of the 8th century directly led to the establishment of the new Cēra capital of Makōtai and its rise into prominence.

By the middle of the 8th century the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ had succeeded in replacing the Cālukyas of Bādāmi as the paramount power of the Deccan.[49] They also began to expand southward and by the beginning of the 9th century Govinda III (792-814 AD) was making preparations in his capital for a campaign against the kings of the south who were showing signs of insubordination.[50] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records mention a confederacy of Dravida kings including Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Pallava who were defeated.[51] However, the Kēraḷas mentioned there might be the Koṅgu Cēras who had already entered the Pāṇḍyan fold and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa intrusion at that stage is not likely to have affected the secluded West coast where a new Cēra kingdom was taking shape.

Second Stage: Cōḷa-Cēra Entente (844-988 AD)

The most significant factor of South Indian history for about three centuries from the middle of 9th century is the growth of the Cōḷa empire. Every other power in this area had to define its relations with the Cōḷas, and its fortunes depended largely on the nature of this relationship. For about a hundred years between the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century when the expanding Cōḷa empire swallowed the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, and confronted the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan, the Cēras of Makōtai had good political relations with them, cemented by a royal marriage and tested by joint military action against the common foe.

It is likely that this early Cōḷa -Cēra friendship arose out of the common opposition to the Pāṇḍyas, who, as pointed out before, deprived the Cēras of their ancestral capital and kingdom in Koṅgudēśa. A branch of the Cēra dynasty which accepted Pāṇḍyan overlordship seems to have survived in Koṅgu as revealed by a number of inscriptions found there. Through marriage relations they must have been integrated with the Pāṇḍya royal family since they are called members of *Candrādityakula.*[52] The Pāṇḍyan patronage of this branch must naturally have posed a threat to the Cēras of Makōtai and made them anxious to have allies on their side.

The Cōḷas of Tanjore belonging to the Vijayālaya line were at first feudatories or allies of the Pallavas of Kāñci against whom the Pāṇḍyas were engaged in almost continuous warfare. The exact relationship between these Tamil Cōḷas and Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Telugu Poṭṭāppi line who succeeded in conquering and ruling over the Pallava kingdom between 817 and 845 AD remains obscure.[53] However, it is now known that the Cēras of Makōtai formed an alliance with Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa and that he and Sthāṇu Ravi jointly awarded military honours in 844-45 AD to a certain Vikki Aṇṇan, who was the husband of Kadamba Mādēvi, and probably a Gaṅga prince.[54] For long

this was misunderstood by historians who took the Cōḷa partner of Sthāṇu Ravi to be Āditya I (871-907 AD) and fixed the date of the joint action accordingly.[55] The identity of the Cōḷa partner and his dates are clearly established now. It is also possible to see that the patronage extended to the Gaṅga -Kadamba chieftain by Cōḷa-Cēra kings must have been occasioned either by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion to the South or by a Pāṇḍyan attempt to expand further into the North.

In tracing Pāṇḍyan history, scholars have observed that the marriage of a Kerala princess by the Pāṇḍyan king Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa (c. 880-900 AD) "is also some indication that, for one reason or other, the reign of this king was marked by happier relations with the Cēra king than was usual in this age".[56] No distinction is made here between the Cēras of Makōtai and the Cēras of Karūr. This is only natural as there was till recently no clear picture of the kingdom of Makōtai. However, even recent writers with the knowledge of the Cēras of Makōtai have been tempted to take this as an instance of relationship between the Cēras of Makōtai and the Pāṇḍyas.[57] This assumption naturally makes it difficult to explain why the Cēras of Makōtai remained friendly with the Cōḷas even after the latter destroyed the Pāṇḍya-Cēra crown prince, Rājasimha. In fact, the marriage refers to an alliance between the Pāṇḍyas and the Cēras of Koṅgu as the offspring of this marriage is described as the ornament of the solar and lunar race at once, an adjective that is applied to the Koṅgu Cēras in inscriptions.[58] Therefore, the result of this marriage was the increase in the possibility of the Pāṇḍyas assisting the Koṅgu Cēras to claim their ancestral territory. This must have prompted the Cēras of Makōtai to cultivate the relationship of the Cōḷas of Tanjore who were bent on destroying the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The marriage between Vīra Cōḷa or Parāntaka Cōḷa (907-955 AD) and a Cēra princess called Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ may be interpreted as part of this move.[59] In other words, when the Koṅgu Cēras established a marriage relation with the Pāṇḍyas and improved their position, the Cēras of the West coast sought a similar alliance with the Cōḷas, the known enemy of the Pāṇḍyas, to retrieve the balance. This new marriage alliance between the Cēras of Makōtai and the Cōḷas of Tanjore must have taken place during the early years of the 10th century as Rājāditya Cōḷa , the offspring of this alliance, came to be nominated as Cōḷa commander in Tirumuṉaippāṭināṭu in 936 AD.[60] Thus the Cōḷa -Cēra matrimonial alliance must be placed immediately before or after the Cōḷa conquest of Madura in 910 AD.[61] That it was a crucial event affecting the Cēra policy for a considerable period may be seen from the course of events which followed.

Relation with Āys

Before discussing those events it is necessary to examine the background of other developments concerning the relations between the Cēras and Āys

on the one hand and the Cēras and Mūṣakas on the other which reveal the formation of a confederacy of the Southern powers under the leadership of the Cōḷas of Tanjore. The conquest of Koṅgu by Āditya Cōḷa or earlier by Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa must be placed sometime in the last years of the 9th century and this appears to have involved some fighting between Āditya and the Pāṇḍyan king Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa.[62] Naturally this would have brought the Cōḷas and the Cēras of Makōtai closer as the Pāṇḍya was a common enemy. The great battle of Śrīpurambiyam which took place about 895 AD is believed to have broken the back of the Pāṇḍyan power.[63] The Cēras of Makōtai must have gained from their enemy's discomfiture though nothing is known about the former's role in this battle. There is, nevertheless, evidence to suggest that at least one of the Pāṇḍyan vassals, namely the Āy king of Viḻiññam, began to show a friendly attitude towards the Cēra.

The Āy king Vikṛamāditya Varaguṇa (884-911 AD), the immediate successor of Karunantaṭakkan Śrīvallabha (856-884 AD), was a vassal or feudatory of the Pāṇḍya as indicated by his surname Varaguṇa.[64] However, he makes a big land gift to a Buddhist temple in the Cēra country and refers respectfully to the arrangements made by the king, evidently the Cēra, to protect the property of the temple.[65] This event took place in 898 AD when Vijayarāga was ruling over Kerala.[66] In the context of the continuous Pāṇḍya-Cēra conflict this act of the Pāṇḍya feudatory seems to be strange unless it is assumed that after the Pāṇḍyan defeat at Śrīpurambiyam their hold on the Āy feudatories gradually diminished until it was reduced to a nominal allegiance. Further proof of a new Āy-Cēra friendship is found in the presence of Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, queen of Cēra king Vijayarāga, at Tirunandikkara in the heart of the Āy country and her gift of gold to the Śiva temple there.[67]

Relations with Mūṣakas

While the Pāṇḍyan power was declining there was a corresponding increase in the prosperity of the Cēras of Makōtai. The Cēra king Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga may be identified with Kerala king Jayarāga mentioned in *Mūṣakavaṃśa*.[68] His marriage to the daughter of Kuñcivarman Mūṣaka is described there.[69] After a period Īśāna II Mūṣaka, son of Kuñcivarman, is stated to have married the daughter of a Cēdi king and helped in his father-in-law's restoration to the throne.[70] Considering the period of these events which took place in the lifetime of Vijayarāga (883-c. 913 AD) the Cēdi king referred to must be Kokkala or his son Sankaragaṇa, friends and allies of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II Akālavarṣa (880-915 AD).[71] Immediately after the marriage and the restoration, the Kerala king Jayarāga led an expedition against his brother-in-law Īśāna II Mūṣaka, evidently to chastise him for having joined the Cēdi - Rāṣṭrakūṭa group of powers in the Deccan.[72] This episode must be assigned to the later years of Vijayarāga's reigns to c. 900 A.D, since his grown-

up son Gōdavarma is mentioned in this connection.[73] Gōdavarma intervened in the single combat between his father and uncle and re-established peace between them. Then the Kerala king Jayarāga was taken to the Mūṣaka capital with full honours and after receiving the hospitality of his relatives and the tribute of the chieftains and the people he returned to Kerala.[74] Probably as a sequel to all this, Īśāna Mūṣaka took a Cōḷa princess in marriage.[75]

Relations with Cōḷas

This chain of events discloses the establishment of Kerala overlordship over the Mūṣaka following the attempt to rescue the Mūṣaka from alliance with a member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Cēdi group of states. The extension of Cēra influence over Mūṣaka country is further confirmed by reference to Mūḷikkaḷam rules as the model in an early 10th century inscription from Ēḷimala.[76] This must be seen part of the efforts made by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and the Cōḷas of the South to recruit allies to strengthen their position long before the final confrontation between the two in the thirties and forties of the 10th century occurred.[77] The Cēras of Makōtai seem to have acted as the right hand of the Cōḷas in these manoeuvres, taking up the role of the Gaṅgas in the opposite camp, though there is no evidence to show their political subordination to the Cōḷas.

In the light of these developments it is logical to infer that the Cēras were allowed to have a share of territory in Koṅgu and Āy countries, which were subject to the Pāṇḍya, when the Cōḷas conquered Madurai and overthrew the Pāṇḍyan rule.[78] This view is based on the fact that no inscription of Parāntaka Cōḷa is found in Koṅgu except one in Salem and that they are not at all found in the northern parts of the Āy country.[79] Moreover, as pointed out earlier, Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, the queen of Kerala king Vijayarāga, is found in this period to be making a gift to Tirunandikkara Śiva temple.[80] The Cēra supremacy must have extended to the Āy country as we find the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja at a later period destroying Kāntaḷūr Śālai and 'liberating the king of Kūpaka from servitude' before he proceeded to invade Kerala.[81] There is another interesting fact also to be explained. In the 9th century Vaḷḷuvanāṭu was the name of a district of the Āy kingdom to the south of Kerala.[82] In the 10th century, this name is used for a northern district of Kerala.[83] It is likely that the northern Vaḷḷuvanāṭu was organised as a new district with hereditary governorship in the beginning of the 10th century with a chieftain or general from Vaḷḷuvanāṭu in the South nominated as hereditary governor so that the name of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu was also transplanted there.

When Parāntaka Cōḷa conquered Madura in 910 AD Rājasimha II Pāṇḍya carried on a futile war of resistance for some years, went to Ceylon, and finally left Ceylon leaving behind the crown and other regalia and seeking re-

fuge in Kerala.[84] Some scholars have been confused by this, thinking that Rājasimha II Pāṇḍya was a friend and relative of the Cēras of Makōtai and assuming that the latter had to follow a policy of neutrality between the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya relatives.[85] As noticed earlier Rājasimha Pāṇḍya was related to the Cēras of Koṅgu who were not friends but were rivals of the Cēras of Makōtai during this period.[86] Therefore, the Cēras of Makōtai did not probably face any dilemma in supporting their Cōḷa relatives.

A Cōḷa -Cēra Prince

In Cōḷa history the first half of the 10th century saw the rise of that kingdom to the position of the foremost power in South India as well as their sudden eclipse following the battle of Takkōḷam in 949 AD in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas routed them.[87] In this period there is evidence of close collaboration between the Cōḷas and Cēras. Parāntaka Cōḷa 's marriage to a Cēra princess named Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ and the nomination of her son Rājāditya as the Cōḷa crown prince in c. 948 AD have been mentioned before.[88] While 'this Cōḷa - Cēra prince was organising the defense of the Cōḷa empire in Tirumuṉaippātināṭu from 936 AD onwards he had a whole contingent of Malayalees or Keralite officers in his military force.[89] Many of them have left behind their names in donative inscriptions in Tirunāvalūr or Tirunāmanallūr, called Rājādityapuram till about 1140 AD. Some of these Kerala officers hailed from the families of hereditary district governors in Kerala. The names that we find in a group are those of Malaiyāḷan Māḷuvaccār Aṭṭankan Cāttan, Malaiyāḷan Netunkālaināṭṭu Īśānamaṅgalattu Mānavallan Kaṇṇan, Malaiyāḷan Iravi Kōtai, Malaiyāḷan Neṭumpuṟaiyūr nāṭṭil Vakkanāṭṭu Maṇkarai Kaṇṭan Kāman, Malaināṭṭu Kaṇṭiyūr Vēḷkulasundaran, Malaiyāna parivārattu Cēvakan Tirukkuṇṟappōḻa Cēnta Kumaran, and Malaināṭṭu Maṭaivāḻkai Iyakkan Irāman.[90] The title 'Māḷuvaccār' is reminiscent of the title Māḷuvakkōn used by the hereditary governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu.[91] The title of 'Vēḷkulasundaran' also reminds one of the use of this term as a title of the ruler of Vēṇaṭu.[92] These two evidently belonged to the governing families of the districts concerned. There is no information about the status of others though it is known from the place names like Īśānimangalam in Neḍunkālaināṭu, Maṇkarai in Vakkanāṭu in Neṭumpuṟaiyūrnāṭu, Tirukkuṇṟappōḻai, and Maṭaivāḻkai that they came from different districts of Kerala.[93] Therefore, it may be inferred that it was not a mere accidental collection of Malayāḷees in a regiment but the result of a deliberate move on the part of the Cēra king to send a huge army in support of the Cōḷa - Cēra prince. Perhaps each of the feudatory governors had sent contingents of soldiers under a junior prince or high officer and thus made it a representative Kerala force. It shows how the Cēras of Makōtai identified themselves fully with the cause of the Cōḷas against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and

staked much in the big confrontation between the two imperial powers in their bid for mastery of the peninsula.

Caturānana Paṇḍita

The leader of this group was evidently Veḷḷan Kumaran, son of Rājaśēkhara, the governor of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu in Kerala. He came from Nandikkarai Puttūr in Kerala and was appointed as the commander of the Cōḷa forces.[94] There are four inscriptions which refer to this Kerala chieftain who rose to the highest position in Cōḷa service as the Commander and confidant of the Cōḷa -Cēra prince Rājāditya.[95] The death of Rājāditya and the defeat of the Cōḷas upset him completely though he himself survived the catastrophe. He turned into an ascetic and settled at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr near Madras as the disciple of Nirañjana Guru and eventually became the founder of a maṭha there. In this new role he was known as Caturānana Paṇḍita. The strange autobiography of this Kerala chieftain throws a flood of light on the nature of the abortive and tragic Cōḷa -Cēra entente.[96] Incidentally this is the only authentic piece of autobiography that is recovered from the relics of this age. The unusual turns of fortune seems to have inspired him to compose verses on his own life departing from the common practice.

Keralites at Takkōḷam

Besides the military officers many others from Kerala seem to have been present in Rājāditypura which was "one of the important towns if not the capital of the province governed by Rājāditya".[97] A record of Parāntaka Cōḷa, 28th year, from this place registers a gift of 90 sheep and Īḻaviḷakku to the temple by Citrakōmaḷam, parivarattāḷ (female-servant) of queen Kōkkiḻān Aṭikaḷ, mother of Rājādityadēva, who ordered the construction of the Kaṟṟaḷi (stone temple) of Tiruttoṇḍīśvara.[98] From this it may be inferred that the Kerala queen of Parāntaka was also present at her son's headquarters for some time. It is quite likely that Kōkkiḻān Aṭikaḷ was identical with Iravi Nīli, daughter of Kerala king Vijayarāga, who appears as the donor in a record of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple in the following year.[99] Therefore, it may be inferred that Parāntaka had married a daughter of Vijayarāgadēva.[100]

A number of other Keralites, especially merchants, are also mentioned in records of the period of Parāntaka in different parts of the Cōḷa empire. A native of Koḍuṅgallūr in Malaināṭu appears as donor at Kuḍumiyamalai (Pudukkōṭṭah) in the 16th year.[101] Another appears in the same capacity at Tiruccāṇūr (North Arcot) in the 29th year.[102] A Malaiyāna oṟṟaiccēvakan (single soldier) of the army of prince Arikulakēsari appears in Kiḻūr (South Arcot) in the 33rd year.[103] A native of Malaināṭu appears in Udaiyārguḍi (South Arcot) in the 38th year.[104] A certain Pūvan Māran of Neṭiya Taḷi in

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The extent to which the Cēras of the West coast were politically and militarily involved in fighting against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the East coast is revealed by these names and particulars. Therefore, the collapse of Cōḷa resistance after the battle of Takkōḷam in 949 AD leading to the virtual destruction of the Cōḷa empire must have been a heavy blow to the Cēras as well. This must have occurred in the period of Indu Kōtai (c. 843-862 AD) in Kerala. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Kṛṣṇa III conquered the eastern and northern parts of the Cōḷa empire and proceeded to Rāmēśwaram.[107] Perhaps the danger and difficulties involved in crossing the Western Ghats must have prevented them from attacking Kerala. It is also probable that the Cēras made formal submission paying them tribute and escaping further trouble. Ten year after the battle of Takkōḷam, the Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, dated 959 AD show that he was camping at Mēlpāṭi (N. Arcot) after a digvijaya in the South in the course of which he uprooted the family of the Cōḷas, distributed their territory among his followers, and extracted tribute from the Cēramān, the Pāṇḍya, etc.[108]

There is a gap in Cōḷa history from the battle of Takkōḷam to the accession of Rājarāja I to the throne in 985 AD. The Cōḷas were in confusion, perhaps continuing a precarious political existence under the threat of Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion.[109] The Pāṇḍyas had not yet revived after the shock of the Cōḷa conquest at the beginning of the 10th century. The Pallavas had completely disappeared from the scene. Among the rulers of the Far South, the Cēras were left as the only power that survived without serious injury. The increase in the number of temples and temple inscriptions during the post- Takkōḷam part of 10th century may be taken as an index of the stability and prosperity of the Cēra kingdom during this period.[110] However, there is practically no information about Cēra-Cōḷa relations during this interval except that Sundara Cōḷa (c. 956-c. 973 AD), whose reign "marked the recovery of the Cōḷas from the disasters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion", had a Cēra princess among his queens.[111] It is not known whether she hailed from Karūr or Makōtai. However, the relations between the Cōḷa and Kerala royal families worsened and wars between them broke out within two or three years of the accession to the Cōḷa throne of his son Rājarāja.

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Notes and References

1. Index no. A. 34. L.4. "Muyirikkōṭṭu iruntaruḷiya nāḷ pirasāticcaruḷiya pirasātamāvatu". The term 'kōḍe' or 'kōḍu' meaning fort or settlement is usually added to several place names in Kerala. E.g. Kozhikkōḍe. Thus the actual name is 'Muyiri' derived from 'Muciri' of the Sangam age.
2. *Ibid.*, LI. 20-28.
3. Perunna Inscription of Kulaśēkhara, 10th year, Index no. A. 68 and Kollam inscription of Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, Index no. A. 71.
4. Index no. C. 32. This record mentions the joint administration of Nālu Taḷi in the matter of the temple's revenue.
5. The *LBV* refers to the court astronomer's conversations with the king Kulaśēkhara at Mahōdayapura, the construction of a hall by the king in the city and the installation of a 'yantra' by the king there and to certain part of the city called Bālakṛīḍēśwara, Gōṭṛamallēśwara and Sēnāmukha. The *Periyapurāṇam* (12th century) gives full description of Koḍuṉgōḷūr (Koḍuṅgallūr) or Makōtai as the capital city of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār and also refers to it as kulapuri (traditional capital) of the Cēra. Kulaśēkhara, the royal dramatist, (9th century) describes himself as the supreme lord of Mahōdayapura and the ruler of Kerala. For details see the Chapter on the Nature of Monarchy...
6. The names of Koḍuṅgallūr as well as Makōtai are mentioned in the 12th century *Periyapurāṇam* and the 13th century Cochin copper plate of Vīra Rāghava. It is likely that the name of Koḍuṅgallūr is derived either form Kōtai (E.g. Kōtainallūr) or Kuḍam (E.g. Kuḍam Kō nallūr). Kōta is a traditional name of the Cēra king and Kuḍam meaning West was applied often to the West Coast of Malaināṭu as in Kuḍamalaināṭu. However, such derivations are always controversial. For other discussions, see K. Ramavarma, 'Mahōdayapuram', *Journal of the Mythic Society*, XIX, and K.R. Pisharodi, 'Cranganōr', *R.V.R.I.B* ,I, pp. 33-6.
7. *A.R.A.D.C. for 1944-5*. pp, 2-4; 1945-6, p. 2. For details see the Chapter on the Nature of Monarchy...
8. *Kōkasandēśa*. Sloka 76.
   "Bhūyassambhāvaya viyaneḻum cēramānnāṭu cillit-
   Tūyattākkum nṛpakulapurīm nirjitasvargaśōbhām
   Tārār mātin capalacaritappōkkoṭuṅgallūreṉṟum
   pērānnīirēḻulakilumulāvinra nānābhirāmam".
9. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* refers to the Allūr or Koḍuṅgallūr palace in several passages:
   'Rājāviṉṉu arayirikka sthāṉavum koṭuttu, allūr perumkōvilakam (Koḍuṅgallūr) ennu kalpiccu'; 'allūr perumkōyilakattu kaipiṭiccirutti'; 'Allūr perumkōvilakm ennu kalpiccu aviṭē samīpattu nālu kaḻakattinnum nālu taḷiyum tīrttu'. See Gundert, (ed.), *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 20, 29, 33.
10. For a review of the controversy in which Dr. Caldwell, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyengar, V.R.R. Dikshitar and Kanakasabha Pillai expressed different opinions, see K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, 1, pp. 32-3; T.K. Krishna Menon, 'The Vañci problem' *R.V R.I.B.*, VIII, II, pp. 92-120; K.G. Sesha Aiyar, 'Vañci or Karuvūr: The Ancient Cēra Capital', *K.S.P.*, II, no. 10, pp. 249-55. See also Eḷamkuḷam, 'Vañci paṭṭaṇam', *Annatte Kēraḷam*, (1959), pp. 74-90.

11. For Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions from Pugaḷūr giving the names of Cēra kings in the Sangam age, see Iravatam Mahadevan, 'Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmi Inscriptions', *Seminar on Inscriptions*, (Madras, 1966), and T.V. Mahalingam, *Early South Indian Palaeography*, (Madras, 1968), pp 279-84.
12. This is clear from *Patiṟṟuppattu, Ahanāṉūṟu* and *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, some of the earliest among the literary works of the Sangam age.
13. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 298; *S.I.I.*, VIII, no. 441.
14. Warmington, *Roman Trade with India*, pp. 58 ff; Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, pp. 70 ff.
15. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of The Dravidian Languages*, p. 114; Logan, *Malabar*, I, p. 275; K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, pp. 42-76; Dr. K.K. Pillay, 'The Aryan Expansion in Kerala' in Kerala History Association, (pub.), *March of History*, (Ernakulam, 1966), pp. 137-150; and M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Growth of Aryan Settlements in Ancient Kerala', *Ibid.*, pp. 55-63.
16. For the identification of Ahichatra with the Cālukyan city of Aihōḷe, see M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Kāndaḷūr Śālai: New Light on Aryan Expansion in South India', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jabalpur, 1970. The Nāṉādēśis or Ainūṟṟuvar are often styled as the Five Hundred Svāmis of Ayyāvoḷepura (Aihōḷe) in early inscriptions. See *E.C.*, X, KL no.170. They are also called the lords of Ahichatrapura. See E.C., no IX, D, B, no. 31. See also Salatore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, II, p. 9.
17. For the references in *Gramapaddhati*, See B.A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, (Poona, 1936), pp. 298-300. See also *Kēraḷōlpatti* pp. 4, 20.
18. For references to the role of Kadamba king Mayūraśarman turned into Mayūravarman, see Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 296-97 and *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p.67. For epigraphic records regarding Mayūravarman and their interpretation, see Talaguṇḍa Pillar Inscription of Kadamba king Kakustha Varaman, *E.I.*, VIII, pp.24-36; *E.C.*, VII, p. 200; *I.A.*, XXV, p.27; *Proceedings of the I.H.C.*, 1941, pp. 164-74; D.C. Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 22-54; Sastri, *South India*, pp.110-14. For a new interpretation, see D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to Indian History*, (Bombay, 1956), pp. 301-6. See also Candravalli tank inscription of Mayūravarman, *A.R.E.*, 1929, p. 50. The extension of Kadamba influence into Kerala is proved by an undated Pṛākrit-Grantha inscription of Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman, assigned to the 5th or 6th century, recovered from Eḍakal cave, Wynad, Kerala. See Fawcett, *I.A.*, XXX. pp. 409-21.
19. The Cālukyas from Kīrttivarman I (566-598 AD) onwards have included Kerala and Mūṣaka in the long list of their conquests though "there is little doubt that the claim is a boastful exaggeration of a conventional digvijaya". See D. C. Sircar, 'The Cālukyas', *History and Culture of the Indian People*, III, Chap. XII, pp.232-45. See also J. F. Fleet, 'Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions' *I.A.*, VI to XIX.
    This portion of a conventional Cālukya praśasti takes the following forms:
    a) "Vangānga Kalinga vaṭṭūra magadha mādraka kēraḷa ganga mūṣaka pāṇḍya dramiḷa cōḻiyāḷuka vaijayanti prabṛtyānēka paranarpati samūhāvamarda labdha-vijayād";
    b) "Pallavapati parājayānantara parigṛhīta kāñcīpurasya prabhā kuliśa dalita cōḷa pāṇḍya kēraḷa dharaṇīdhara trayamāna mānaśṛngasya". See nos. XVIII and XXIX of Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions.
    However, a new concrete reference to some of these countries which were brought into the vassalage along with the original vassals like the Āḷupas and Gaṅgas may be found in the grant of Vinayāditya II Satyāśraya dated Saka 617 (695 AD) and this car-

ries more weight in regard to Kerala lying next to Āḷupa and Gaṅga territories: "Pallava kaḷabhra kēraḷa haihaya vila māḷva cōḷa pāṇḍyādyah yenāḷupa gangādyair moulaissamam bhṛtyatām nītah vinayāditya satyāśraya...". See nos. XXXI of Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions.

20. These Brahmins claim to have been settled first in Tuḷu country before they came to Kerala. See *Kēraḷōlpatti* pp. 1-17. This claim is supported by the similarity of their traditions, the common expressions in the inscriptions of the Āḷupa and Kerala in the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Tuḷu-Canrese influence in the language of early Kerala inscriptions which distinguished it from contemporary Tamil language. See, Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 296-367; Eḷamkuḷam, 'Tuḷu Kēraḷa Samskāram', *Praśnaṇaḷ*. III. pp. 260-306; and *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, Chapter I-III. The fact that the Cālukyas promoted the settlement of Brahmins even in the territory of their feudatories may be seen from two copper-plate grants of Citravāhana Āḷupa dated 692 and 694 AD respectively. These, issued under the command of the Cālukya sovereign Vinayāditya II, describe the settlement of Vēdic Brahmins in Tuḷuva. See *E.C.*, VIII, Sl. no. 571, p. 92; *I.A.*, XIX, p. 152; and *E.C.*, XI, Dg no. 66, pp. 62-3; *I.A.*, VI, pp. 91-3.

21. See chapter on Social System under Arya Brahmin settlements. F.N. no. 16. Only Cellūr or Perumcellūr, the northern most of the settlements, finds a place in Sangam literatures. See *Akanānūṟu*, 220.

22. It is likely that the Sangam Cēras had a system of 'kūṟṟuvāḻkai' or joint rule each prince of the family ruling in a different province. The senior most must have ruled Karūr, the junior being sent according to rank to Toṇḍi, Muciri etc. Such a system of four or five 'sthānanms' or seats in different parts of the principality was known at Cochin and Calicut during the medieval period. See K.P.P. Menon, *History of Cochin*, I, pp. 28-32 and K.V.K. Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 9-10. Such a system alone would explain the epithets like 'Kuṭṭuvan', 'Kuḍakkō', 'Karavūr ēṛiya' and adjectives like 'master of Vañci, Toṇḍi, Muciri etc. in *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

23. See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 18-50.

24. See Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 50-8. The Pāṇḍyan king Śēndan or Jayantan (645-70 AD) also bears the name Vāṉavan, the synonym of Cēra. This, according to Sastri, "seems to indicate that he won some success against the Cēra contemporary". A Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Indu Kōta, 17th year, mentions a shrine called after Perumānar Paṇṭan Cēntan, evidently Pāṇḍya king Jayantan, thus confirming the extension of Pāṇḍya authority into Kerala. There is also a reference to Perumāḷ Pāṇḍyan Cēnnan in *Kēraḷōlpatti* also. p. 25. Arikēsari Māravarman (670-710 AD) "defeated, on several occasions, the Kerala king and captured him alive with his near relatives and forces". Though narrated in a confused passage, the references to the battle of Cennilam appear to be genuine.

25. See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 18-55.

26. The number of settlements must be 32 instead of 64 because the other 32 are clearly mentioned elsewhere as being in Tuḷu country. Similarly, the reference to Kṛṣṇadēvarāyar of Ānagunḍi is a clear mistake possibly arising out of confusion between the names of rulers in the mind of the scribe. Moreover, the story of the first Cēramān and the last Cēramān appears to have been fused together taking Cēramān to denote a single king instead of a whole series of Cēra kings in succession.

27. See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 37, 50.

28. See chapter on Chronology under Rājaśēkhara.

29. Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Kalarirṟarivarpurāṇam, Verses 10-12.
"------ Cenkōr puṟayanenum-----

--- taraṇi nīṭṭuttavam cārntān".
"Vantamarapinaracaḻippān vanam cār tavattin maruviya pin
Cintaimatināl Cēramaiccar cilanāḷ āyntu teḻintaneṟi
Muntai marapin mutalvar tiruttoṇḍu muyalavar mutaṟṟāka
Intu muṭiyār tiruvañcaikkaḷattil avar pāl eytiṉār".
"Eytiyavartam etirinainci yiruntan cāral malaināṭṭuc-
Ceytimuṟaimaiyāl Urimaiccenkōlaracu purivataṟku
Maitirneriyin muṭi cūṭiyaruḷumarapal vantenap-
Poytīr vaymai mantirikaḷ pōṟṟippukanra poḻutinkaṇ".

30. *Ibid.*, Verses, 12-20.

31. Sundara gives the list of 63 Nāyanārs or Śaivite saints for the first time in Tiruttoṇṭattokai. This proves that he came after all those mentioned there, i.e., approximately after 750 AD. Moreover he praises the Pallava king as a great monarch and this will not suit a period after 850 AD. See *Tēvāram*, Patikam, Stanza 9. L1. 1-2.
"Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakellām kākkinṟa perumān
Kāṭavar kōn kaḻar cingan".
See also the patikam on Ciṟṟampalam:
"Urimaiyār pallavarkkuttiṟai koṭāmannavarai maṟukkam ceyyum
Perumaiyār puliyūr ciṟṟampalattemperumānaippēṟṟāmanṟō".
For different views on the date of Sundara, see Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas of Kāñci*, (Madras 1938), pp. 299-304; Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Sentamil*, III, p. 320; *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, pp. 109-1I2; Ramanatha Ayyar, Cēramān Perumāḷ, *T.A.S.*, V,II, no. 28, pp. 96-104; S. Govindasami- 'A Note on Cēramān Perumāḷ' *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII,I, pp. 37-44; and Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, (Madras, 1963),pp. 13-14.

32. See Index No. A. I. This copper plate mentions a meeting of the temple authorities in the presence of the king in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāṟṟuvay. It is the only Cēra inscription opening with 'Namaśśivāya' instead of 'Swasti Śrī'. The predominantly Śaivite character of Koḍuṅgallūr also suggests that the Nāyanār could have been the builder of the new capital and the founder of the new state.

33. *L.B.V.*, Chap. III, p. 46.
"Uktam Kēraḻavamśa kētu ravinā";
Chap. IV. p. 65.
"Asminnarthē rājnā kēraḻavamśapradīpēna
kadācit kulaśēkharēnēdamuktam".

34. See Note No. 31 above.

35. See Sastri, *South India*, pp. 146-69. "For a period of 300 years from the middle of the 6th century AD, the history of South India is virtually the story of the mutual conflict among three powers each seeking constantly to extend its empire at the expense of its neighbours. The three powers were the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the Pallavas of Kāñci and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura".

36. The actual passage in the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa says: "Kūṭal vañci kōḻi ennu māṭa māmatil putukkiyum". However, scholars have expressed differences regarding its interpretation. Nilakanta Sastri takes it to mean the renewal of the three capitals of the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras and Cōḻas. See *Pāṇḍyan King-*

dom, (London, 1929), p. 59. K.G. Sankara thinks that walls of Madurai named after three ancient cities could be intended. See *I.A.*, L1, p. 214. Krishna Sastri interprets it as the renewal of the palaces and ramparts of the capital towns. See *E.I.*, XVII, p. 307.

37. Madras Museum plates of Jaṭila Parāntaka. See *I.A.* XXII: pp. 57-75. "Pallavanum kēraḷanum angavarkku ppangāki ppalpaṭayoṭu mērccentaṅgiruvaraiyum irupālum eytappaṭai viṭuttu".

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-4. L. 36. "Aṇiyilaṅkaiyil araṇitaki maṇiyilaṅkum neṭumāmatil viḻiññam atu valiyakkoṛṛa vēlai urai nīkki veṛṛa tanai veṇmannanai veṇraḷittavan viḻunitiyoṭu kunra mannakulaikkaḷirum kunran māvum kula tanavum nannāṭum avaikkoṇṭum". See also Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p.64.

39. Vēḷvikkuḍi Grant of Neṭum Caṭayan, 3rd year, *E.I.*, XVII, pp. 291-309, L.71. "Āy vēḷ nāṭṭukkurumpaṭakki". See also Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*. p. 60. Nilakanta Sastri takes the tem vēḷ to indicate a 'kuṛunilai mannan' or local chieftain somewhat resembling to the feudal barons of medieval Europe. This may be the general meaning, but the term Vēṇāṭu (Vēḷ+nāṭu) applied to south of Kerala shows that the Vēḷs of the Sangam literature were chieftains of the region. Again Sastri quotes with approval the suggestion of Krishna Sastri that 'nāṭṭukkuṛumbu' may be Kuṛumbanāḍ. This is wrong because Kuṛumpuṛaināṭu lies in north Kerala, far away from Vēḷnāṭu and the sentence loses meaning with such an interpretarion.

40. Veḷiyan Vēṇmāḷ Nallini or Nallini of the Vēḷ country, daughter of Veḷiyan, was the qeen of Cēra king Utiyan. See *Patiṛṛuppattu*, Decad II Patikam. Similarly Veḷiyan Veṇmān Āy Eyinan or Eyinan of the Vēḷ country, son of Veḷiyan, was the commander of the Cēra forces against Naṉṉan. See *Akanāṉūṛu*, 208. This name shows that a person belonging to the Āy family was chieftain of the Vēḷ country during the Sangam age.

41. Āy Aṇḍiran is praised by poets Muṭamōciyār (*Puṛanāṉūṛu* 127-35, 241, 374 and 375) Oṭaikiḻār (*Puṛam* 136) and Kiranar (*Puṛam* 240) and Titiyan is praised by Paraṇar (*Akam* 322) and Pūtappaṇḍiyan (*Akam* 25). This last-mentioned poet is none other than the Pāṇḍyan king of that name. His praise of the Āy chieftain's prowess in war appears to be a tribute to a defeated enemy since the name Pūtappāṇḍi is given to a village in the Āy territory. Moreover, Atiyan, the successor of Titiyan, is mentioned by Paraṇar (*Akam* 162) and Madurai Kaṇakkāyanār (*Akam* 388) and both of them describe Potiyilmalai, the early capital of Āy country, as the property of Pacumpūṇ Pāṇḍyan, the successor of Pūtappāṇḍiyan. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has rightly pointed out that the name Pacumpūṇ Pāṇḍyan alias Aḻakiya Pāṇḍyan is perpetuated in the Āy country in the name of the village called 'Atiyanūrāna Aḻakiyapāṇḍyapuram' in some records of the 11th 12th centuries. See Elamkulam, 'Āy Rājavamśam', *Praśnangaḷ*, I, p. 87 and *T.A.S.*, III. nos. 17 and 18, pp. 57-8.

42. Kaḻukumalai Inscription. No.43 of 1908; *T.A.S.*, I, I, pp. 3-4. Aruviyūrkkōṭṭai has rightly been identified by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam as the present Aruvikkarai formerly known as Aruviyūr near Talakkuḷam, See 'Āy rājavamśam', *Praśnangaḷ*, *Op. Cit.*, I. p. 93; T.A.S. VII, p. 122.

43. Trivandrum Museum Inscription no. 277 of 1895. *T.A.S.*, I, VII, pp. 153-9. Karaikkōṭṭai has rightly been identified by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam as Karaikkōḍu near Talakkuḷam. See *Praśnangaḷ*. I. *Op. Cit.*, p. 93. However, Nilakanta Sastri and Eḷamkuḷam have misunderstood the term 'Cēramānār paṭai' which the former took to mean the Vēṇāṭu army and the latter interpreted as the Āy force. See, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 64; *Praśnangaḷ*, I, p. 93. They forgot that Āys and Vēḷs were never referred to as the Cēras until the

disintegration of the Cēra kingdom in the 12th century. The passage clearly refers to the Cēra force: "Śrī kō māran caṭayarukku irupattēḻāmāṇṭu Cēramānār paṭai viḻiññattu purattu viṭṭuḻakka karaikkōṭṭai aḻippānavara".

44. The Kollam Syrian plates mention the 5th regnal year of Cēra king Sthāṇu Ravi, though the donor is Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, ruler of Vēṇāṭu. See Index No. A. 2. The Pāṇḍyan overlordship over the Āy country is indicated by the fact that the Āy contemporary of Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-862 AD) was called Karunantaṭakkan Śrīvallabha (857-883 AD). He must have borne the name of his master as a second name. This is confirmed by the Tamil portion of the larger Cinnamanūr plates referring to the victories of Pāṇḍyan Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha at Viḻiññam. For the Pāṇḍyan chronology and reference, see Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p.68. For the Āy chronology and references regarding Karunantaṭakkan Śrīvallabha,see *T.A.S.*, I, I. p. 3 and Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnangaḷ*, I. pp. 94-5. For a discussion of Āy-Pāṇḍya relations in the 9th century, see M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Pāṇḍyan Suzerainty over the Āy Kingdom', *Proceedings of the Seminar on Pāṇḍyan History*, (Madurai University, 1971).

45. The term Vēṇaṭu is evidently derived from the conjunction of Vēḷ and Nāṭu where 'ḷa' is omitted and 'na' is transformed into 'ṇa' by sandhi rules.

46. The strategic and political importance of Viḻiññam which attracted the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas again and again was most probably based at least partly on its commercial importance as the farthest port of call for the Chinese vessels from the East. After the foundation of Kollam they must have extended their trips to that port also. See Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, I, no. III, p. 1.

47. Nilakanta Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, P. 62. See also Note no. 37 above.

48. Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, *Op. Cit.*, *p. 63*. This place must be the same as Pērūr on the banks of river Kāñci though the relics of the early Pāṇḍyan Viṣṇu temple are not found there today. It is significant that Pērūr lies just on the other side of the Palghat gap which is the main passage from the West coast to the Koṅgu region. Perhaps the Kerala forces from the coast had gone out through the Palghat gap to offer support to Atikan and after defeat they were pursued up to Pērūr by the Pāṇḍyan forces.

49. Nilakanta Sastri, *South India*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 156.

50. A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, (Poona, 1934), I, pp. 68-9. See also Sanjan plates of Amōghavarṣa. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 246. Verse 30.

51. *E.I.*, XVIII., *Op. Cit.*,Verse. 32.

"Trasyad Kēraḷa Pāṇḍya Cauḷikanṛpassampallavam Pallavam
pramḷānim gamayan".

It is possible that the king Rāhappa, the unidentified ruler, whom Kṛṣṇa I Akālavarṣa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, is stated to have defeated was the Kerala king Rājaśēkhara. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king is stated to have "obtained the title of Rājādhirāja Paramēśwara after defeating Rāhappa who had become inflated with the pride of his strength". The presence of these very titles in the 12th year of Rājaśēkhara might suggest that the latter was the defeated adversary. This might also explain the disappearance of such imperial title after Rājaśēkhara.

52. No. 148 of 1910. See also Note no. 33 above. The Pāṇḍyas were supposed to belong to the Candravamśa and the Cēras to Sūryavamśa. Therefore, the union of the two families apparently produced a Pāṇḍya-Cēra dynasty called Candrāditya Kula.

53. T.V. Mahalingam, 'An Interrugnum in Pallava History', *J.I.H.*, XLI, I, pp. 287-303. It was in this paper that the history and date of Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa of the Telugu Cōḷa or

Poṭṭāppi line was first brought to notice. The knowledge of this predecessor of Vijayālaya Cōḷa also filled the mysterious gap in Pallava inscriptions between 817 AD and 845 AD during the reign of Daṇṭi Varma. The Daḷavāpuram copper plates of Pāṇḍyan Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, the Anbil copper plates of Sundara Cōḷa, and the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa form the chief sources of information for the date of Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa. However, his exact place in Cōḷa genealogy has not been discovered. Regarding the relationship between Telegu Cōḷas and Tamil Cōḷas, see Venkayya, *A.R.E.*, 1900, Para 45, and Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p.107. Note. 1.

54. See Tillaisthānam inscription of Cōḷa Rājakēsari and Cēramān Sthāṇu Ravi. Index no. A. 5. See also, M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Sthāṇuraviyuṭe Kālam', *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 114-121. The titles of the Cōḷa partner of Sthāṇu Ravi mentioned in the Tillaisthānam inscription like 'Toṇḍaināṭu pāvina Cōḷan Palyānai kōkkaṇṭan' and 'Rājakēsari' are those of Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa. Since his period ends in 845 AD and the period of Sthāṇu Ravi starts only in 844 AD the joint action of the two must be assigned to 844-45 AD. The name Vikki Aṇṇan suggests a Gaṅga prince and his wife's name Kadamba Mahādēvi suggests the relationship with the Kadamba line. Vikki Aṇṇan, son of Prithvipati, is mentioned in a Gaṅga inscription of this period. See no. 382 of 1912.

55. See Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 76-7; Sastri, *The Colas*, p.115; Elamkulam. 'Sthāṇuraviyuṭe Kālam', *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 99.

56. Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 79. This marriage is described in the Sinnamanūr copper plate. See *S.I.I.*, III, IV, no. XVII, p. 452. Verse 15.
"Śrīriva srīnivāsasya Paulomīva śatakratōh
Śrīvānavan mahādēvī Dēvī tasya prabhōrabhūt".
The title 'Vānavan Mahādēvi' clearly suggests that she belongs to the Cēra family. However, Prof. Sastri ignored the fact that the Cēra capital and the Koṅgu area where it was located had been completely subjugated before this time. In fact, the Cēras of Koṅgu must have become Pāṇḍya feudatories and the marriage marks happier relations in a different sense, in the sense that the Cēras of Koṅgu were gaining new status and strength through this royal alliance.

57. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 110. "The Pāṇḍyan king Rājasimha and Parāntaka Cōḷa were both relatives of the Cēras. Therefore, the Kulaśēkharas refused to interfere in the war between the two". This view is proved unacceptable in the light of the evidence which shows that Rājasimha was the son of a Cēra princess belonging to the Koṅgu Cēra line and thus not a friend of the Cēras of Makōtai.

58. The Śinnamanūr copper plates describe the offspring of the marriage. *S.I.I.*, III, IV, *Op. Cit.*, Verses 16 and 17.
"Tasyājjātah srīnidhēstasya dēvyam
Putrāśśatrukṣatravitrāsanaśrīh
Prajñā śouryasthairyadhairyābhijātyā
Tyāgādhārah pārthivō Rājasimhah".
"Rājanvatī bhavatiyā patimētya pṛthī-
Dēvam divākaraniśākaravamśa kētum
Arthīm parāmarikadambakam arthisārtham
Pūrthim nayantamakhilam haritaśca kīrtim".
The term 'divākaraniśākaravamśakētu' literally meaning 'the banner of the solar-lunar race' must be taken to indicate the 'candrādityakula' of Koṅgu Cēra inscriptions. See Note no. 52 above.

59. This marriage is celebrated in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithvīpati II Hastimalla. See *S.I.I.*, II, III, no.76, p. 383. Verse 8.
"Yahpulōma tanayāmiva śakrah
Parvatēndra tanujāmiva śarvah
Kaiṭabhāririva sāgara kanyām
Kēraḷēśwarasutāmupayēmē".
The Kanyākumāri Inscription of Vīrarājēndra affirms in Verse 58 that Parāntaka earned the name Vīra Cōḷa by his victory over the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja. See *E.I.*, XXVI pp. 21-24.
"Yajjigāya vijayōpamadyutih
Kṛṣṇarājamajitam narādhipaih
Bhūrivikṛamavivardhitadyutir
Vīracōḷa iti tēna kīrtyatē".
This title of Vīra Cōḷa is borne by Parāntaka in his 4th year. See No. 241 of 1943-4.
Kō Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ is distinctly mentioned as the mother of Rājāditya Cōḷa (Crown prince under Parāntaka Cōḷa) in one of the Tirunāmanallūr inscriptions of Parāntaka Cōḷa, 28th year. See no. 335 of 1902. See also *E.I.*, VII, p. 133. That Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ was the title of the princesses of the Cēra dynasty of Makōtai may be found from Tirunandikkara inscription of Kulaśēkhara and Vijayarāga as well as Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription of Parāntaka, 29th year. See Index nos. A. 7 and 17.
As pointed out by Gopinatha Rao in *T.A.S.*, II, p. 141, the appearance of Vīra Cōḷa and Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ as donors in Tiruvalla copper plates of Kerala (Index no. A. 80) must be viewed against this background and the two must be identified as the Cōḷa king and his Cēra queen. This would establish that Cōḷa Parāntaka took his chief queen from the family of the Cēras of Makōtai and not the Ceras of Karūr. For some reason or other Nilakanta Sastri has maintained that the queen called Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, the mother of Rājāditya, was different from the Kerala queen of Parāntaka. See *The Cōḷas*, p. 134. However, it must be remembered that the history of the Cēras of Makōtai had not come to light when Sastri wrote. The fact that Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ was a common title of Cera princess had not been noticed at that time.

60. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 129. "Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka, was stationed with a large army including an elephant crops and some cavalry in the district of Tirumuṇaippāḍi nāṭu in about 936 AD". See also no.180 of 1921.

61. For the Cōḷa conquest of Madurai, see Sastri, Pāṇḍyan *Kingdom*, p. 81. The appointment of Rājāditya as the commander in 936 AD shows that he had attained majority completing 25 years by that time. Therefore, the marriage of his mother might be placed about 910 AD.

62. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 114-15.

63. Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, P.76, and *South India*, p.175. The earlier date suggested for the battle was 880 AD but later on Sastri himself suggested 885 AD.

64. The fact of this Pāṇḍyan vassalage of Āy kings Karunantaṭakkan Śrīvallabha and Vikramāditya Varaguṇa as indicated by their surnames had been pointed out by Gopinatha Rao. See *T.A.S.*, I, XII, p.189. However, both Pāṇḍyan chronology and Āy chronology were in confusion at that time. Nilakanta Sastri fixed the Pāṇḍyan chronology in this period showing that Śrīmara Śrīvallabha ruled from 815 to 862 AD and Varaguṇa II from 862 to 885 AD. See Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp.68-76. In Āy chronology, the starting point of Karunantaṭakkan was fixed at 856 AD by Gopinatha Rao. See *T.A.S.*, I, I, p. 3. But the starting point of his successor remained obscure. This has

been fixed by the present writer as 884 AD on the basis of information from the Pāliyam copper plates. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 10-44. Three dates are found suitable for the astronomical data contained in the Pāliyam plates. The one suggested by Gopinatha Rao (868 AD) was proved to be historically untenable by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam who suggested another year (925 AD). The present writer has shown that this is impossible since it goes against the statement of 15th year of the Āy king in the same plates. The new date, 898 AD, agrees with the astronomical data as well as historical circumstances. See also Index no. B. 2.

65. See Note no.64 above. Pāliyam copper plates of Āy king Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, 898 AD. verse. 10.
"Rakṣārtham asyāh svayamēva rājñā
Susthāpitō rājati Vīrakōtah.
Bāhūpadhānām urasiprasuptām
Lakṣmim dadhānō vijayānuraktam".
The last word 'Vijayānurakta' used here as an adjective of Lakṣmi whom Vīra Kōta bears on his chest might suggest a double entendre. In the ordinary course it means that Lakṣmi, the Goddess of prosperity, is in love with the victorious nature of the prince. It may also imply that Vīra Kōta, nominated by the king as the guardian of this gift property in Āy country, was the husband of Lakṣmi, daughter of Vijayarāga.

66. This is clear from the date Pāliyam copper plates fixed by the present writer as 898 AD. See Note no.64 above. It is also indicated by the indirect reference to Vijayarāga contained in a passage of the copper plates. See Note no. 65.

67. Index no. A. 7. Undated but belonging to the reign of Vijayarāga.

68. This identity was first suggested by A.G.Warrier, 'Studies in Mūṣakavamśa', *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, II, pp. 131-3. It is now confirmed by the present writer's discovery of a new date in the reign of Mūṣaka prince Validharan Vikṛamarāma. According to *M.V.K.* Īśāna II Mūṣaka and Kerala king Jayarāga were cotemporaries and Vikṛama Rāma was the grand-nephew of Pālaka, son of Īśāna II Mūṣaka. Vikṛama Rāma was alive in 929 AD as per the Ēḷimala-Narayankannūr inscription of that year. See Index no. B. 3. Thus the Kerala king Jayarāga of *M.V.K.* has to be placed in the closing years of the 9th century and the opening years of the 10th century and could, therefore, be identical with Kōtaravi Vijayarāga (883-c.913 AD). The name Vijayarāga could be shortened into Jayarāga for convenience in metrical composition since it does not alter the literal meaning also. That it was actually done could be seen from the temple named Jayarātēśvaram (this must be Jayarāgēśvaram) in Koḍuṅgallūr, evidently called after the old Kerala King Vijayarāga, mentioned in the 15th century work of Lakṣmīdāsa, called *Śukasandēśā*. (Sloka 70). The name 'Cērākēśvaram' is applied to a temple in an Airāṇikkuḷam inscription. See Index no.C.35. This too must have come out of the name of Cēra king Vijayarāga or Jayarāga.

69. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII, Verses 1, 5, 6, 34, 50.

70. *Ibid.*, Verses 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14. The Cēdi king is stated to have been living in disguise in the kingdom, born of Mayūra i.e. "mayūrōtpātam atraiva rāṣṭram". Verse no. 9. This term could refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom which had Mayūrkhindi as its headquarters before the foundation of Mānyakheta. See Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 68-9. In the alternative it might refer to Kadamba kingdom of Banavāsi established by Mayūravarman and already brought within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sphere of influence.

71. This identity was also suggested by A.G. Warrier, *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, II, pp. 127, 134-8. The Cēdis at this time were closely related to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa

II Akālavarṣa married the daughter of the Cēdi king Kokkala and Jagathunga, the son of Kṛṣṇa II, married two daughters of Sankaragaṇa, son of Kokkāla. See *I.A.*, XII, pp. 247, 253, 268.

72. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII. Verses, 15-17, 27, 34, 49-56. The Kerala and Mūṣaka forces are said to have met on the banks of river Parūṣṇi identifiable as river Kōttappuḻa on which the Parśśnikkaḍavu temple is located.

73. *Ibid.*, Verse 53. Gōda alias Kēraḻakētu is stated to have stood between his father and uncle and brought about peace.

74. *Ibid.*, Verses 57-58.

75. *Ibid.*, Verses 60-61. The reason given is the desire to have a male issue. However, against the background of the growing rivalry between the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Cēdi and Cōḻa-Cēra groups and the Cēra intervention, a political motive may be attributed to this move. This view is strengthened by the statement in the kāvya that later on the son of Īśāna II Mūṣaka by his Cēdi queen was taken away from the country and brought up in his maternal grandfather's palace. See Sarga XII, Verse 71.

76. Ēḻḻimalai-Narayanankannūr inscription, 929 AD. Index No. B. 3. Mūḻikkaḻam is one of the four chief Aryan Brahmin settlements around the capital and the rules followed by the Viṣṇu temple there formed the model for several temples in Kerala. See Chapter on Local Bodies.

77. Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa seems to have followed a policy of marriage alliances to strengthen his position in South India. A daughter of his was married to Āditya Cōḻa and Kṛṣṇa II espoused the cause of her son Kannāradēva in 907 AD when Parāntaka came to the throne. See Sastri, *The Cōḻas*, p. 120. The Cēdis also had marriage relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. See Note no. 71 above. The Gaṅaga ruler Prithvīpati II was a loyal feudatory of the Cōḻa king Parāntaka. The next Gaṅaga ruler Butuga II was won over by Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa and a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess was given in marriage to him. See Sastri, *South India*, pp. 176-7.

78. Parāntaka captured Madurai in 910 AD and took the title 'Maduraikkoṇḍa' or 'Capturer of Madurai', See Sastri, *The Cōḻas*, p. 121. However, not much is known from the Cōḻa sources about the fate of the Āy and Koṅgu feudatories of the Pāṇḍya.

79. In Koṅgu the only record is the Tiruvamattūr inscription (Salem district) of Parāntaka, 10th year. See Sastri, *The Cōḻas*, (First Edition), Vol. II, Part II, p. 415. Besides this a certain Parāntakapuram in Koṅgunāṭu is mentioned in no. 290 of 1911 from Tanjore. In Āy country there are a few inscriptions in the south in Kuttālam and Śucīndram. Nos. 446 and 448 of 1917 from Kuttālam, 24th year and 36th year of Parāntaka respectively, and no. 82 of 1296 from Śucīndram, 40th year of Parāntaka.

80. See Note no. 67 above.

81. See Chapter on Cōḻa Invasions.

82. See Huzur office or Pārthivapuram plates of Karunantaṭakkan, 9th year, 865 AD. *T.A.S.*, I, I. First plate, Second side. L. 14. Plate opposite p. 6. See also pp. 5and 11. See also Huzur office plate of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, 8th year. *T.A.S.*, I, II, p. 2. L. 3.

83. See Cochin Jewish Copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 38th year; Iriñjālakkuḍa Inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, undated; Cōkiram Inscription; Pūkkōṭṭur Inscription. Index nos. A. 34, 74 and C. 20, 23.

84. Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 80-82; *The Cōḻas*, pp. 121-124. The story of Rājasimha's flight and stay in Ceylon is described both in Tiravālangāḍu copper plates, and the

Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamśa* (Geiger, Editor and Translator). The chronicle also mentions that he 'betook himself to the Kēraḷas'- 'Gatō Kēraḷēśantikam'. Nilakanta Sastri puts the date of the flight to Kerala in c. 920 AD.

85. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 110.
86. See Notes nos. 56. 57 and 58 above.
87. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 120-140.
88. See Note no. 60 above.
89. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 129.
90. Nos. 326. 329, 331 a, 337, 341, 343 and 346 of 1902. See *S.I.I.*, VII, Nos. 955, 958, 960, 967, 971, 973 and 976. Pp. 466-471.
91. Tirukkaḍittānam Inscription, Index no. B. 19; Trikkākkara Inscription, Index no. C. 20; Tiruvalla Copper plates, LI. 349-60. Index no. A. 80.
92. Kollam Syrian Christian Copper plates of Sthāṇu Ravi, 5th year. Index no. A. 2.
93. Neḍunkālaināṭu was most probably the district in the area which came to be known as the principality called Neḍunganāṭu in post-Cēra period. See K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 11, 122-126. Īśānimangalam is one of the traditional 32 Aryan Brahmin settlements usually mentioned after Karikkāṭu (near Manjeri) and before Ālathūr (near Pattambi). See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 5. It is probably to be identified with modern Īśwaramangalam (near Ponnani). Neṭumpoṛayūrnāṭu is mentioned in several Cēra inscriptions and its headquarters seems to have been located near Neṭumpuṛam Taḷi. See Index nos. A. 9, 27, 43, 69 and 70. The village called Maṇkara is now known by the name Mankaṭa. Tirukkunnappoḷai must be the same as modern Trikkunuappuḷa near Ambalappuḷa. Maṭaivāḷkkai has not been identified.
94. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 129.
95. Nos. 739 and 735 of 1905 of, 29th and 36th years of Parāntaka Cōḷa respectively. For details of these, see *A.R.A.S.I.* for 1905-6, pp. 180-3 and *E.I.*, VIII, p. 261. Also Nos. 177 and 181 of 1912 dated in the 18th and 20th years of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa respectively. For details of these see *E.I.*, XXVII, pp. 293 ff.
96. See Notes nos. 94 and 95 above. The first record from Grāmam in South Arcot dated in the 29th year of Parāntaka registers a gift of sheep for lamp in the shrine of Śrīmūlasthānattu Mahādēva at Āṛṛutaḷi in Tirumuṭiyūr, by Veḷḷan Kumaran of Nandikkarai Puthūr in Malaināṭu who was a general of Rājāditya.
The second record from Grāmam, dated in the 36th year of Parāntaka, says that Veḷḷan Kumaran, the Kerala general of prince Rājāditya, built a stone temple of Śiva (Aṛṛuttaḷi Mahādēva) at Mauligrāma (Muṭiyūr) on the Peṇṇai river. This is dated in the Kali year 4044 and Kali day 1477037 also. The terms like 'Camūnāyaka' 'Cōḷarkaḷ Mūlabhṛtya' and 'Perumpaṭai nāyaka' are used as adjectives of Veḷḷan Kumaran. He is called 'Uttamah Kēraḷānām' or the best of Keralites. His birth place is mentioned as Puthūr.
The third record from Tiruvoṛṛiyūr near Madras mentions Caturānana Paṇḍita as the recipient of a donation to the temple.
The fourth record gives the autobiography of Veḷḷan Kumaran composed long after he had become an ascetic under the name of Caturānana Paṇḍita and settled down at Tiruvoṛṛiyūr. The meaning of this inscription was completely misunderstood by earlier scholars who took the term 'Vallabha rāṣṭranātha' to indicate the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler and inferred that the Cōḷa general had betrayed his master and went over to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Vallabha) side. See *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1913. pp. 93-94 and *M.J.O.R.*, VI, pp. 229-

35. The true significance of the term Kerala was discovered by V. Raghavan; *E.I.*, XXVII, pp. 293 ff. The inscription says that Valabha, resembling Guha (Kumaran), son of Rājaśēkara, governor of Vallabharāṣṭra in Kerala, went to Cōḷadēśa after completing education and became a loyal subordinate of king Rājāditya. Since he was not fortunate enough to die along with his master, he felt that be had disgraced his caste, family, father and master by his action and turned away from life. After the bath at Trivēṇi (Prayāg) he accepted vṛatas from Niranjanaguru and assumes the name of Caturānana. He donated 100 nishkas of gold to the sabha of Narasimhamangalam on his birth day on Dhanishṭa nakṣatra.
"Srirājaśēkhara iti prathitābhidhānāt
_____nairbhuvi kēraḷānām
Nāthasya vallabha samāhvaya rāṣṭranāthāt
Khyātō guṇaissambhavad valabhō guhābhah.
"Bālye vidyāssamastāsvayamadhigatavān bāhuśālī viśālī
"Bhūtōrasthāpitasrīr bhuvana hitarataścōḷadēśam
Rājādityasya rājñah prakaṭataragurusnēha sāmantabhāvam
Yah prāpto sannidhānāt sahamaraṇasukham samyugē tēna nāptah.
"Jātyātmānavaya tātabhartrasadṛśam karmēdamityākulō
Vailakshyēṇa viragatāmupagatasnātatrimārggāmbhasi
Ādigrāma patērnniranjanagurōggagrāhya prāptavratas
Tadrakṣāttamahāvṛatah puṇaradhāl lakṣmi vānuvratam.
"Nāṃā Śrī caturānanē maḍhadhuram bibhraddhaniṣṭāhvayē
Janmarkṣe sa mahābali bhramakṛtē śrī oṛṛiyūrasthitēh
Śambhōssuddha suvaṛṇaniṣkaśatakam niṣkatrimāsārdhikam
Pratyabdam narasimhamangala sbhāmākalpamagrāhayat".

97. Venkayya, *A.R.A.S.I.*, for 1905-6, pp. 171-84.

98. No. 335 of 1902; *E.I.*, VII, p. 133. "Tiruttoṇḍīśvaram tirukkaṛṛaḷi ceyvitta rājāditta-dēvar tāyār nampirāṭṭiyār kokkiḻānaṭikaḷ parivarattāḷ....".

99. Index no. A.17. See Note no. 59 above.

100. See Note no. 59 and 99 above.

101. No. 351 of 1904.

102. No. 260 of 1904.

103. No. 280 of 1902; *E.I.*, VII, P. 141.

104. No. 596 of 1920.

105. No. 313 of 1906.

106. No. 465 of 1918.

107. He claims to have erected a pillar of victory at Rāmēśwaram after his southern digvijaya. See Karhād Copper plates of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa dated 959 AD. See *E.I.*, IV. pp. 278-90. See also Sastri, The Cōḷas, p. 132.

108. *E.I.*, IV, p. 285. LI. 52-3, Verse 35.
"Kṛtva dakṣiṇa digjayōdyatadhiyā cōḷānvāyōnmūlanam
Tadbhūmim nijabhṛtya varga paritaścērammapāṇḍyādikān
Yenōccaissaha simhaḷēna karadān sanmaṇḍalādhīsvarān
Nyastah kīrtilatānkura pratikṛtistambhaśca rāmēśvarē".

The Srāvaṇa Belgōḷa epigraph of Gaṅga king Mārasimha II (963-975 AD), son and successor of Būtuga II who was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, claims victory over the Cēra for this predecessor. See *E.I.*, V, pp. 151-180. L1. 21-2.
"Pratāpāvanata cēracōḷapāṇḍya pallavasya pratipālita jinaśāsanasya".The Jain work *Yaśastilaka Campu* of Sōmadēva, completed on 13th Chaitra, Saka year 881 (May, 959 AD, about two months later than the Karhād plates) also mentions Kṛṣṇa's victory over the Cōḷas, Cēras and the Pāṇḍyas, See p. 419, (Nirnayasagara Edition). "Pāṇḍya simhaḷa cōḷa cēramaprabhṛtīn mahīpatīn prasādhya-- mēlpāṭi pravardha-māna rajyaprabhāve Śrīkṛṣṇarājadēvē sati".

109. See Sastri. *The Cōḷas*, pp. 132-67.

110. See Index No. A. 24-33, 42-44; B. 5-15. There is only one temple inscription dated in the regnal ear of Rāma Rājaśēkhara, but there are two for Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara, nine for Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga, one each for Kōta Kōta and Kēraḷa Kēsari, eight for Indu Kōta and twenty two for Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya.

111. No. 159 of 1895. *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1895, 11, pp. 127-32. See also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 149, 156.

V. Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase

Some scholars have designated the period between 988 AD and 1089 AD as that of a 'Hundred Years' War' in the history of Kerala.[1] This concept does not survive a proper scrutiny of evidence. There is no evidence of continuous hostility between the Cōḷas and the Cēras, direct or indirect, lasting for a century. The first attack on Kāntaḷūr Śālai (988 AD) must be treated separately.[2] Then the first period of Cōḷa-Cēra conflict between 998 and 1018 AD witnessed sporadic wars culminating in a complete victory for the Cōḷa empire. This was followed by a period of Cōḷa overlordship lasting for about half a century (1018-1066 AD) during which no war is recorded. At the close of this period, the Cēras took advantage of the chaos in the Cōḷa empire to stage a revolt and re-establish their independence. This independence lasted for slightly more than half a century (1066—1122 AD) with occasional Cēra-Cōḷa wars until the last Cēra Perumāḷ abdicated bringing about the end of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. During the whole of this period the Cōḷas were fighting vigorously and almost continuously against many powers in other parts of South India and outside India. There is no evidence to show that Kerala had always been in a state of revolt in the course of the century and it would be illogical to assume that the Cōḷas were locked up in war against this little kingdom of the West coast throughout the period of the greatest and quickest development of their empire.

Invasions and Vassalage (988 - c. 1066 AD)

The early part of this period comprising of Cōḷa invasions and ascendancy may first be taken up for discussion here. The background of Rājarāja's hostility towards the Cēras and the immediate provocation which led him into an aggressive war has remained obscure. Writers on Cōḷa history were often puzzled by the repeated reference to the achievement at *Kāntaḷūr śālai* the real nature of which was a riddle to them.[3] However, the prominence given to the title *'Kāntaḷūr śālai kalamaṛutta'* in Rājarāja's early inscriptions from 988 AD would suggest that a conflict had developed between the king and the

members of Kāntaḷūr śālai. This śālai originally belonged to the Āy feudatories of the Pāṇḍya king and they made it the model of other śālais like Pārthivapuram śālai.[4] It is likely that the Cōḷas claimed it as theirs by right of conquest when they overthrew the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai since the Āys had become Pāṇḍya feudatories for some time. However, during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa interregnum in the Cōḷa empire (949 to 965 A.D) and the period of civil wars and anarchy that followed it, Kāntaḷūr śālai near Trivandrum and other śālais and lands of the former Āy principality could have been absorbed by the Cēras of Makōtai. This possibility is further supported by the fact that a suburb of Trivandrum, about 18 miles north of Viḻiñṇam, came to be called Manukulādiccamangalam in honour of the Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya.[5] The southern extension of Cēra influence, probably supported by the Brahmins of Kāntaḷūr *śālai,* could have produced a retaliation from the Cōḷas. The exact location of Kāntaḷūr śālai remains uncertain.[6] It is only in a record of the 30th year of Rājādhirāja (1048 AD) that Kāntaḷūr *śālai* is definitely mentioned as '*Cēraḷan vēlai kkeḻu kāntaḷūrcālai*', i.e., the Kāntaḷūr śālai of the Cēra near the sea.[7] As pointed out earlier, there is the possibility that it had come under the sway of the Cēra even during the 10th century.[8] But the capture of the śālai by Rājarāja could have remained an isolated episode, and was most probably an achievement of the navy or a combined effort of the navy and the army in the former Āy territory outside the traditional boundaries of Kerala.

Some confusion has resulted from the tendency of scholars to identify the former state of Travancore with the ancient Cēra kingdom both dynastically and territorially. Early inscriptions of Rājarāja have been found at places like Darśanam kōppu (8th year) Tirunandikkarai, Eraṇiel, Śuchindram (10th year) and Cape Comorin in the southern districts of the former state of Travancore, and Travancore epigraphists took this to be "establishing his conquest of the Kerala and Pāṇḍya countries".[9] This was accepted by other historians also.[10] In fact, these establish nothing except the fact that Rājarāja first consolidated his position on the West coast by making the Cōḷa presence felt in the Southern districts of the Āy dominions. This is in agreement with the statements about the order of his conquests in Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant also.[11] The extent of Cēra involvement in these operations remains undecided in the present state of our knowledge.

Expedition of Rājarāja

According to Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant Rājarāja directed his attention to the conquest of the quarters commencing with the triśanku kāṣṭha, i.e., the South. He seized Amarabhujaṅga while his general captured Viḻiñṇam, and then burnt Lanka, put Satyāśraya to flight in battle, killed Āndhra Bhīma, and then conquered the kingdom created by Paraśurāma.[12] This was followed

by the subjugation of Gaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Araṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Saurashtra, Cālukya and other kings.[13] In this list, Amarabhujaṅga must be either a Pāṇḍya or a Koṅgu-Cēra prince.[14] The capture of Viḻiññam must be identical with the conquest of Kāntaḷūr *śālai* since both are located near each other or in the same place. After these come the wars against Lanka (Ceylon) Satyāśraya (Cālukya) and Bhīma (Andhra) respectively. Then comes the conquest of the land of Paraśurāma, a vague reference which might apply to Saurashtra, Maharastra, Western Karnataka, or Kerala since the Paraśurāma legend is found in the whole Western region. Even if it refers to Kerala, it must, according to this list, be placed after Ceylon (c. 991 AD), the Cālukya kingdom (c. 1002 AD) and the Andhra kingdom (c. 1002 AD).[15] By this time we reach the 17th-18th years of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja. There is no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of this order as reflected in the Cōḷa inscriptions themselves.[16] The chronological order followed in Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates would place the beginning of Rājarāja's Kerala campaign after the 27th year, and this acquires new significance in view of the fact that the Trivandrum inscription of Rājarāja, near the southern border of Kerala kingdom, is dated in the 18th year of his reign.[17] There is no earlier inscription of Rājarāja so near the Kerala border and no previous reference to the conquest of any part of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.

It is true that 'Kuṭamalaināṭu' - a term which is very often misunderstood - is included in the list of Rājarāja's conquests in two records of his 14th and 16th years respectively.[18] 'Malaināṭu' is a geographical appellation signifying 'hill-country', and had no specific political significance like the term 'Cēra'. It could be applied to the Āy, Cēra, Koṅgu-Cēra, Atiyamān, the chieftains of Kollimalai, and Kutiramalai, Āḷupa (Tuḷu), and Gaṅga countries alike.[19] The other geographical term 'Kuṭamalaināṭu' meaning 'Western hill-country' could also be employed in a loose non-political way in connection with all land to the West of the traditional Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya territory at this period. Therefore, Kielhorn who suggested that the term could apply to Malabar area and Nilakanta Sastri who thought that it referred to Kuṭaku (Coorg) were both linguistically correct.[20] However, since no particular area is mentioned, it is not necessary to assume that these early conquests referred to any part of the traditional Cēra kingdom under Makōtai.

The conquest of 'Kuṭamalaināṭu' by Rājarāja is associated in another inscription of his 27th year with the capture of Utakai.[21] The quasi-historical work named *Vikṛama Cōḷan Ula* refers to Rājarāja's conquest of Malaināṭu for the sake of messengers (ambassadors?) in one day after crossing 18 mountain passes.[22] *Kulōttuṅga Cōḷan Ula* refers to him as cutting off 18 heads and setting fire to Utakai.[23] *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi* mentions the institution of *'Cataya nāḷviḻā'* or catayam day festival (Rājarāja's birth day fell on *catayam nakṣatra)* in 'Utiyar maṇḍalam', the capture of Utakai, and the plunder of several ele-

phants from there.[24] Nilakanta Sastri has opined that this feat may refer to a conquest of Coorg (Kuṭaku) though he was unable to identify Utakai.[25] Nevertheless, the capture of an obscure hill-fortress could not have been so prominently displayed as Rājarāja's achievement in epigraphy and literature. Therefore, the possibility that 'Utakai' here stands for 'Makōtai' must be considered. Makōtai has actually been referred to as Udayapura and Kōtainagari in literature and folklore. This possibility is confirmed by the association of Kēraḷas and Utakai in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa.[26]

Plunder of Malaināṭu

In fact, Cōḷa depredations in the Āy country, which formed part of Malaināṭu and which was controlled by the Cēra in this period, could have started as early as 998 AD since the records of the 14th and 15th years of Rājarāja (999 AD and 1000 AD) mention booty from Malaināṭu and sometimes make special mention of treasures taken from the Cēra king by Rājarāja.[27] In 1005 AD (20th year of Rājarāja) there is reference to the defeat of the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍuṅgallūr at the hands of Cōḷa.[28] It is also stated in Tanjore inscriptions that Rājarāja defeated the Cēra king and the Pāṇḍyas in Malaināṭu and carried away their treasures.[29] Thus Rājarāja's partial conquest of the Cēra kingdom including the successful attack on Kollam and Koḍuṅgallūr (both harbour cities) and the occupation of Kolladēśam (the northern district called Kōlattunāṭu) could be assigned to c. 1005 AD.[30] However, plunder is emphasised more than conquest and it is quite likely that the victories at Kollam in the South, Koḍuṅgallūr in the centre, and Kolladēśam in the north of Kerala might have been primarily the achievement of naval forces and as such without much political importance. Some of these victories against the Cēra were probably won by Rājēndra Cōḷa while he acted as the Cōḷa general before his coronation as crown prince. He was then the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of Vengi and Gaṅga maṇḍalas and enjoyed the title of Pañcavanmārāya. He is stated in Cōḷa inscriptions to have "seized the Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, held Malaya, and pushed aside the Cēra as well as the Telunga and Raṭṭiga".[31]

The last of Rājarāja's conquests mentioned only in his latest inscriptions included the 'old islands of the sea numbering 12000 - the Maldives.[32] This demonstration of Cōḷa naval power in the Arabian sea suggests that the earlier victories on the West coast were primarily victories of the navy and that the Cōḷas had an eye on the profits of maritime trade of which the Cēras possessed a kind of monopoly in this region. Valabha II Mūṣaka of Kōlattunāṭu, who may he assigned to the close of the 10th century and beginning of the 11th century and who had in his younger days gone to support the Cēras against the Cōḷa invasion, had conquered a few islands.[33] Probably the islands conquered by the Mūṣaka and the Cōḷa must have belonged to the same

group so that the Cōḷa conquest was made after defeating the Mūṣaka forces.[34]

Bhāskara Ravi's Resistance

The fact that Valabha II Mūṣaka had been sent to the south while he was crown prince to assist the Cēra against the Cōḷa indicates that an all-out effort was made by the Cēras in the closing years of the 11th century to resist the Cōḷa invasions by recruiting contingents of soldiers from all the feudatories.[35] The Mūṣakas must have continued to be the feudatories of the Cēras even after the period of Īśana II Mūṣaka and Cēra king Vijayarāga.[36] This is further confirmed by the presence of two Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions in the Mūṣaka country, one of which also mentions Kaṇṭan Kārivarman (Śrīkaṇṭavarma) as governor of the region.[37]

There are also certain other hints in Cēra inscriptions which throw light on the proportions and results of this prolonged struggle between the two unequal parties. The Jewish copper plates reveal that six of the district governors and the commander of the army had met in council at the capital in 1000 AD, two years after the launching of a large scale Cōḷa invasion.[38] They also indicate that the Cēras were trying to raise funds by contacting the wealthy Jewish merchants and trying to ensure the loyalty of these foreign settlers with ships at their disposal in anticipation of a major onslaught by the Cōḷa naval forces. The titles, privileges and concessions awarded to the Jew must be viewed from this angle.

The appearance of Ēṛan Cańkaran, the governor of Puṛaikiḻānāṭu, as a donor of Tiruvalla temple is also significant in this connection.[39] This governor might be the predecessor of Cańkaran Kōta, governor of Puṛaikiḻānāṭu, who makes a land gift to Tirunelli temple in Wynad in the 46th year of Bhāskara Ravi, i.e., 1008 AD.[40] It is still a custom in Malabar that Hindus go to Tirunelli to perform 'bali' for the departed ancestors especially if death by accident or death in battle prevented the performance of the last ceremonies at the proper time. Cańkaran Kōta was probably at Tirunelli in connection with the last rites for his predecessor Ēṛan Cańkaran who must have stopped at Tiruvalla in the South on his way to the battlefield and who probably never returned from the battle.

Conquest by Rājēndra

The coronation of Rājēndra Cōḷa in 1012 AD was the signal of a new era of conquest for the Cōḷa empire. Though Rājarāja was only partly successful in his invasions of Kerala and had to be satisfied with victory in some naval engagements and the plunder of certain cities on the coast, his son and succes-

sor completed what the father had started and left unfinished. It was in this period that Kerala was conquered and the Cēra king made a feudatory of the Cōḷa. Rājarāja was able to frighten the Cēra and compel him to gather all the forces including those of his feudatories in order to resist the Cōḷa. He probably extracted some tribute also, but no territorial conquest had been made in Cēra country proper as different from the Āy country which had come under Cēra influence.

The conquests of Rājēndra Cōḷa (1012-1044 AD) are claimed by his son Rājādhirāja (1019-53 AD) also. Therefore, the Kerala invasions of these two rulers may be dealt with jointly. In the 6th year of his reign (1018 AD) Parakēsari Varman Rājēndra Cōḷa claims to have seized the heirloom of the Kerala monarch, including the crown praised by many and the garland of red rays, and conquered many islands whose old and great guard was the sea which resounded with conches.[41] In the following year he captured the crown of pure gold worthy of Lakṣmī which Paraśurāma had deposited in the impregnable fortifications of Śāntimattīvu.[42] More details of these 'rather obscure transactions' are found in a single stone inscription of the 10th year and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu copper plates.[43]

According to Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, Rājēndra Cōḷa drove the Pāṇḍyan king into the Agastya Mountains and appointed his son Cōḷa Pāṇḍya as Viceroy in Madurai.[44] Having heard of the humiliation which the rulers of the earth were subjected to by the sage Bhārgava, and not being able to meet him on earth, the Cōḷa king set his mind on conquering the country known after Bhārgava. Who else in this world, asks the praśasti, except Paramēśwara, would even contemplate the conquest of that invincible country which is protected by the glory of the crest-jewel of the Bhārgava race? The king Madhurāntaka fearlessly crossed the Sahya Mountains and attacked the Lord of Kerala together with his forces. A fierce battle took place which wrought ruin upon kings. Having conquered the Kerala king and shattered to pieces the country protected by the austerities of Bhṛgupati, he returned to his own capital which welcomed him with joy. Then the great king of Śibi's dynasty started for the conquest of the North after having appointed his son, the glorious Cōḷa Pāṇḍya, as guardian over the Western country also.[45]

Cōḷa Hegemony

It has been suggested that by the campaigns of the 6th and 7th years (1018-19 AD) Rājēndra Cōḷa did not add any new territory to his dominions as "the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries had been conquered by Rājarāja very early in his reign".[46] However, as already pointed out, this view is based on a misunderstanding which led earlier historians to identify the Kerala country as South Travancore in the absence of any definite information about the Cēras

of Makōtai.[47] The statement that none except the great Paramēśwara (this epithet is used to denote both Lord Śiva and the Cōḷa king) could even think of conquering the land of Bhārgava shows clearly that Kerala had not been conquered in the previous reign. Śāntimattīvu, i.e., the island called Śāntimat, where, according to this Cōḷa record, the Cēra crown and treasures were buried by Paraśurāma, has not been satisfactorily identified.[48] Perhaps it could be the island of 'Cēndamangalam' near Koḍuṅgallūr, or 'Candrōth' far away in the sea among the Laccadives.[49] Rājēndra had first appointed Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya as Viceroy over the Pāṇḍyan country and then asked him to take over the protection of the 'Western country'.[50] Therefore, it is clear that Cōḷa Pāṇḍya was nominated as overlord of both the countries.[51] However, the conquest of Kerala seems to have differed from that of the Pāṇḍyan country in a very important respect. While the Pāṇḍyan king was driven out into the hills, the Kerala king seems to have been allowed to function as a Cōḷa feudatory. That Bhāskara Ravi continued as ruler up to 1020 AD, for two more years after this Cōḷa conquest, is proved by three inscriptions of the 58th year of his reign.[52] This is also evident from Tiruneili copper plates of the 43rd year in the second series which falls in 1021 AD.[53] Perhaps Bhāskara Ravi did not live far beyond the 59th year of his reign. The next Cēra king Rājasimha is known to have built a Viṣṇu temple called Rājēndra-cōḷaviṇṇakar in honour of Rājēndra Cōḷa at Maṉṉārkōyil - a fact which corroborates the Cōḷa hegemony over Kerala.[54] As this event is to be placed in 1036 AD it also proves the continuation of Cōḷa overlordship for several years. The next Cēra king Rājarāja was also a Cōḷa feudatory as proved by another Maṉṉārkōyil inscription.[55] He seems to have continued in this position at least up to c. 1040 AD when he is mentioned as donor in another Maṉṉārkōyil inscription of the period of Māṛavarma Cōḷa.[56]

Exploits of Rājādhirāja

The Kerala wars and conquests described in Rājādhirāja Cōḷa's inscriptions appear to have been related to these early campaigns of his father Rājēndra in 1018-19 AD, because the need for a fresh conquest of Kerala does not arise when a humble feudatory sits on the Cēra throne. Moreover, some historians are also inclined to believe that the last twenty years or so of Rājēndra Cōḷa, from c.1024 to 1044 AD, formed a period of unbroken peace.[57] Rājādhirāja was appointed crown prince in 1019 AD and continued as such for the major part of his life until the death of his father in 1044 AD after which he ruled independently for ten years more.[58] He must have taken an active part in the subjugation of Kerala by his father since his encounters with some of the Kerala princes are specifically mentioned in the historical introductions of his inscriptions.

Rājādhirāja claims to have defeated '*Teṉṉavar Mūvar*' cutting off the head of Mānābharaṇa, getting Vīra Kēraḷa trampled by his furious elephant called Attivāraṇa, and driving the famous Sundara Pāṇḍya to ancient Mullaiyūr.[59] The term '*teṉṉavar*' literally means southerners but is generally employed as an epithet of the Pāṇḍya.[60] However, in this context some scholars have explained 'Teṉṉavar Mūvar' as meaning 'the three southern princes' and taken Vīra Kēraḷa to be the king of Kerala.[61] There is nothing to warrant the last suggestion except the term 'Kēraḷa' in the prince's name. This term could well be there in case he is a Koṅgu-Cēra prince of the Candrādityakula, or even a Pāṇḍya prince born of a Koṅgu-Cēra queen.[62] At any rate there is no other indication that such a ruler had existed at this time in Kerala.

Rājādhirāja Cōḷa's praśastis credit him with certain other victories in Kerala. He is stated to have confined the undaunted king of Vēṇāṭu to Cēṇatu, destroyed Irāmakuṭa Mūvar in anger, and put on a fresh garland of Vañci flowers after capturing Kāntaḷūr śālai while the strong Villavan (Cēra) hid himself in terror inside the jungle.[63] It has been suggested that the king of Vēṇāṭu was sent to heaven, i.e., killed, but the term 'Cēṇatu' may really stand for 'Cēranāṭu' and as such the whole phrase may be interpreted to mean that the king of Vēṇāṭu was driven back into Cēra territory.[64] It has already been suggested that Vēṇāṭu under Cēra overlordship must have extended into the old Āy country to fill the political vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Pāṇḍyan power from that area following the Cōḷa occupation of Madurai.[65] In this context the reference to the confinement of Vēṇāṭu to Cēṇatu really means that the Cōḷas recovered some part of the old Āy- Pāṇḍya territory. The reference to the overthrow of Irāmakuṭa Mūvar in the praśasti also created some confusion. Some took the term as meaning 'the three princes of Irāmakuṭam'.[66] It is now clear that Irāmakuṭa Mūvar, i.e., the Mūvar of Irāmakuṭam, was the hereditary title of the ruler of the kingdom of Ēḻimalai which later came to be known as Kōlattunāṭu also.[67] In Sanskrit it becomes Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣaka.[68] Perhaps Mūva or Mūṣaka was a tribal name like the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya. While Vēṇāṭu was the southernmost district of the Cēra kingdom, Kōlattunāṭu was the northern most district. The earlier fields of battle were located in the south, as proved by the Cōḷa inscriptions in Trivandrum and the old Āy territory to the south of that place. This is also clear from the description of Valabha II Mūṣaka's journey to the south in order to assist the Cēra in the war against Cōḷa.[69] However, this reference to the destruction of Irāmakuṭa Mūvar does not include any other detail regarding the place of battle and the conflict must have taken place either near the south border of Kerala or in Kōlattunāṭu itself in case the Cōḷas opened a second front in the north in order to divide the forces of Kerala. Perhaps the reference to the Villavan hiding in fear in the jungle may be understood as suggesting that the Cēras abandoned their capital city of Makōtai on the sea-coast at least temporarily for fear of naval raids by the Cōḷa. In this connec-

tion it may be remembered that Mahōdaya is mentioned in some inscriptions as the Western limit of Rājēndra's Cōḷa empire.[70]

Kerala under the Cōḷas

The Cēra king in this period was Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya (962-1021 AD) who was facing the Cōḷa threat continuously from 998 AD onwards. After a long struggle of about two decades, he must have been forced to surrender in 1018 AD to the forces of Rājēndra and Rājādhirāja. He seems to have agreed to accept Cōḷa overlordship and pay tribute and continue to rule over Kerala as proved by his inscriptions of the 58th year which corresponded to 1020 AD.[71] The governor of Vēṇāṭu who was defeated by Rājādhirāja might have been Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa who was appointed ruler of Vēṇāṭu and Nanṟuḷaināṭu in the 14th year of Bhāskara Ravi (976 AD) and who figures in several inscriptions up to the 38th year (1000 AD).[72] It is likely that he continued for a few years more. The fact that a suburb of Trivandrum got its name of 'Manukulādiccamangalam' from Manukulāditya shows the extension of Vēṇāṭu into the former Āy country.[73] However, the presence of a Rājarāja inscription and a Rājēndra inscription in the heart of Trivandrum also shows that the place had changed hands in the course of the invasion.[74] Most probably the Rāmakuṭa Mūvar who was destroyed was Valabha II Mūṣaka in whose younger days the Cōḷa wars had already started.[75] The Cōḷa presence in Kōlattunāṭu in 1020 AD is confirmed by the Eramam inscription which mentions a meeting attended by 'Rājēndra Cōḷa samayasēnāpati' in the Cālappuṟam temple at that place.[76]

Some praśastis of Rājādhirāja have included in his exploits the liberation of the Kūpaka king also.[77] This act must be related to the achievement of confining the king of Vēṇāṭu to the Cēra country. As pointed out earlier, Vēṇāṭu must have annexed the former Āy territory during the period of the eclipse of the Cōḷa power in the middle of the 10th century before Rājarāja. By driving the king of Vēṇāṭu back into the original Cēra territory Rājādhirāja must have liberated the king of Kūpaka, the contemporary representative of the Āy dynasty, from subjugation to the overlordship of the Cēra.

The reference to several rulers like the Rāmakuṭa Mūvar, Vēṇāṭṭaracar, and the Villavan or Cēra king in Kerala has given rise to the misunderstanding among scholars like Nilakanta Sastri that "at the time of this expedition (of Rājādhirāja) the country of Kerala was in the political condition in which it was found centuries afterwards by the Portuguese and the Dutch". Nilakanta Sastri adds further that it was "cut up into a number of petty principalities which, with their endless feuds and alliances, more or less formed a world apart".[78] This view will not survive the scrutiny of indigenous records which clearly show that the kings of Kōlattunāṭu (Ēḻimalai) and Vēṇāṭu, as

well as several other minor chieftains in between, were feudatory governors under the overlordship of the Cēras of Makōtai. This is proved by the inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Bhāskara Ravi which mention the chieftains as ruling over nāṭus or districts.[79] Therefore, it is clear that the political condition of Kerala at this time differed from that of the 15th century in a vital respect, namely, the presence of a central authority, though the political divisions followed more or less the same boundaries and bore the same titles.

There is yet another point which requires clarification. The historian of the Cōḷas attributes "the presence of the traditional rulers of the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries long after the Cōḷa conquest of this areas, and the capacity they retained for making trouble for their suzerain in the face of powerful viceroys", to the "comparatively mild character of Cōḷa imperialism which was in conformity with the precepts of the *Arthaśāstra* on the policy that a conqueror should adopt towards conquered countries".[80] This may be true but it gives only a one-sided picture. The cause of trouble for the Cōḷa was at least partly the love of independence on the part of the traditional rulers and their followers who were waiting for the first opportunity offered by the weakness of the suzerain to raise the standard of rebellion as events in the second half of the 11th century would prove. The reason why Kerala could not be completely subjugated and the traditional rulers replaced by Cōḷa-Kerala Viceroys like the Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya Viceroys of Madura can be seen partly in this and partly in the geographical conditions indicated in the phrase "rāṣṭram śiṣṭa janābhirāmam atulam durgam mahīdhrārṇavaih" (nation inhabited by *śiṣṭajana* - Aryan Brahmins? - and impenetrable owing to the mountains and the ocean) occurring in Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra Cōḷa.[81] This condition also explains the total absence of inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Cōḷa king in Kerala to the north of Trivandrum which is in striking contrast to other countries which were absorbed into the Cōḷa empire.[82] All these, i.e., the absence of Cōḷa inscriptions, the presence of Cēra kings and their inscriptions, and the quick revival of independence, go to suggest not so much the mildness of Cōḷa imperialism as the strength of the Cēra spirit of independence.

Independence and Final Collapse (c. 1066-c. 1122 AD)

The observations made above are substantiated by the course of the events in the second half of the 11th century. As Rājādhirāja's praśasti cited above containing the references to Kerala are found in records of the 29th year (1049 AD) and afterwards it may be assumed that the Cēra kings Rājasimha who ruled up to 1036 AD and Rājarāja who ruled after that continued as Cōḷa feudatories paying tribute and showing submission at least up to the close of the reign of Rājādhirāja in 1053 AD. However, the period of

anarchy and confusion which followed this event seems to have given the Cēras a chance to reassert their independence.

The next reference to Cōḷa-Cēra conflict is found in a Karuvūr inscription of the 4th year of Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa (1066-67 AD). It says that Vīrarājēndra killed the king of Kerala and other kings.[83] The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of the 5th year of this Cōḷa king (1067-68 AD) adds to this list an expedition against Utakai and the Kēraḷas from which Vīrarājēndra returned after collecting a large tribute in the form of elephants.[84] The Kerala king killed in battle must have been Cēramānār Rājarāja or his successor, Ravi Rāma Rājāditya.[85] The capture of Utakai during the fight against the Kēraḷas refers to a fresh occupation of Makōtai.[86] These expeditions do not appear to have put down the rebellions in Kerala. The close of Vīrarājēndra's rule in the Cōḷa empire marked the beginning of a "period of confusion" which continued well into the early years of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa who came to the throne in 1070 AD and which "provided a golden opportunity to the kingdoms of the South to reassert their independence".[87] The Cēras must have availed of this opportunity, for the Cēra king Ādityan Kōta alias Raṇāditya, who must be attributed to this period, had the imperial title of 'Cakṛavaṛtikaḷ'.[88] He must have come to the throne at Makōtai when Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa put his predecessor to death in about 1066-7 AD. As we have a record of his 7th year, he must have continued at least until 1073 AD and perhaps for a few years more.[89]

Revolt against Kulōttuṅga

Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa is stated to have made a concerted move to suppress the spirit of independence in the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries between the 7th and 11th years of his reign, i.e., between 1077 and 1081 AD.[90] However, in the absence of a comparative study of Cōḷa and Kerala inscriptions, the account of these manoeuvres and their later implications provided by the historian of the Cōḷas remained confused and one-sided, lacking the clarity of his account of the Pāṇḍyan wars of the same Cōḷa sovereign.[91] The records quoted by him do not refer to any battle anywhere in Kerala. While the Cēras and Pāṇḍyas had struck for independence and stood together, Kulōttuṅga's efforts between his 7th and 11th years (1077-1081 AD) were mainly to bring back the Pāṇḍyas into the fold of the Cōḷa empire. Not only during this period of five years but also till the end of his reign in 1120 AD Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa never claimed to have subjugated the Cēras, though his inscriptions and those of his Pāṇḍyan vassal Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha clearly mention several successful engagements against the Cēra in the former Āy country and occasionally even in the southern Cēra district of Vēṇāṭu going up to Kollam but stopping there.

The references to Kerala wars in epigraphy and literature pertaining to Kulōttuṅga's reign may be examined to understand the true character of these transactions. The Tamil inscriptions describe the conquest of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam together with the forests where the five Pāṇḍyas had entered as refugees, the pearl fisheries, the Potiyil and Sahya mountains, and Kanni (Kanya Kumari or Cape Comorin), and the delimitation of the boundaries of the Southern (Pāṇḍya) country. They add that "while the 'Cāver' in Kuṭamalaināṭu ascended the unique heaven (attained by warriors who fell fighting) he (Kulōttuṅga) was pleased to bestow on his commanders, who were mounted on horses, settlements on every road, including one at Kōṭṭāṟu, to strike terror into his enemies".[92] In this passage Kuṭamalaināṭu or Western hill-country certainly refers to Kerala but it is equally definite that the 'Cāver' (suicide squads) were fighting on the borders of the Pāṇḍya country and not anywhere near the traditional boundary of the Cēras of Makōtai. That is why the establishment of military settlements at Kōṭṭāṟu, which had been the traditional boundary between the Pāṇḍya and Āy kingdoms, figures at the end of the praśasti as the climax of all these activities.[93] In other words, the ultimate result of the war was to secure the boundaries of the old Pāṇḍyan kingdom along Kōṭṭāṟu, and by implication the former Āy kingdom had to be left to the Kēraḷas who must have established themselves there. These activities are described, in more or less the same fashion, in the undated Sanskrit inscription from Cidambaram also.[94] Here Kulōttuṅga is stated to have overcome the five Pāṇḍyas, set fire to the fortress of Kōṭṭāṟu like Arjuna burning the Khāṇḍava forest, subdued the numerous forces of the Kēraḷas, and erected a pillar of victory on the sea-coast, thus making obedient the rebellious group of vassal kings. The pillar of victory erected on the sea-coast might be at Kanyakumari, the capture of which is mentioned in the Tamil counterpart of the inscription cited earlier.

Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa and his feudatories appear to have scored some initial victories in the former Āy territory and even in the southern Cēra district of Vēṇāṭu though they were compelled later to withdraw from these areas and seek refuge behind the barracks at Kōṭṭāṟu. These facts are brought out by the considerable number of inscriptions which describe the services of Naralōkavīra, the earliest date occurring in these inscriptions being the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa (1098 AD).[95] A record of the 10th year of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya, a Cōḷa feudatory placed on the throne by Kulōttuṅga in 1091 AD, mentions the 31st year of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa who took Kollam (1101 AD).[96] Therefore, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa's forces must have advanced from the south as far north as Kollam before 1101 AD. This agrees with the references to an era called 'Kollamaḻintayāṇṭu', quoted in *Kōyiloḻugu*, the chronicle of the Śrīrangam temple, and referred to in some historical manuscripts according to which this era must have started on 1097 AD.[97] Thus it is well es-

tablished that the Cōḷas captured Kollam in 1097 AD and probably retained it for a short period of time.

Role of Rāma Kulaśēkhara

This evidence must now be placed against the background of Cēra inscriptions. A record of the 13th year of Rāma Kulaśēkhara Cakṛavaṛtikaḷ, corresponding to the 278th year of the Kollam era (1102 AD), states that the Cēra 'emperor' was staying at that time at Paṉaṅkāvil palace at Kollam with all the royal entourage of Nālu Taḷi, Āyiram and the Sāmantar (feudatories) and Brahmins, and allotting land to the temple by way of compensation to the Āryas (Brahmins) for losses incurred.[98] In the context of the Cōḷa invasion described above this means that the assembly at Kollam followed the recovery of that city from the Cōḷa enemy and the completion of the Cōḷa wars. The use of the title 'Cakṛavaṛtikaḷ' (emperor) by Rāma Kulaśēkhara shows that in spite of all the efforts of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa to re-assert Cōḷa hegemony over Kerala, this Cēra prince maintained his independence, did it in all pomp and style. Therefore, the Cōḷa thrust into the territory of the Cēra kingdom under the leadership of Naralōkavīra must have been short-lived. The Cōḷa's authority in the southern Cēra district of Vēṇāṭu did not survive even up to 1102 AD.

Thus the references in some quasi-historical works to Kulōttuṅga's victory over the 'Vil' (bow) emblem, the Cōḷa capture of Śālai (Kāntaḷūr Śālai), the Cēra's retreat from the battle-field and the Cōḷa occupation of Viḻiñṉam should be connected with these early victories which, however, proved futile since the Cōḷas were compelled in the end to vacate their conquest.[99] Perhaps the Cōḷa praśastis of Kulōttuṅga generally left out the occupation of Kollam for this reason. Viḻiñṉam was called Rājēndra Cōḷa Paṭṭiṇam in the 21st year of Kulōttuṅga (1091 AD).[100] Since the Cōḷa forces withdrew later into Kōṭṭār and strengthened their position there, it is probable that the Cēras had recaptured Viḻiñṉam also. However, there is no certainty about the position of Viḻiñṉam in the beginning of the 12th century and it is possible that the Āy region changed hands frequently.

It is now believed that Rāma Kulaśēkhara, the last of the Perumāḷs, who fought bravely against the Cōḷas and maintained his independence against heavy odds and extended the Cēra domain up to Kōṭṭār in the South, did not rule beyond 1102 A. D, the date of his Kollam inscription of the 13th year.[101] This is a mistake. That the Cēra kingdom continued to exist under the same Perumāḷ until 1122 AD and fought many wars against the combined forces of the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas could be proved with the help of Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya inscriptions though no Cēra inscription after 1102 AD has been discovered in Kerala. The early records of Vikṛama Cōḷa (1118 to 1135AD) throw some light on the

Cōḷa wars against the Cēra kingdom after 1102 A.D and before 1118 AD. His praśastis, beginning to appear as early as his second year (1120 AD), mention his expedition into the Kaliṅga country where he defeated Teliṅga Bhīma of Kuḷam and this must have occurred while he was Viceroy in Vengi before his coronation.[102] Therefore, the Kaliṅga war of Vikṛama Cōḷa is to be placed before 1118 AD. The Kanyakumari inscription of the 9th year of Jaṭā Varman Parākṛama Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍyan feudatory of Vikṛama Cōḷa, also mentions a list of the Pāṇḍya's exploits which culminate in the capture of Kuḷam of Telinga Bhīma and the subjugation of South Kaliṅga.[103] Therefore, the Pāṇḍyan king's activities in South Kerala which are described in this record before the conquest of Kaliṅga must be placed before 1118 AD.

Fight for Vēṇāṭu

This feudatory of the Cōḷa claims that he defeated the Cēra in battle and levied tribute from him, that while the king of Kūpaka offered his daughter in marriage he took the capital Viḻiññam, fought at Kanni (Kanyakumari or Cape Comorin) and captured Kāntaḷūr Śālai, that he sat inside the world-famous golden temple of the Brahmins, and that with the consent of 1008 Brahmins he introduced new weights and measures with Pāṇḍyan fish emblem and donated ten gold lamps to Anantapuram temple.[104] From this account it may be inferred that the Pāṇḍyan ruler, probably with the sanction and support of his Cōḷa overlord, fought against the Cēra and captured the former Āy territory from him thus extending his authority up to Trivandrum in the North. He was actually regaining territories which once belonged to the Pāṇḍyas when they had brought the Āys within their sphere of influence.[105] Though this was a loss to the Cēra, it did not deprive him of any part of his own traditional kingdom, for it only took away what he had acquired from the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa. The Pāṇḍya secured his position in the old Āy country by contracting a marriage with the daughter of the king of Kūpaka. For Vikṛama Cōḷa this was certainly an improvement upon the position of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa who had to remain satisfied with Kōṭṭār. Vikṛama Cōḷa could claim even Trivandrum through his feudatory Jaṭāvarman Parākṛama Pāṇḍya.

Though the king of Kūpaka or Vēṇāṭu was thus forced to give up all the territory in the former Āy kingdom, and give his daughter in marriage to the Pāṇḍya, it is found that another king of Kūpaka led a counter-offensive and regained from the Pāṇḍya the whole region up to Kōṭṭār by 1121 AD. This is indicated by a poetic praśasti of 'Kūpakar Kōn' who defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha after blasting the dam on river Paraḷi, and conquered Nāñcināṭu and Kōṭṭār.[106] The name of the Kūpaka king is not mentioned in this praśasti, but it is possible to identify him as Vīra Kēraḷa, ruler of Vēṇāṭu, who is found to be exercising authority through his officers at Cōḷapuram

near Nagercoil in 1126 AD, only 5 years after the celebrated recapture of Nāñcināṭu.[107] It may be inferred that when the governor of Vēṇāṭu was defeated by the Pāṇḍya and was forced to accept the latter as overlord and relative, the Cēra sovereign appointed his own son Vīra Kēraḷa as the new governor of Vēṇāṭu in view of its great strategic importance.[108]

Collapse of the Centre

Meanwhile something strange appears to have happened to the Cēra kingdom though the wars against the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas apparently did not produce anything more than a stalemate with slight occasional gains and losses. How far this new phenomenon was internal and how far it was related to external invasions and the impact of wars cannot be assessed in the present state of our knowledge. The direct epigraphic references to it are brief and vague and the full import of the event can only be reconstructed with the help of circumstantial evidence and popular tradition. A Tanjore inscription of Vikṛama Cōḷa, 4th year (1122 AD), mentions that the Cēḻiyar (Pāṇḍyas) took to the Ghats, the Cēraḷar took to the sea, the Simhaḷar got frightened, the Gaṅgar offered tribute, the Kaṉṉaḍar turned their backs and the Koṅgar became submissive.[109] There is no distortion of truth in the other statements and naturally the reference to the Cēras must also be true. In that case it means that the Cēra king fled from the country by embarking on a sea voyage. This agrees well with the *Kēraḷōlpatti* Brahmanical tradition, corroborated by the Muslim tradition recorded by Sheikh Zeinuddin, that the last Cēra Perumāḷ embraced Islam, went on pilgrimage to Mecca and died there.[110] Again it is interesting to note that another Tiruvalañjuḻi record of the same year mentions the gift of fourteen kāśu by someone for a 'tumba' garland to the deity in the temple for the benefit of Cēramānār Rāma.[111] Therefore, it may be assumed that this king lived up to that year and probably disappeared from the scene during 1122 AD which corresponded with the 33rd year of his reign. It has already been pointed out earlier that according to literary evidence Rāma was the name of the last Cēramān Perumāḷ of Kerala. Rāma Kulaśēkhara may safely be identified as this last Cēramān, since no Cēra inscriptions of a later period referring to the regnal years of kings have come to light in Kerala or adjacent territories.

Having determined these basic facts with the help of epigraphic and literary evidence the only possibility at present is to depend on tradition to furnish the details of the final collapse of the Cēra kingdom at this time. There is no reason to reject the tradition that the last Cēra king embraced Islam and went to Mecca since it finds a place not only in Muslim chronicles but also in Hindu Brahmanical chronicles like the *Kēraḷōlpatti* which need not be expected to concoct such a tale which in no way serves to enhance the prestige or further the interests of the Brahmin or Hindu population. Moreover,

certain circumstances also tend to confirm or support the details of the story as they have been handed down through the centuries. *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that the last Perumāḷ quarrelled with his Pāṇḍya overlord who led an invasion to Kerala to snatch a portion of the territory and that after a long struggle the Cēra army under the leadership of Mānavikṛama, ruler of Ēṛānāṭu, succeeded in capturing the 'Kōṭṭa' which the Pāṇḍyan Rāyar had built in 'paradēśa'.[112] The Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, mentions a certain Mānavikṛama alias Pūnturakkōn, Governor of Ēṛānāṭu, as the foremost of the feudatories and this statement may be viewed as corroborating the popular tradition.[113]

Moreover, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that the last Cēra Perumāḷ developed a sense of guilt for having appropriated for a long period the land of Kerala which really belonged to the Brahmins through the gift of Paraśurāma.[114] In this context Rāma Kulaśēkhara's anxiety to please the Āryan Brahmins and make amends for having offended them could be found reflected in the 'prāyaścitta'. (compensation) which he offered to the Brahmins at Kollam during the 13th year of his reign.[115] Similarly the *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that the last Perumāḷ ordered the execution of 'Paṭamēl Nāyar' (supreme commander of the armed forces) on the basis of 'woman's words' and that on regretting his action later he found that he had committed an unpardonable sin for which no expiation was prescribed in Hindu scriptures.[116] This is another reason given for his desire to accept the new religion of Islam. This explanation sounds quite natural and the later predicament of the 'Āyiram', the Perumāḷ's personal army of trusted companions of honour, suggests that its leader disappeared under strange circumstances and that he had never been replaced. The 'Āyiram' of the Cēra period, or a fragment of it, continues even today in the old capital of Koḍuṅgallūr but now it is known as 'Onnu kuṛaye Āyiram', i.e., 'the thousand minus one'.[117] This may be interpreted to mean that 'the one' that is short is the commander of the 'Āyiram' and this indicates the truth of the *Kēraḷōlpatti* legend which offers an explanation for such a permanent change.

Epigraphic Evidence

Again there are other circumstances which indirectly substantiate the traditional version of the Perumāḷ's abdication, conversion and partition of Kerala. According to the belief current among Hindus and Muslims, recorded by Sheikh Zeinuddin during the middle of the 16th century, the last Perumāḷ sent some messengers from Arabia to preach Islam in Kerala and they established ten mosques in different parts of the kingdom including one at Māṭāyi.[118] Fortunately for us it is possible to verify the date of the foundation of the particular mosque at Māṭāyi with the help of an inscription found there.[119] According to this it was built in Hijera 518 corresponding to 1124

AD, i.e., two years after the disappearance of the last Cēramān Rāma Kulaśēkhara from the political scene.

The *Kēraḷōlpatti* mentions two other names in connection with the last Perumāḷ which are found correct on the basis of epigraphic sources. It mentions Udaya Varman of Karippattu palace in Kōlattunāṭu as a favourite of the last Cēramān.[120] This name is also found in an undated inscription from Kaṇṇapuram which may be attributed to the early years of the 12th century on the basis of the script and language.[121] Again, it mentions Kavisimha as the ruler of the Tuḷu kingdom at the close of the period of the last Cēra sovereign.[122] That the Āḷupa king Kavisimha reigned in the first half of the 12th century is now proved with the help of epigraphical evidence.[123] Thus a few details of the legend of the last Cēramān have been corroborated by other contemporary or near-contemporary evidence and therefore the whole tradition may be accepted as genuine.

The *Kēraḷōlpatti* gives a detailed account of the partition of the Cēra kingdom giving the area and the military strength of each of the small principalities liberated and transformed into successor-states with the disappearance of the central power. Thus the Cēramān kingdom of 160 kātam between Putuppaṭṭaṇam in the North and Kannēṟṟi in the South was partitioned into 17 principalities in the following order of importance.[124]

(1) Kōlattunāṭu: Kōlattiri Udayavarman - 35000 Nāyars of Vaḷarpaṭṭaṇam Kōṭṭa, Cēramān's palace, Ventrikkōvil (Taḷippaṟamba) temple, Perincellūr grāma, and two chieftains called Cuḷanna Kaymaḷ and Nērpeṭṭa Kaymaḷ.

(2) Vēṇāṭu: Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ of Kulaśēkhara's lineage - 35000 Nāyars of Kalkkuḷam Kōṭṭa, Ōmaṉa Putiya Kōvilakam palace, Ōṇanāṭu joined to Vēṇāṭu to form Kūpakarājya.

(3) Perumpaṭappunāṭu: Sūryakṣatriya of Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam - 52 kātam land, numerous subjects, 18 chieftains and 42 Kāryakkār (secretaries) with Pāliyattu Accan as their leader.

(4) Pōlanāṭu (Puṟakiḻānāṭu), 10000 Nāyars with 3 Kūṭṭam (assemblies), 72 Taṟa (Nāyar village) 5 *Akampaṭi* (companions) and 3 *Kātams* (?) of land, and residence at Mallūr palace with title of Porḷātiri.

(5) Kuṟumpoṟanāṭu: Kuṟumpiyātiri with 36 *Kātam* land, 30000 Nāyars, 1200 Taṟa (Nāyar village).

(6) Vaḷḷuvanāṭu: Vaḷḷuvakkōṉātiri with overlordship of Tirunāvāy Maṇappuṟam for the celebration of Mahāmāgha festival, 10000 Nāyars, the title of Āṟaṅgōṭṭu Svarūpam, Tirumāṉankunnattu Bhagavati of Cōkiram section as family deity.

(7) Ēṟānāṭu: Pūntuṟakkōṉātiri with Maṅgāṭṭu Uṇṇikkumāra Mēnōn (Rāricha Mēnōn) as Minister, Kōḻikoḍ and Cuḷḷikkāṭu and the imperial sword

of the Perumāḷ with instruction to 'die, kill and conquer', (cattum konnum aṭakkikkoḷka) except in the case of Vaḷḷuvakkōṉātiri, Vēṇāṭṭiri and Kōlattiri.

In addition to these seven major principalities, five minor principalities called Kollam (probably north Kollam or Pantalāyaṉi Kollam) with 3 *Kātam* land, Pantaḷam with 5 *Kātam* land between Vēṇāṭu and Ōṇanāṭu, Parappunāṭu Svarūpam, Veṭṭam, and Kāyamkuḷattu Ceṟāyi Svarūpam, are mentioned in the same place.[125] From another list we also hear of Rāvaṇanāṭu, Tirumaṉaśśērināṭu, Neḍuṅganāṭu, Veṅganāṭu, and Muriṅganāṭu.[126] These make a total of 17 kingdoms and with Tuḷunāṭu they are stated to form the 18 traditional kingdoms of Kerala. However, this list excludes Neḍumpuṟayūrnāṭu, Kālkaraināṭu, Veṇpalināṭu, Kiḻmalaināṭu, Nanṟuḷaināṭu and Muññināṭu found mentioned in Cēra inscriptions and most probably some omissions, alterations and substitutions could have been carried out in the list by later copyists in order to suit the contemporary political conditions of Kerala. However, these changes have taken place only in the case of the minor principalities while inscriptions prove that the seven major principalities mentioned in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* flourished as divisions of the Cēra kingdom during the age of the Perumāḷs and as independent units at a later stage.

In spite of a few discrepancies in the names of minor principalities the nature of the phenomenon is clear from this tradition. What really happened was the development of the districts of Cēra kingdom into so many independent principalities following the disappearance of the sovereign.[127] However, some sort of an unwritten code of conduct derived from the practice of the Cēra period and called '*mariyāda*' (custom) and '*ācāram*' (convention) seems to have played the part of a constitution safeguarding the boundaries of the separate kingdoms, guiding the relations between them and promoting understanding and co-operation for work in the fields of religion and culture.[128]

Clues from Chronicles

There are also other clues pointing to the authenticity of the events described in the traditional chronicles. According to Logan, the author of the *Malabar Manual*, who was Collector of Malabar in the closing years of the nineteenth century, a tomb in Zaphar in Arabia was believed to be that of a Malabar king named Abdul Rahimān Sāmiri who was a convert to Islam. The Collector was told that it was dated in Hijera 212 and was held in much veneration and that the Mukri of the mosque adjacent to the tomb came to Malabar some 15 years before 1882 AD soliciting subscriptions for the repair of the tomb and mosque.[129] Logan could not get any further information about the tomb even though he tried to make enquiries through the British agents at Aden. Therefore, the date and the name remain unverified. However, the fact that such a belief existed among the people of a locality in Arabia and

the possibility that 'Zaphar' is the same as the place mentioned as 'Zahar' in *Kēraḷōlpatti* and *Tohfutul Mujahidin* cannot be lightly discarded. Though the last part of the name written as 'Sāmiri' reminds one of the Zamorin of Calicut, there is no such tradition about a Zamorin's conversion to Islam and 'Sāmiri' could very well be the personal name 'Rāmar', or 'Irāmar', as it was pronounced by the Arabs in early times.

Besides the Hindu and Muslim traditions quoted above, the *Granthavari* of the Zamorins of Calicut and an old Malayalam *sloka* discovered by Ulloor S. Parameswara Ayyar from ancient manuscripts, refer to the gift of the royal sword by the last Cēramān Perumāḷ to the ancestors of the Zamorins of Calicut.[130] The broken parts of a sword called the 'Cēramān sword', kept in a copper sheath, are still worshipped in the palace temple of the Zamorins at Tiruvacciṛa.[131] Barbosa, in the beginning of the 16th century, mentions the Cēramān sword among the three swords and other royal emblems of the Zamorin usually taken out in ceremonial processions.[132] This custom and the fact that the Zamorins are known to have befriended the Arab Muslims, reportedly following the instructions of the last Perumāḷ, may be taken into account in evaluating the Muslim tradition.

Significance of Partition

The sudden disappearance of the central authority in the Cēra kingdom in this manner demands an explanation but the circumstances under which it occurred are far from clear in the present state of our knowledge. It is obvious that the whims and fancies of an individual ruler alone do not satisfactorily account for the disintegration of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. The continuous defensive wars carried on for about half a century from about 1070 AD against the mighty Cōḷa empire, far superior to the Cēra kingdom in material resources, must have released new social forces. It must certainly have brought forward a powerful military class who received endowments of land by way of remuneration for military service.[133] Though the kingdom itself does not seem to have been overrun by the enemies, much dislocation, conflict and tension must have been caused under the pressure of armies pouring down through the many passes in the Western Ghats and the ports of the Arabian sea. The 'emperor' must have been forced to give more and more concessions to foreign merchants, the Jews and Christians of old, and perhaps the new Muslims from Arabia too, in return for financial and military assistance.[134] This dependence on outsiders and the consequent intimacy with them could have displeased the orthodox Brahmin leaders and the Nāyar fighting classes. Conspiracies and intrigues thrive on such crises in the history of a state. The central treasury must have been depleted, the revenue and tribute for years must have remained uncollected, and all the routine

religious and administrative work must have suffered from neglect by the central government for a long time.

Moreover, the district governors of the south as in Vēṇāṭu who bore the brunt of the invasion must have developed greater independence and initiative so that they were virtually free even without a formal act of declaration of independence. At the same time the 'emperor' who seems to have shifted his headquarters at least temporarily to Kollam for the prosecution of the war, as proved by the Kollam inscription of the 13th year, could have lost his grip on the northern districts in due course. Had the war brought new territorial conquests and wealth it would have augmented the central power, but, as it is, its effect was negative. Therefore, the aftermath of the war created political and economic problems which an aged ruler with an exhausted treasury, divided counsels and a tortured conscience could not even attempt to solve. Thus the abdication of the Perumāḷ, and the consequent dismemberment of the kingdom, may be seen as the natural culmination of a war of attrition. Though the Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya group failed in conquering Kerala physically, the spirit was broken, and unity destroyed, so that the old political framework could no longer survive. In other words, while the rulers were preoccupied with problems of war and defence a new socio-economic order, feudal in character and anarchical in temperament, had grown up silently during half a century and revealed its full identity with the advent of peace. The so-called partition of the kingdom by the Perumāḷ may be viewed as the act of granting formal recognition to the new situation. Even otherwise, the disintegration would have occurred in some other guise.

The departure of the Perumāḷ to Mecca thus became symbolic of certain revolutionary changes in the political and social set up of Kerala and was, therefore, deeply engraved in the memory of the people. This explains why the Cēramān legend is cherished everywhere, since there was a natural and instinctive appreciation of the event as a turning point in the history of Kerala. This event marked the death of the old age of unity and the birth of a new age of internal strife. In political terms, it connoted the fall of the Cēra kingdom and the rise of a number of successor states. In social and economic terms, it marked the end of the classical order based on central control and the emergence of the feudal order with greater sense of local independence. In terms of culture, it represented the close of an epoch in which Kerala was an integral part of Tamiḻakam and the opening of another epoch of regional idioms in art, religion, language and literature. It also marked the advent of Islam in Kerala. For these reasons this crucial event has left a strong imprint in legend and literature.

Notes and References

1. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 123; A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, p. 128.
2. See Sastri. *The Cōḷas*, p. 169. "Almost the first military achievement of his reign was the campaign in the Kerala country of which the result was summed up in the phrase 'Kāntaḷūr śālai kalamaṛutta', which precedes the name of the king in several of his inscriptions from the 4th year onwards." See no. 395 of 1922 dated in the 24th day of the 4th year of Rājarāja. The previous view was that the earliest reference to the episode came in the 8th year, See *S.I.I.*, II, Intn, p.2.
3. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 169 and Foot note 7. Different views were expressed by early scholars regarding the character of śālai. It is now clear that 'śālai' called 'ghaṭika' in Sanskrit was a peculiar institution which played a significant role in the expansion of Aryan religion and culture, a multi-purpose training centre for celibate Brahmins in material and spiritual fields including the army to equip them to serve the king and country and promote Aryan culture. They were patronised by kings of the Cālukya, Pallava and Kadamba dynasties besides the Āy and the Cēra. Kings often fought over them and captured them and sometimes the members of this institution played an important part in the choice of kings also.

   For different early views and the new interpretation and assessment of śālai, see M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Kāntaḷūr Śālai-New light on Aryan Expansion in South India', *Proceedings* of *I.H.C.*, 1970. See also chapter on Religions and Religious Culture.
4. Huzur Office or Pārthivapuram plates of Karunantaṭakkan, 9th year, *T.A.S.*, I, I, p. 6.

   "Kāntaḷūr maryādiyāl toṇṇūṛṛu aivar caṭṭarku cālaiyum ceytān śrīkōkkarunantaṭakkan".
5. See chapter on Chronology under Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya (962-1021 AD) and chapter on Divisions of the Kingdom under Vēṇāṭu.
6. There are two suggestions regarding the location of Kāntaḷūr śālai. A village 12 miles east of Viḻiññam, the old capital (Kulapuri) of the Āy kings, is still known as Kāntaḷūr and it has a Śiva temple called Kāntaḷūr śālai. This could have been the site of the śālai which was the model for other śālais of the Āy kingdom since the great śālais or ghaṭikas are usually found in or near the capital as in the case of Mūḻikkaḷam, Kāñci, Vijayapura, etc. Moreover, while the capture of the śālai is mentioned as the sole great achievement of Rājarāja from the 4th year to the 13th year in inscriptions, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates refer to the conquest of Viḻiññam as the first military venture. This association between Viḻiññam and Kāntaḷūr śālai could also be noticed in the records of other imperial Cōḷas like Rājēndra, Rājādhirāja and Kulōttuṅga.

   However, there is a deity in Trivandrum known as 'Kāntaḷūr Mahādēva' and some place-names like Śāla, Valiya Śāla, Āryaśāla etc. There is reference in the 15th century work named '*Anantapura Varṇana*' (sloka 106) to Kāntaḷūr śālai and three śrīkōyils and maḍhas in Trivandrum. Some 15th-16th century records (*Matilakm Records* dated 613, 693, 738 M.E.) also mention this name for a part of the city of Trivandrum. The evidence is not decisive. It is probable that the original Kāntaḷūr śālai was located near the Āy capital Viḻiññam and a new Kāntaḷūr śālai was built further north in Trivandrum following the destruction caused by the Cōḷa invasions of the 10th-11th centuries.

   For the controversy on the location of Kāntaḷūr śālai, see Venkayya *S.I.I.*, II, Intn., p. 2; Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, I, pp. 4-5; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 170; Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp.

55-6; S. Sanku Ayyar, 'Kāntaḷūr śālai', *Aj̃āta bhāgaṅgaḷ*, pp. 81-109. See also Note no. 2 and 3 above.

7. Vēlūr and Tiruppangili inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I Cōḷa, 30th year, *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 2. Perhaps the term 'Cēraḷan veḷaikkeḷu Kāntaḷūr cālai' may also be interpreted as meaning 'Kāntaḷūr śālai which serves the Cēra' and in that case the question of nearness to the sea does not arise.
8. See chapter on Early Wars, Notes no. 78 and 79. However, for a different view, See Venkayya, *S.I.I.*, II, Intn, p. 2. "Kāntaḷūr śālai which is said to belong to the Cēra king in later inscriptions was probably held by the Pāṇḍyas when it was attacked by Rājarāja".
9. Kanyakumari inscription of Vīrarājēndra, *T.A.S.*, III, I, no. XIV, p. 117. The earliest mentioned is Darśanam kōppu inscription, 8th year, *T.A.S.*, I, p. 238.
10. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 169.
11. *S.I.I.*, III, pp. 396 ff. Verses. 76-83.
12. See Note no. 11 above . For the conquest of the land of Paraśurāma, see verse 83.
"Sarvakṣatra vadhavṛtapraṇayinā rāmēṇa yannirmitam
Rāṣṭram śiṣṭajānābhirāmam atulam duṛgam mahīdhrārṇavaih
Jitvā tatsakalāvanīndramakuṭaśṛēṇīlasacchāsanās-
Sōbhūtsarvadhanurbhṛtām kṣitibhṛtām ānandasandōhakṛt".
These details about each stage in the progress of Rājarāja's arms given in 8 slokas cannot be found in the Larger Leyden grant in which many of them are huddled together in on sloka and the order is probably disturbed for metrical convenience. See:
"Jitvā sa pāṇḍyaduḷukēraḷasimhaḷēndra
Satyāśrayādinṛpatirnnija bāhuvīryāt.
Ādayatakarituraṅgamaratna rāṣṭrap-
Yāśā daśāpi yaśasā dhavaḷicakārā".
The kingdoms of Tuḷu (Āḷupa) and Kēraḷa (Cēra) mentioned in this list could be designated as the land of Paraśurāma.
13. See Note nos. 11 and 12 above. This list is finished in summary form in one sloka. See verse 84.
14. It has been pointed out that after the Pāṇḍyan conquest of Koṅgu in the 8th - 9th centuries, the Koṅgu branch of the Cēra dynasty had probably been merged in the Pāṇḍya dynasty to form a 'Candrādityakula' or luni-solar race. See chapters on Early Wars, Note no. 52. For a king named Vīra Kēraḷa Amarabhujangadēva in the Koṅgu region, see 709, 713 and 716 of 1905.
15. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 172, 175, 181 ff. The Āy territory is taken as the territory of Kerala.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 171. Sastri and other scholars expressed such doubts because they could not reconcile this order with the presence of earlier Cōḷa records in the Āy-Pāṇḍya territory which they imagined to be part of the Cēra territory.
17. *T.A.S.*, I, XVI, E. pp. 291-2.
18. *S.I.I.*, III, p. 29, no. 19; *Ibid.*, p. 104, no. 51.
19. However, it is possible that the Arabs and the Europeans who came by sea took Malanāṭu or Malibar to be the proper name of the coastal region.
20. Kielhorn, *E.I.*, VII, no. 704; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, P. 171. Sastri quotes Aṭiyārkkunallār on *Cilappatikāram*,(XI, 1, 53) to show that the term was used for Coorg.

21. Kiḻur inscription of Rājarāja, 27th year, 236 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 863. Perhaps this event took place before the 23rd year, 1008 AD. See *S.I.I.*, II, I, Para 51.

22. *I.A.*, XXII, pp. 141-50, Verse 16.
"Tūtarkkāyppaṇṭu pakaloṉṟilīronpatu
Curamumkoṇṭu malaināṭu koṇṭōnum".

23. *Ibid.*
"Curamum ēṛippakalonril eccuramum poḻutākai
Nurittan tūranai nōkkinōn".

24. *Ibid.*, Canto. VIII, Verse 24.
"Cataiyanāḷviḻavutiyar maṇṭalam
Tannil vaittavanraniyōr māvinmēl
Utayapānuvottutakaivenṛa kōn
Oru kai vāraṇam pala kavarntatum".

25. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 171. "Malaināḍu or Kuḍa malai nāḍu, the Western hill country, may be identified with Coorg and the fortress of Udagai must be looked for in the Western Ghats in that region, or perhaps a little to the south". Ootacamund is locally known as Utakai.

26. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1898, p. 2. It stated that the king uprooted the Keralas at Utakai and made them plunge into the western ocean. Makōtai is meant here but not necessarily in other passages.

27. Tiruppalanam Inscription of Rājarāja, 14th year, no. 135 of 1928. It refers to the gift of an idol by king from the booty obtained in Malināṭu. Tiruvenkaṭu Inscription of Rājarāja, 15th year, no, 443 of 1918. It refers to treasures taken from the Cēra king by Rājarāja.

28. Sēnūr inscription of Rājarāja, 20th year, no. 394 of 1911. For discussion, see *A.R.E.* for 1912, II, p. 23 and *T.A.S.*, III, p. 118. For references to these in other inscriptions, see *S.I.I.*, II, III, no. 63, p. 249.

29. Nos. 36 & 38 of 1897. Venkayya, *S.I.I.*, II, IV, pp. 415 ff. Nos. 91, 93, p. 419 L. 1.
"Rājarājadēvar.... Cēramānaiyam pāṇṭiyarkaḷaiyum malaināṭṭu erintu koṇṭa veḷḷiyin tirupparikarankaḷ", p. 429, L. 1. "Rājarājadēvar Cēramānaiyam pāṇṭiyarkaḷaiyum erintu koṇṭa paṇṭārankaḷ." These include several articles made of silver and gold and precious stones like kāḷam (trumpet) taḷikai (dish) maṇṭai (bowl) kuṭam (pots) kalaśappāṉai (censer) mūkkuvaṭṭakai (basket with spout) kaivaṭṭakai (handbasket) vaṭṭil (cup) maṭai (receptacle for sacred ashes) pingāḷam (the editor says he has "not been able to find out what the word signifies" but it is a common word in Malayalam which is now pronounced as piññāṇam, (meaning Chinese Clay dishes) kaccōḷam (little metal vessel) patikkam (spitoons) caṭṭuvam (ladles) neymuṭṭai (ghee holder) kalaśam (pot) neṭumāṭai (long receptacle for sacred ashes) kuṟumāṭai (small respectacle for sacred ashes) taṭṭam (salvers) ilaittaṭṭu (betel leaf salver) images, jewels with śaṭṭam (frame) ceppāṇi (copper-nails) etc, kantanan (necklace) diamonds, pearls, rubies, emeralds, sapphire, pācamāla (garland of small beads - the editor calls it garland of rays) srībāhuvalaya (sacred armlet) paḷinku (crystals) sugandhi (amethyst) patakkam (breast plate) ratna vaḷai (jewelled bangle) pavaḷakaṭakam (coral bracelet) tiruppaṭṭikai (sacred girdle) cōṉakacciṭukkinkūṭu (cover of ciṭukku made after the Jonaka fashion) ratnamōtiram (jewelled ring) navaratnamōtiram (nine jewel ring) srīchandam (pearl ornament) sandals etc.

30. There is a possibility that the conquest of the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍuṅgallūr actually meant only the defeat of their combined forces in some battle and not even the temporary occupation of these regions. This battle could be fought anywhere on the borders of Kerala. However, the references are vague enough not to be decisive. The statement in Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that no one other than Rājēndra could dare to think of the conquest of Kerala shows clearly that it was not conquered by Rājarāja before.

31. No.5 of 1895; E.C., III, (Sr.) no. 125: E.C. III. (Sr.) no. 140; see also, Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 172.

32. "The king of the Maldives assumes the style of the king of Twelve thousand islands". Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts*, Remarks, p. 2 and *Toung Pao* XVI, p. 388, note 1. Quoted by Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 183, 192.

33. *M.V.K., Sarga XIV, Sloka 69.*
"Uttīrṇa sāgarajalēna kulam ṟipūṇam
Hatvā balēna harikuñjarabhīṣanēna
Laṅkāhvayam raghupatih paramēkamēva
Dvīpān bahūnabhṛta rāmaghaṭēśvarastu".
For details of Valabha's date and work, see chapter on Divisions of the Kingdom.

34. The adversary is not named in Cōḷa inscription. However, the rule of Valabha II Mūṣaka must have coincided with the early years of Rājarāja Cōḷa since Śrīkaṇṭha alias Kaṇṭan Kāri Varman is mentioned as the Mūṣaka ruler in the Eramam inscription of 1020 A.D. (Index No. A. 40). Therefore, the conquest of islands in Arabian Sea by Valabha II Mūṣaka may be placed before the Cōḷa invasion of the region.

35. *M.V.K., Sarga 14, Slokas 7-8.*
"Atha kēraḷam prati sa Cōḷa
Nṛpatimabhiyātumutthitam
Sāhyakṛtamatiramum valabham
Pratidhāya rāmaghaṭamūṣikēśwaram.
"Prajihatya tam sa dhanarēṇu
Nivahapihitārkarōciṣā
Tūryatulitajaladadhvaninā
Prayayou balēna saha dakṣiṇām diśām".

36. See chapter on Early Wars. Note no. 68 to 76.

37. Eramam Inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, (A Series) Index no. A. 40. This inscription mentions an officer called 'Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati' which shows the Cōḷa presence in this part of Kerala.

38. Index no. A. 34.

39. Tiruvalla copper plates. Index no. A. 80, L1, 150-51.

40. Index no. A.36.

41. No. 22 of 1895; no. 211 of 1911; see also E.I., IX, pp. 233 ff.

42. No. 29 of 1897; S.I.I., II, No. 82. "Eripaṭai kēraḷar muṟaimaiyir cūṭum kulataṉamākiya palar pukaḻ muṭiyum ceṅkatir mālaiyum ceṅkatirvēlai ttonperuṅkāval pala paḻantīvum ceruvir cinavil irupattorukāl raicukaḷai katta paracurāman mēvarum cāntimattīvaran karutiyiruttiya cempoṟṟiruttakumuṭiyumapporu taṇṭār koṇṭa kō pparakēcarivaṟmaṟ".

43. No. 363 of 1917; see Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates in *S.I.I.*, III, pp. 398 ff. Verses 94-99; see also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 201-2.
44. Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, Verses 91-93. See Note no. 43 above.
45. *Ibid.*, Verses 94-99.
"Paribhavamupakaṛṇya sōbhimānī
Dharaṇibhṛtām yudhi bhārgavādavāptam
Bhuvi tam anupalabhya bhūmipālas-
Tadupahitajjagatīm jigīṣurāsīt.
"Bhṛgukulatilakaprabhāvaguptām
Anupahatāmaribhistadādi pṛthvīm
Kathamapi manasā vicārayēt kah
Paribhavitum paramēśvarāditōnyah
"Atilanghyati sahyam apanītabhayō
Madhurāntakassapadi kēraḷēśvaram
Sa balam rurōdha tadanuksitipa
Kṣayakāri yuddhamabhavad bhayaṅkaram
"Jitvā kēraḷabhūpatim bhṛgupatēhśchitvā tapōrakṣitām
Pṛthvīm pārthivanandanō nijapuram prāyāt sadhāmaśriyah
Nṛtyantīmiva cañcalairdhvajapatīhastaissamullāsibhir-
Jalpantīmiva mañjuḷaiścaladrsam kāñcīguṇaissvāgatam.
"Athāgamat vaiśravaṇasya kāsṭhā
Jjtum nṛpēndrah śśibivamśadīpah
Yasyastripuṇḍram rajatādrirāsīt
Kailāsasamsēvita śankarāya.
Śricōḷapāṇḍyam svasutam vidhāya
Pāścātya bhūmerabhirakṣaṇāya
Kañcim sa kāñcīmiva bhūmidēvyā
Ssamāviśat tailakulaikakālah".
46. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 202.
47. See Note no.9 and 10 above.
48. See Note no. 42 above.
49. Perhaps there was a legend to the effect that Paraśurāma, the mythical creator of Kerala, had buried much gold and treasures in an island of the ocean, though the *Kēraḷōlpatti* does not mention it anywhere. The Island of Cēndamangalam situated near the mouth of river Periyār is known as Jayantamangalam from an old undated fragmentary inscription in Grantha script found in the Viṣṇu temple there. See no. 79 of 1084 M.E., *T.A.S.*, VI, II, p. 189. "Prācīnam tu jayantamangalapuram....." A Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription of about the beginning of the 10th century with a resolution of Paṛaiyūr village assembly is found in Kṛṣṇaswāmi temple. See Index no. C. 34. Cēndamangalam should have been part of the Paṛaiyūr Grāma, one of the four chief grāmas or Aryan settlements in ancient Kerala. Cēndamangalam was also the seat of the Pāliyattu Accan, the hereditary chief minister of Cochin. Pali in old Tamil signified buried treasure. Proximity to the Cēra capital must have made Cēndamangalam an ideal place for depositing the Cēra treasures. Therefore, Cēndamangalam rather than Candrōt of the Laccadive Islands must the identified as Cāntimattīvu of the Cōḷa inscription.
50. The term 'Pāścātyabhūmi' meaning 'Western country' seems to be the Sanskrit equivalent of 'Kuṭanāṭu' in Tamil.

51. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam thinks that the 'Western country' in this context signifies only the region to the south of Trivandrum since Cōḷa inscriptions are found only there. See *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 116. However, this is not correct. The Cēra king Rājasimha's construction of a temple in honour of Rājēndra Cōḷa at Maṉṉārkōyil shows that he had accepted Cōḷa hegemony though probably direct Cōḷa administration was confined to the former Āy region.
52. Pullūr, Eramam and Trikkākkara inscriptions. See Index nos. A. 39, 40 and 41.
53. See Index no. A. 46.
54. See Index no. A. 56.
55. See Index no. A. 59.
56. See Index no. A. 60.
57. S. K. Aiyengar, *Ancient India*. p. 108; *S.I.I.*, III, Intn, p. 21. Nilakanta Sastri, however, does not support this view. He is of opinion that while Rājēndra refrained in his later years from taking to the field in person, his sons carried on wars in different parts of the empire. See *The Cōḷas*, p. 221.
58. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 246-7. His praśastis are in two forms, one stereotyped about the 26th year and repeated in later records and the other longer form with many variations. For the different versions see *S.I.I.*, III, no. 28 (29th year), no. 6 of 1890 (30th year) and nos. 81 of 1895 and 221 of 1895 and 221 of 1894 (32nd year).
59. *S.I.I.*, III, 1, no.28, pp. 51-8, L1. 1 and 2. "Teṉṉavar mūvaruḷ mānāparaṇan ponmuṭi anapparumani ppacuntalai porikalattarintu varalaviya kālai vīra kēraḷanai munaivāyir piṭittu tanatattivāraṇa kkatakkaliṟṟānutaippittaruḷi antamiḻ perum pukaḻ cuntarapāṇṭiyan koṟṟaveṇkuṭaiyum kaṟṟaiveṇ kavariyum cinkātanamum venkalattīḻattu tanmuṭi vilattalai virittati talaroṭōṭattollai mullaiyūr tturatti...".
60. See *S.I.I.*, III, no. 29, L. 13.
61. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that the term is used here to denote southern princes in general. See *The Cōḷas*, p. 243, F. N. 141. Following this clue, Eḷamkuḷam has identified Vīrakēraḷa as the ruling king of Kerala. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 150.
62. A Pāṇḍyan prince named Vīra Kēraḷa (Mīnavan Vīrakēraḷa) is mentioned in two later inscriptions no. 254 of 1925 and 42 of 1906. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 380, 411.
63. *S.I. I.*, III, I, no.28, pp. 51-58. L.2. "Oḷkaḷil vēṇāṭṭaracaiccēṇāṭṭoṭukki mēvupukalirāmakuṭa mūvar keṭa munintu viṭal kēḷu villavan kuṭar maṭikkoṇṭu tannāṭu vittōṭikkāṭu pukkoḷippa vañciyam putumalar mālaintonkencalil vēlai keḻu Kāntaḷūr cālai kalamaṟuttu'.
64. See Note 63 above. Hultzsch gives the first meaning but the second suggested in *A.R.E.* for 1913, p. 100, Para 26 is more appropriate.
65. See Note no. 8 above.
66. Hultzsch gives the first meaning, but the second is suggested in *A.R.E.* for 1930, II, Para 46 and accepted by Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 221.
67. See Eramam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, and Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Irāmakuṭa Mūvar, Index no. A. 40; and the Kaṇṇapuram inscription of Udaya Varman alias Irāmakuṭa Mūvar, 12th century, Index no. B. 24. Both employ the term Irāmakuṭa Mūvar as a title.
68. The *M.V.K.* employs the title 'Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣaka' throughout and claims that it was the founder's name. However, it is possible that Mūṣaka is the dynastic name and

Rāmghāḍ is the place of their origin. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from The Mūṣaka Vaṁśa', *Proceedings of A.I.O.C.*, 1969.

69. See Note no. 35 above.
70. Tirumalavāḍi inscription, no. 75 of 1895; Cape Comorin inscription, no.96 of 1896. They state that Rājādhirāja inherited the kingdom of his father Rājēndra who captured Gaṅga in the North, Lanka in the South, Mahōdaya in the West, and Kidāram in the East.
71. See Note no. 52 above.
72. See Index nos. A. 31-34.
73. See Note no. 5 above.
74. For the Trivandrum inscription of Rājarāja, 18th year, see Note no. 17 above. For the Trivandrum Mahādēva temple inscription of Rājēndra, see *K.S.P.*, 2, P.106.
75. See Note no. 35 above. Nilakanta Sastri suggested that Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Irāmakuṭa Mūvar of Eramam inscription could be the adversary of Rājādhirāja, *The Cōḷas*, p. 223. However, he depended on the wrong interpretation of the government epigraphists who attributed this record to the 59th year of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman. Actually the record is dated in the 58th year of Bhāskara Ravi (A series) and thus its date is known to be 1020 AD. See Index no. A. 40. Since Kaṇṭan Kārivarman was alive in 1020 AD the Irāmakuṭa Mūvar killed in battle in 1018-19 AD must have been his predecessor on the throne.
76. See Index no. A. 40 and Note no. 75 above.
77. "Kūpakattaracaiccēvakam tulaittu", see *S.I.I.*, III, no. 28; *Ibid.*, V, no. 978; *T.A.S.*, I, p. 242; see also *A.R.E.* for 1895-6, p. 5. para 18; *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1913, p.100, para 26; and *E.I.*, IX, P. 234. Footnote for 'Kūpaka'.
78. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, P. 222.
79. For example the Cochin Jewish plates of Bhāskara Ravi, 38th year (A series), mention the governors of Vēṇāṭu, Vempalanāṭu, Ēṛāḷanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu and Neṭumpuṛayūrnāṭu as witnesses to the charter. See Index no. A. 34. A number of other inscriptions mentioning the governers of Kōlattunāṭu, Puṛaikiḻānāṭu Kuṛumpoṛaināṭu, Neṭumpoṛaināṭu. Kālkkaraināṭu, Kīḻmalaināṭu, Nanṛuḻaināṭu and Vēṇāṭu are also dated in the regnal years of Bhāskara Ravi. See index nos. A. 28 to A. 51. These establish the sovereignty of the Cēra king over the different districts of Kerala beyond question.
80. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 223.
81. See Note no.12 above.
82. There are some inscriptions in Kerala dated in the regnal years of Cēra kings and containing references to Rājēndra Cōḷa. The Eramam record of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, Index no. A. 40, mentions an official called Rājēndra Cōḷa samayasēnāpati. A Tirumaṛṛakōḍe inscription of the 8th year of King Ravi Kōta, Index no. A.52, mentions a certain official of Cōḷan Parakēsarivarman, evidently Rājēndra Cōḷa. An undated Peruvamba inscription, Index no. C. 29, also mentions Rājēndra Cōḷa.
83. *S.I.I.*, III, pp. 31, ff. no. 20. p. 34. L.9. "Vankaḷal kēraḷam tannai jaṉanāthan tampiyai ppōrkkaḷattalankal cūḻppacuntalaiyarintu". See also *The Cōḷas*. p. 267.
84. *S.I.I.*, III, pp. 64, ff. no. 30, P. 66, L1. 15-16. "Utakaiyir kēraḷantan kula cenkiraiyoṭum vēraṛapparintotimel kaṭal vīla...." See also *The Cōḷas*, pp. 267-68.

85. See Note no. 26 and 84 above.
86. See Note no. 26 above.
87. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 309-10.
88. Index no. A. 65 and 66. See Chapter on Chronology.
89. Index No. A. 66. Jupiter in Mīnam.
90. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 310. "The most sustained efforts of Kulōttuṅga resulted in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries between the seventh and eleventh years of his reign, but Ceylon permanently disappeared from the Cōḷa empire".
91. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 312-14.
92. Cōḷapuram Inscription of Kulōttuṅga, 30th year, *S.I.I.*, III, p. 147; *T.A.S.*, I, p 245 and *Ibid.*, VI, p. 15. "Kuṭamalaināṭṭuḷḷa cāverellām tanivicumpēṛa māvēriya tan varūttinittalaivarai kkurukkalar kulaiyakkōṭṭāṛutpaṭa nerittoru nilaikaḷittaruḷi". See also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 312-13.
93. For a discussion of the importance of Kōṭṭāṛu as a frontier outpost and epigraphic references to the place, see A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar, Cōḷapuram Inscriptions, *T.A.S.*, VII, pp. 1-6. The town of Kōṭṭār is located on the Āruvāymoḻi (Ārambōḷy) pass which marked a distinct break in the hill chain with a gap of 3 miles in width and served as the most convenient link of communication and transport between the Pāṇḍya and Āy countries. Perhaps it is the same as the 'Koṭṭiara' of Ptolemy and 'Koṭṭara' of Pliny. It is also mentioned in Nakkirar's commentary of *Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ*(verses 37, 249). It was attached by a former Pāṇḍyan king Arikēsari Māṛavarman (670-700 AD). It was captured by Rājarāja and renamed Mummuti Cōḷanallūr of Nancilnāṭu, a subdivision called Rājarāja Pāṇḍināṭu. Two later inscriptions of Kollam year 428 and 440 call it Cōḷa Kēraḷanllūr.
94. No. 115 of 1887-8; *E I.*, V, pp. 103-4; *S.I.I.*, I, pp. 168-93; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 312.
" Pāṇḍyan dandēṇa jitvā pracuraśaramucā pañcapañcāṉaṉaśrīh
Dagdhvā kōṭṭāradurgam tṛṇamiva sa yathā khāṇḍavam pāṇḍusūnuh
Piṣṭva tat kēraḷānām balamatibahaḷam śrī Kulōttuṅgacōḷah
Cakre śakrapratāpastribhuvanavijayastambhamambhōdhitīre".
"Puṇyē sahyādri śṛngē tribhuvaṉavijayastambhamambhōdhipārē
Svachchandam pārasīṇām taruṇayuvatibhirgīyatē yasya kīrtih
Sah śrimānastaśatruh prabalabalabharaih pañca Pāṇḍyan vijitya
Kṣubhyat kṣmāpālacakṛam savidhikamakarōcchrī Kulōttuṅgacōḷah".
The quasi-historical works also echo these ideas. Jayankoṇḍār in *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (III-21) says:-
"Mullāṛum kallāṛum tennarota-
Muṉṉorunāḷ valapayam muninta pōril
Veḷḷārum Kōṭṭārum pukaiyāṉa mūṭa
Ventavana miṇṭavana mokkilokkum".
Oṭṭakkūttan says in *Vikṛama Cōḷan Ula*. L1. 47.
"Cēlaitturantu cilaiyaittaṭintirukūr ccālaikkalam aṛuttu taṇṭinan Mēlaikkātal koṇṭu...".
95. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 314; See also Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration* (University Madras. 1932), p. 181. "The earliest reference to him (Naralōkavīra alias Kaliṅgarāyan) in the Cōḷa inscriptions occurs in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga and the latest in the 6th year of his successor Vikṛama Cōḷa." The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* describes him in the following words. (LI. 154-8)

"..... Vengaiyūr kuṭar viḻiññattum kollattum koṅgattum
Ota viraṭṭattumoṭṭattu
Natatatiyeṭuttu vevveṟaraśiriya
Vīrakkoṭiyeṭutta Kaliṅgarkōn".
There is no need, however, to consider these campaigns as part of a second invasion of Kerala by Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has done, since we have shown earlier that there was no previous attack on Kerala by this ruler and that Sastri's assumption regarding it was unsupported by contemporary evidence.

96. No. 21 of 1927. Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 120-2; *The Cōḷas*, p.336, Foot note no. 60.

97. Taylor, *Historical Manuscripts*, I, p. 203. He informs us that the year Rudhirōdgāri corresponding to Saka 1246 coincided with the 227th year of 'Kollam aḻintayāṇṭu', the initial year of which was saka 1019 or 1097 AD. See Venkataramanayya, *J.O.R.*, XII, p. 212; A.G. Warriar, *R.V.R.I.B.*, VIII, I, p. 29, F. N. 52.

98. Index no. A.71, L1. 1-28 and 43 60.
"Swasti Śri. Kollam tōṇṟiyirunūṟṟeḻupatteṭṭāmāṇṭai kkanniyil viyāḻam pukka ciṅgañāyiṟu onpatu cenṟa nāḷ iraṇṭā māṇṭaikketir patinōrāmāṇṭai irāmar tiruvaṭi kōyilatikārikaḷāyiṉa śrikulacēkaraccakkiravarttikaḷ kurakkēṇi kkollattu paṉainkāvin kōvilakattirunnaruḷa āriyarōṭu vanna virōtattiṉu prāyaścittattiṉu...".
"Nānku taḻiyum āyiram aṟunūṟṟuvarum ēṟānāṭu vāḻkkai mānavikkiramaṉāṉa pūntuṟakkōn mutalāyuḷḷa cāmantarum tirukkaikkīḻ kkūṭiyirukka ttirukkai naṉaiccaruḷiyāvitu".

99. See Note no. 94 above.

100. No 46 of 1927.

101. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p.125. This view has found its way into popular text books also.

102. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 320.

103. *T.A.S.*, I, pp. 1-7. These victories are claimed for his Cōḷa overlord Vikṛama Cōḷa in *Vikṛama* Cōḷan *Ula* according to which his coronation was attended by the Toṇḍaimān who in a single campaign scattered the armies of Malaināṭu, the Kaliṅgarkōn who with his victorious banner put to flight many a prince in Vengai, Viḻiññam, Kollam, Iraṭṭam and Oddam, the king of Vēṇāṭu who drove the rogue elephant which caused people to tremble, the munificent Nuḷamban who conquered Kōṭṭāṟu belonging to the Pāṇḍyas, and Kollam, Trigarttan who overthrew Koṅgu and knocked down the crags of Kuṭaku besides the Kēraḷan and others. See Kanakasabhai Pillai, 'Tamil Historical Texts-Vikṛama Cōḷan Ula', *I.A.*, XXII. pp. 141-50, pp. 148 ff.

104. *T.A.S.*, I, pp. 18 ff; Eḷamkuḷam, *Paścāttalattil*, pp. 134-43.
"Cēraḷanai ceruvil venṟu tiṟai koṇṭu vākai cūṭi kūpakar kōn makat kuṭuppa kulaviḻiññam kaikoṇṭu kannippōr ceytaruḷi Kāntaḷūr ccālai kkalamaṟuttu mannu pukaḷ maṟaiyavar tam maṇiyampalattuḷ initiruntu āyirattenmar avirōtam paṇi ppaṇiyāl maraipērttu kkalanatti ppaṇṭuḷḷa pēr tavirttu niruppaṇavum āḷappaṇavum kayaleḻuti anantapuratteṇmarku nilaviya pon maṇiviḷakku niṉṟeriyappaṭṭamaittu".

105. See Note no. 8 above

106. UIloor S. Parameswara Ayyar on text of Praśasti found in Trivandrum Central Records quoted in Eḷamkuḷam. 'Oru pracīnarēkha', *Ēṭukaḷ* pp. 129-33.
"Etticaiyum pukaḷ perutta Kollam
Irunūṟṟittoṇṇūṟṟiyāṟāmāṇṭu
Veṟṟi ceyum kumpattuḷ viyāḻaninṟu

Viḷanka tinkaḷāvaṇi patinonṛil
Tattimiḻum paṛaḷiyaṛṛaṇaiyum taḷḷi
Ttamil pāṇṭi rācacinkaṉaiyum venru
Kottalarum pūncolai nancināṭum
Kōṭṭāṛum kūpakarkōn koṇṭavārē".
The date of this document was given as 292 M.E. by Nagam Ayya, Velu Pillai, and Ulloor S. Parameswara Ayyar, on the basis of the old text, but Eḷamkuḷam has corrected this as 296 M.E. on the basis of the position of Jupiter in Kumbham stated in the next line.

107. Cōḷapuram inscription of Vīra Kēraḷa, ruler of Vēṇāṭu, 301 M.E. (1126 AD). See *T.A.S.*, IV, I, no. 3. pp. 17-18 and *I.A.*, XXIV, pp. 253-4. "Kollam tōṇṛi 301-māṇṭinetirāmāṇṭu ciṅga ñāyiṛṛu Vēṇāṭu vāḻntaruḷukinṛa śri vīrakēraḷa vanmarku amainca atikārikaḷ...". The year mentioned as "the year opposite to 301" is taken to be equivalent to 302 by the Travancore epigraphists cited above. However, it only means 301, since no other number is quoted on the opposite side.

108. For the tradition that Vīra Kēraḷa, the first independent king of Vēṇāṭu, was the son of the last Cēramān Perumāḷ, see chapter on Chronology under Rāma Kulaśēkhara.

109. *S.I.I.*, II, III, no. 68, pp. 310-11. L.2. "... Cēliyar veṇcuram puka cēraḷar kaṭal puka aḷitaru cinkaḷar anci nencalamāke kkaṇkar tiṛaiyiṭa kkaṉṉaṭar venniṭa kkonka roṭunka...".

110. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 84-7. "Iṅgine ellām kalpiccu tirunāvāyi maṇalppuṛattu ninnu tiruvaṉcikkuḷattiṉṉu vēdakkāre kappalil ninnu karakketticcu aśuvinnu eḻunnaḷḷuvān koṭuṅgallūr Kōyil eḻunneḷḷukayum ceytu. Vēdakkārumāyi okkattakka kappalil karēṛi cēramān perumāḷ makkattiṉṉu eḻunneḷḷukayum ceytu".

After this passage the kalivākya of the date is given as "Cēramān dēśaprāpya" which corresponds to 1258526 days of Kali era and 355 AD. This date is evidently a later interpolation and must, therefore, be rejected. The Moplah tradition quoted by Dr. Gundert speaks about Cēramān Perumāḷ's trip to Mecca, interview with the prophet (Mohamed Nabi), conversion to Islam under the name of Tajuddin, marriage to the daughter of Malik Habib Dinar the king of Arabs, life at Sehar Mukkalh, death due to fever at that place, message sent through Malik Habib Dinar and sons to the kings of Kerala, and the construction of eleven mosques on the coast, one in Madura country and the rest in Koḍuṅgallūr, Kollam, Māḍāyi, Bakkanūr, Maikkaḷam, Kañjiroṭṭu, Ciṛavu paṭṭaṇam, Dharmapaṭṭaṇam, Pantalāyini and Chāliyam respectively.

See also Sheikh Zeinuddin, *Tuhfat-UI-Mujahidin* (Malayalam translation by Velayudhan Panikkasseri, Kottayam, 1963, based on the Arab originals kept at Vellūr and Hyderabad, and in Malabar Muslim houses and the English translation by Rowlandson), pp. 5I-64. This Muslim author of the 16th century gives the tradition prevalent among Hindus and Muslims alike in Malabar, discredits the prevalent view that the Perumāḷ's conversion took place in the time of the prophet and places it later than 200 or 300 years after the Hijera.

111. No. 623 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, VIII, no. 221, pp. 114-15; see also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, (First Edition, 1937), II, App. p. 614; Index no.A.73. ".....Cēramānār Irāmavanmaṛ tamakku nanrāke (u) ...kku nittam...pakkalum tumpai ttiruppaḷḷittāmam...".

112. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 55-62.

113. Index no. A.71. L1. 43-60. "Nānku taḻiyum āyiram aṛunūṛṛuvarum ēṛānāṭu vāḻkai (māna) vikkiramaṉāyiṉa (puntuṛa)kkōn mutalāyuḷḷa cāmantarum".

114. *Kēraḷōlpatti.* p. 74. "Cēramān perumāḷ iṅgiṉe svairamāyi vāḻum kālattu tirumanassukoṇṭu nirūpiccu kalpiccu: ī bhūmiye brāhmaṇarkkallō paraśurāman udakadānam ceytatu. Vaḷarekkālam ñān anubhaviccatiṉṟe dōṣaparihārattiṉṉentu kaḻivuḷḷu ennu nirūpiccatiṉṟe śeṣam pala śastrikaḷum vannu āṟu śāstrikaḷum mūnnu vēdattunkalum oru prāyaścittam kāṇmānilla nālām vēdattinkalttanne atiññu nivṛtti uḷḷu ennu nirūpiccuṇartticcu".

115. See Note no. 315 and 317 above. LI. 13-28. "irāmar tiruvaṭi kōyilatikārikaḷāyiṉa śrikulacēkaraccakkiravaṛttikaḷ kurakkēṇi kkollattu paṉainkāvin kōvilakattirunnaruḷa āriyarōṭu vanna virōtattiṉu prāyaścittattiṉu puttanpaṛaiyāl patināḻi koḷḷum paṛaiyāl niyatam ōrō paṛaicceytu nel...".

116. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 74-76. It is also stated that while the Perumāḷ and the Brahmins were celebrating the Mahāmāgha, the former quarrelled with the latter on the principles of Vēdic religion and then he decided to go to Aśu (Hjju or Arabia) with the Bauddha. (All non- Hindus are denoted by this term in Kerala).

117. This institution, much diminished in size and status but still dominated by the hereditary members from aristocratic Nayar families, who constituted the warrior class in Kerala, now manages the Koḍuṅgallūr Kāḷi temple, the foremost non-Brahmin Hindu centre of worship of central Kerala, where the war-goddess is worshipped. For details, see chapter on Police and Revenue.

118. See Note no. 110 above.

119. Index no. B. 25. For details, see chapter on Religions and Religious Culture.

120. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 78.

121. Index no. B. 24.

122. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 79.

123. Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 101-12.

124. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 77-84.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

127. For earlier speculations on the subject of the partition of Kerala by the last Perumāḷ and his alleged conversion, see Logan, *Malabar*, I, pp 230-45; K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, pp. 420-67. Almost all their arguments regarding the date of event are obsolete since they wrote before the discovery of the dated inscriptions of the Cēras of Makōtai. For this reason these pioneers could not also get rid of the confusion regarding the different legends connected with Cēramān Perumāḷ. Trying to place the partition and conversion in the beginning of 9th century, they naturally failed to find any evidence to support such assumption. Moreover, it did not occur to them that the so-called partition of the kingdom really signified the transformation of existing divisions of the kingdom ruled by hereditary governors into separate independent states rather than the creation of new states with new ruling dynasties. Therefore, the whole discussion about the subject becomes irrelevant today though it is useful in providing details about the various aspects of the problem and the different sources of information.

128. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 83. "Patinēḻu nāṭṭilum kalpicca nītikkum nilakkum vāṭṭam varātē naṭattēṇam ennum maryādayum ācāravum paṭṭolappāṭakkēṇam ennu nālāḷōṭu kalpiccu". This tradition is corroborated by the Granthavaris (court histories) of Calicut and Cochin which refer to the legacy of the laws laid down by the last Perumāḷ which

were binding on the successor states. See chapter Divisions of the Kingdom. Note no. 3 and 4.

129. Logan, 'Abdul Rehiman Samiri of Malabar', *I.A.*, XI, (1882). Notes and Queries No. 6, p. 116.
"Can you or any of your readers verify the following facts which I have on authority of an Arab living on the outskirts of Zaphar on the Arabian coast?
"At Zaphar lies buried one Abdul Rahiman Samiri, a king of Malabar. The inscription on his tombstone says he arrived at that place A.H.212. The tomb is regarded with much veneration as that of a Hindu (Samiri = Samaritan = Worshipper of the calf-Koran, Sura. 21) King of Malabar, who became a convert to Islam...
"It seems the Mukri of the mosque adjacent to the tomb came to Malabar some 15 years ago soliciting subscriptions for repairing the tomb and mosque" (Dated 6th of March 1882, Calicut).

130. For the Calicut Granthavari of 1810 AD see K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 69. For the Malayalam sloka, see chapter on Chronology under Rāma Kulaśēkhara.

131. The present writer, along with Sri P.K.M. Raja of the Zamorin's family, examined the sword and interviewed Sri. Oḷukil Madhava Menon, Record keeper, and Śri Vaṭṭiśśēri Kāvil Ravunni Panikkar, Manager, Estates office, Tiruvachira on 11th June 1960. It was ascertained that the copper sheath which is supposed to contain the Cēramān sword is still worshipped daily in the Bhagavati temple attached to the palace. However, the sheath is now fully sealed and it does not contain any inscription or name.

The original Cēramān sword was worshipped by the Zamorins in their private chapel every day and especially at the time of coronation. According to Calicut Granthavari dated 14th Minam 845 M.E. (1670 AD) this was burnt in a surprise attack by the Dutch at Cranganore while the Zamorin was residing with Veḷutta Nambiyār. The present sword encased in a brass sheath was made in 1672 AD out of the fragments of the old. See K.V.K. Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 22.

132. M.L. Dames (Translator and Editor), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, (Hakluyt Society, London), pp. 24-6.

133. This is reflected in some of the inscriptions of Ravi Rāma and Rāma Kulaśēkhara, which refer to Nāyars and Paṭanāyars occupying high posts and settling disputes, nd mention protests against a new tax called 'arantai' (literally misery) imposed by the state. See Index nos. A. 64, 68, 69 and 70. An undated inscription from Kumaranallūr also gives evidence of restlessness among the tenants calling for new regulations to put down violence within the precincts of the temple. See Index no. C. 43. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* speaks of the settlement of large numbers of Nāyars coming back from the wars in Pōlanāṭu (Puṟaikiḻānāṭu), Ēṟānāṭu, and Vaḷḷuvanāṭu. See pp. 79-80.

134. This is an inference based on the analogy of the previous developments. In the time of Sthāṇu Ravi (844- c. 870 AD) the Pāṇḍya invasions induced new concessions for Syrian Christians at Kollam and in the time of Bhāskara Ravi (962-c.1021 AD) the Cōḷa invasions caused similar concessions for Jews at Muyirikkōḍe. See Index nos. A. 2, 6 and 34. The Perumāḷ's intimacy with the Arab Muslims could be the result of such a new situation which called for a new enterprise.

Book Three

Government

VI. Nature of Monarchy

It is obvious that a monarchical system prevailed in Kerala during the period under consideration. In the present chapter and the following chapters of this book an attempt is made to examine the character and machinery of this government with the help of epigraphy, literature and tradition. The general pattern is that of the monarch at the centre, with subordinate governors in the districts and under them a number of ordinary villages and corporations of trading or agricultural communities. Policing was done by the king's men and the governor's men and revenue was shared among the various authorities of the centre, district and the town or village.

The status, powers and functions of the sovereign may first be taken up for discussion as it is quite decisive in a monarchical scheme of administration. In appearance he resembled any other regular hereditary monarch but in effect he was largely influenced, if not controlled, by an oligarchy of Aryan Brahmin settlers who commanded the agricultural wealth and dominated the realm of religion and culture.

Dynastic Name

The kings of Kerala during the period have been usually referred to as 'Cēramānār' or 'Cēramān' or 'Kēraḷarāja' in official records and literature. Naturally this title is employed when people outside the kingdom refer to the sovereign of Kerala. Thus we have Cēramān Kō Tāṇu Ravi, Cēramānār Vijayarāgadēva, Cēramān Rājasimha, Cēramān Rājarāja and Cēramānār Rāma in the records of Cōḷa empire.[1] A Sanskrit passage in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription of the 10th century uses the term 'Cēramma' while referring to the Kerala king among the kings of South India.[2] Cēramān Mātēviyar or Cēraḷan Mātēviyar, i.e., the great queen of Cēramān, is mentioned in records from Kerala as well as Pāṇḍyadēśa.[3] The Cēra king who became a Śaivite saint is called Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār in Tamil Bhakti literature.[4] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* also employs the term Cēramān and explains how it refers to the king of Kerala though scholars have often misunderstood it as the personal name of the last king rather than a general dynastic title.[5]

The term 'Cēramān' is a combination of two words - Cēra and mān. It resembles terms like 'Atiyamān' and 'Toṇḍaimān' used in epigraphy and literature. As in these words, the first part applies to the dynasty as well as the country, since 'Cēra', like 'Cōḷa' or 'Pāṇḍya', denoted both. The second part 'mān', literally meaning 'makan' or son, is added to the names of countries or dynasties to denote the ruling chieftain. This term 'Cēramān' has come down from the earlier Sangam age, and perhaps it was also employed in the contemporary period to denote the Cēras of Karūr in Koṅgunāṭu though we have no clear evidence of it in epigraphs or literature. It is also interesting that two titles used in Aśōkan edicts for two South Indian rulers, i.e., Kēraḷaputō and Satiyaputō, are Aryanised versions of Cēramān and Atiyamān respectively.[6] The Greek terms 'Kaelōbōtrōs' or 'Kerobōtrōs' applied to kings of Kerala are also evidently derived from this Northern usage.[7] From all this it may be concluded that 'Cēramān' or 'Kēraḷaputra' or, 'Kēraḷarāja' were the ancient titles of kings of the Cēra or Kerala dynasty and that they continued to be employed in our period to denote the lords of Makōtai since these rulers belonged to a branch of the same ancient line.

The title 'Kēraḷaputra' as such is not, however, met with in our sources of information, though, as pointed out earlier, the term 'Kēraḷarāja' is used as the Sanskrit equivalent of 'Cēramānār' in one inscription.[8] The astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa describes his patron Sthāṇu Ravi as 'Kēraḷavamśakētu', 'Kēraḷavamśapradīpa', 'Kēraḷēśvara' etc.[9] Kulaśēkhara, the royal dramatist, calls himself 'Kēraḷakulacūḍāmaṇi' and 'Kēraḷādhinātha'.[10]

Other terms like Vāṉavan, Villavan and Udayan (Utiyan) are found as synonyms of the Cēra in contemporary Tamil works and inscriptions too.[11] Vāṉavan is an abbreviation of the title of 'Vāṉavar-anpan' meaning 'Beloved of the Gods' claimed by some Cēra kings of the Sangam age, a title reminiscent of Aśōkan Buddhist influence.[12] Villavan means the king with the 'vil' (bow) emblem. The bow was the traditional emblem of the Cēra, like the 'mīn' (fish) of the Pāṇḍya and the 'puli' (tiger) of the Cōḷa.[13] The term Udayan or Utiyan might bring to mind Udayana, the hero of North Indian legends, but it is used in this context in honour of the first Cēra king of the Sangam age who bore this name.[14] Its relation to the North Indian royal name remains obscure. It appears to be another form of Kōtai or Kōta or Kōtan.[15] Both forms were popular in Kerala as illustrated by personal names, and 'Kōta' or 'Kōtai' figures as a favourite name in the royal family in the case of Kōta Ravi, Ravi Kōta, Kōta Kōta, Indu Kōta, Ādityan Kōta, etc.[16] All these names and synonyms exhibit the links with the earlier Cēras of the Sangam age.

Some scholars have used the term 'Second Cēra Empire' to denote this kingdom in order to distinguish it from what they call the first Cēra empire of the Sangam age.[17] Though sometimes the rulers of our period are desig-

nated as 'Cakravaṛtikaḷ' and 'Rājādhirāja' in records the term 'empire' is unsuitable to both periods because the small states never extended far beyond the traditional boundaries through the conquest of new areas. The use of numerical terms like first and second also might lead to confusion. Several cities like Vañci, Muciri, Toṇḍi and Karuvūr are described simultaneously as Cēra capitals in Sangam literature. Though the rulers of these places might have been related to each other, the exact relationship remains unknown. Perhaps they functioned, at least for part of the time, as different kingdoms and dynasties. Similarly the exact relationship between the Cēras of Kuṭanāṭu (West-coast) and Koṅgunāṭu in our period also remains obscure.[18] In the later period also the rulers of Cochin and Trivandrum claimed the title of the Cēra. Therefore, it is safer to recognise the contemporaneity of different Cēra dynasties and avoid the numerical order of classification. It would be more convenient and systematic to designate them by means of their capitals as the Cēras of Vañci, Muciri, Toṇḍi, Karūr, Makōtai, Cochin, Tiruvananthapuram, etc. This method has the advantage that it helps to identify them at once without making any sort of assumption regarding their period of existence or position and mutual relations.

Capital City

The earliest clear indication about the capital comes from *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhyā* written by Śankaranārāyaṇa. The court astronomer often refers in this work (870 AD) to the dialogue between himself and the king Sthāṇu Ravi Varma in the 'adhikṛta prāsāda' (royal mansion) at Mahōdayapura when the bhēri (drum) at Sēnāmukha announced the time as 20 ghaṭikas.[19] The term Sēnāmukha has been interpreted as the front or division of the army.[20] However, according to ancient treatises on town-planning like *Mayamata* and *Kamikāgama*, a Sēnāmukha is a cantonment city which contains the royal residence, many roads and secret places and which is inhabited by all sections of people.[21] The court astronomer also mentions the arrangements for drum-beating to announce the time at Bālakrīḍēśwara, which must be a temple within the city of Mahōdayapura.[22] There is again reference to the astronomical observatory at Mahōdayapura where a 'rāśicakṛa' surrounded by a certain 'yantṛa' (machine) had been installed.[23] The king is said to have ordered skilled architects to construct an assembly hall at Mahōdayapura.[24] The prāsāda (mansion) of the king is stated to have been located at Gōtramallēśvara, which formed a part of Mahōdayapura.[25]

It is now possible to identify the temple of Bālakrīḍēśwara which is described in a 14th century poem called *Kōkasandēśam* as the temple of Bāla Gaṇēśa to the south of Tiruvañcikkuḷam Śiva temple.[26] The temple survives to this day.[27] In the case of Gōtramallēśvara, the name is lost but the site of the Cēra palace can be identified as Cēramān Paṛambu – the compound of

Cēramān – which is still known by that name.[28] This palace, a little further south of Bālakrīḍēśwara, is pointedly referred to in *Kōkasandēśam* as "the site of the kulapuri (ancestral house) of the world-famous kings of Koḍuṅgallūr which carried on its brows the kingdom of Cēramān, and which once vied with paradise in glory, and demonstrated the frailty of the flower-born deity (the Goddess of Prosperity) by its decline".[29] Their palace in this place appears to have flourished in the 13th century also. It must be the one referred to as 'Perum kōvilakam' (the great palace) of Makōtayarpaṭṭaṇam in the 13th century copper-plates of Vīra Rāghava.[30]

This document mentions besides the great palace, the nālu cēri (four settlements), the Koṭunkōḷūr aḻi (harbour of Koṭunkōḷūr), the gōpura (gate tower), nālu taḷi (four temples), and taḷikkaṭutta kirāmam (villages affiliated to the temples).[31] A group of four settlements of merchants are mentioned in *Payyanūr Pāṭṭu* (13th century) of North Kerala also.[32] Two early settlements of merchants are mentioned in connection with Koḍuṅgallūr in epigraphy – the Ancuvaṇṇam and the Maṇikkirāmam.[33] Two others might be Nāṉādēśikaḷ and Vaḷañciyar who are also found in several inscriptions of South India including Kerala.[34] These trade settlements and the harbour area were still known by the ancient name of Muyiri or Muyirikkōḍe since that name is mentioned in the Jewish copper plates of Cochin.[35] It must be the place marked by the Jūtakkuḷam (Jewish centre) in the northern part of Koḍuṅgallūr near the seashore.[36] The site of the gōpuram cannot be traced at present, though it must be near the main entrance which is perhaps marked by the big Bhagavati temple frequented mostly by non-Brahmins and managed by the organisation called 'Onnu kuṟai āyiram' (The Thousand less one) – a relic of the Cēra period.[37]

The Nālu Taḷi must be the four chief temples of the city mentioned by this term in inscriptions.[38] They are referred to in *Kēraḷōlpatti* as Mēlttaḷi, Kīḻttaḷi, Neṭiyataḷi and Ciṅgapuram taḷi respectively.[39] Of these, Kīḻttaḷi and Ciṅgapuram taḷi are still known by their old names. Since 'kīḻ' means the east and 'mēl' means the west, 'Mēlttaḷi' might be some temple to the west of the 'Kīḻtaḷi' temple of Śiva. The great Tirukkulaśēkharapuram Viṣṇu temple, founded by the Āḻvār as the name would suggest, can still be seen to the west of 'Kīḻtaḷi' and a record of the 12th century found there clearly shows that it was one of the Nālu Taḷi or four chief temples.[40] Neṭiya taḷi literally means Great Temple and this title must certainly go to Tiruvañcikkaḷam Śiva temple which is the biggest and the oldest in the capital of Kerala. The Śiva temple of Añcaikkaḷam in Makōtai, where the mountainous waves of the ocean beat against the shores, figures in a song of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, the friend of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār.[41] The last Cēra, king Rāma Kulaśēkhara, is stated to have been sitting in council with Nālu Taḷi and Tirukkuṇṟappōḻai at

Neṭiyataḷi when he passed orders regarding the annual revenue to be collected from Perunna temple.[42]

It may be gathered from *Kēraḷōlpatti* that each of the four chief temples was the seat of the representative from a Brahmin settlement near the capital. Thus the representative of Mūḻikkaḷam grāma sat in Mēltaḷi, the representative of Airāṇikkaḷam grāma sat in Kīḻtaḷi, the representative of Paṛavūr sat in Neṭiyataḷi and the representative of Irinjālakkuḍa sat in the Ciṅgapuram Taḷi temple.[43] This version of the traditional chronicle is corroborated by other forms of evidence. For example, a record of about the 10th century from Kīḻtaḷi mentions Airāṇikkaḷam.[44] The connection between Paṛavūr and Neṭiya Taḷi is mentioned in *Kōkasandēśam*.[45] Therefore, it may be assumed that a close relationship existed between the four chief temples in the capital and the four chief Brahmin settlements around the capital.

It is certain that the Jewish and Christian settlers in the capital had their synagogues and churches in their own quarters though we do not find relics to identify them today.[46] A Jain temple in Koḍuṅgallūr is mentioned in an ancient 'bhāṇa' of unknown date.[47] This might be the same as 'Jayarātēśwara' mentioned in *Śukasandēśa*.[48] Thus we come to know about the palace at Gōtramallēśvara, now known as Cēramān Paṛamba, the Bālakrīḍēśwara Gaṇapati temple near the palace, the four chief Brahminical Hindu temples (Neṭiyataḷi or Tiruvañcikkaḷam Taḷi. Mēlttaḷi or Tirukkulaśēkharapuram Taḷi, Kīḻttaḷi , and Ciṅgapuram Taḷi), the Bhagavati temple of non-Brahmin warrior classes, the Jewish, Christian and Jain temples, the astronomical observatory and the assembly hall in the capital, besides the four traders' settlements near the harbour and the four Brahmin settlements outside the city. The Muslim mosque in the heart of the city known at present as Koḍuṅgallūr Paḷḷi or Cēramān Paḷḷi has a temple-like foundation exhibiting 11th-12th century architectural style.[49] Therefore, the tradition that it was raised immediately after the period of the last Cēra king might be true. There might have been other big buildings and towers and fortress walls but their traces are not identifiable.

In his two Sanskrit plays Kulaśēkhara, the royal dramatist, uses the titles, 'Kēraḷakulacūḍāmaṇi' (crest-jewel of Kerala dynasty) 'Mahōdayapura Paramēśvara' (Supreme Lord of Mahōdayapura) and 'Kēraḷādhinātha' (Sovereign of Kerala).[50] The 12th century Tamil Śaivite work *Periyapurāṇam* describes Koḍuṅgallūr (the present Cranganore) as the 'muṛaipuri' (traditional city) and 'kulakkōmudūr' (ancestral royal head-quarters) and calls it by the name of 'Makōtai' also.[51] The author describes in some detail all the crowd and noise of the capital from the military camps, the houses of merriment, the śālas, maṭhas and the dwelling houses of the four castes. This city located on the seashore and the river bank seems to have followed the plan of the 'kāṛmuka' type which takes the form of a kāṛmuka (bow), semi-circular or

semi-parabolic. In this variety of ancient Indian town-plan, there will be one main street or royal street running north to south or east to west and other streets cutting it in right angles. The seashore must have provided the 'ñāṇ' (string) of this bow with the temples of male deities like Śiva and Viṣṇu in the centre and the temples of female deities like Kāḷi, Vasūrimāla, etc. at the entrance.[52]

Even long after the disintegration of the Cēra kingdom in c. 1122 AD the city of Makōtai seems to have flourished as the headquarters of the Perumpaṭappu or Cochin dynasty at least until about 1341 AD, when they are believed to have transferred the capital to Cochin. Makōtaiyārpaṭṭiṇam is mentioned as the capital of Vīra Rāghava in 1225 AD.[53] It is referred to as the capital of Kēraḷaviṣaya (Kerala province) in the 14th century work named *Uṇṇiyāṭi Carita*.[54] Though the royal city was destroyed by the time of the 15th century poem called *Kōkasandēśam*, the name of 'Makōteyār Paṭṭaṇa' survived in records at least up to the middle of the 19th century.[55]

The last Cēra king Rāma Kulaśēkhara was residing at the Paṉaiṅkāvil palace of Kollam in 1102 AD when he offered prāyaścitta for having offended the Aryan Brahmins.[56] The prosperity of Kollam in this period may be inferred from the popularity of the Kollam era. The settlement of the Syrian Christians must have promoted maritime trade and contributed to the economic development of the whole region. Śrīvallavan Kōta and his successor Gōvardhana Mārtāṇḍa, governors of Vēṇāṭu, were prominent chieftains of the 10th century with great power and influence in the kingdom as demonstrated by the large number of inscriptions mentioning their name.[57] The prosecution of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya wars must have necessitated long residence of the Perumāḷ in this palace. The strategic advantage of marriage relations with the Vēṇāṭu royal family in securing the loyalty of this frontier district must be considered in the light of continuous Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya pressure on this part of the borders of the state.[58] All this go to suggest that Kollam was a second capital for the Cēra kingdom especially towards the final phase.

Royal Designation and Titles

The Cēra king is often referred to as 'Perumāḷ' or 'Perumān' or 'Perumān Aṭikaḷ' in epigraphy and literature.[59] Perumāḷ or Perumān literally means 'the great one' and is generally used for gods and kings alike. 'Perumān Aṭikaḷ' is a more formal expression indicating 'the feet of the great one', the term 'aṭikaḷ' being the Tamil counterpart of the Sanskrit 'pāda'. In our period this designation is occasionally employed for other South Indian potentates like the Gaṅgas, Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas also.[60] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* explains that the Cēra king is Cēramān Perumāḷ just as the Cōḷa king is Cōḷa Perumāḷ and the Pāṇḍya king is Pāṇḍi Perumāḷ.[61] The feudatory chieftains are not found to be

using such a title. Therefore, it must have been employed by the sovereign rulers alone.

A simple and elegant monosyllable 'kō' meaning 'lord' or 'king', which was the Tamil counterpart of the Sanskrit word 'rāja', is usually put before the king's name in Cēra inscriptions. This was the general practice in South India to indicate sovereignty. That it was exclusively meant for independent rulers may be seen from the absence of such a prefix in the case of dependent chieftains. A few Cēra kings have used high-sounding epithets, possibly to denote some military victories. Thus king Rājaśēkhara is described as Śrī Rāja Rājādhirāja Paramēśwara Bhaṭṭāraka.[62] As Gopinatha Rao pointed out, these are imperial titles.[63] They were popular in North India in the post-Gupta age.[64] However, the concept of paramountcy attached to them lost its relevance in course of time. Even a comparatively insignificant ruler like the Āḷupa king Vijayāditya Māramma of the last quarter of the 8th century possessed 'birudas' like Paramēśwara and Adhirājarāja.[65] In spite of the debasement, these titles perhaps implied military victories. For example, records of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas indicate that Kṛṣṇa I Akālavarṣa in the first part of the 9th century "obtained the title of Rājādhirāja Paramēśwara after defeating Rāhappa who had become inflated with pride about his strength".[66] This Rāhappa has not been clearly identified and in the context of Rāṣṭrakūṭa conflicts with the southern powers including Kerala it is likely that Rāhappa was identical with the Kerala king Rājaśēkhara.[67] At any rate, the imperial title of the Cēra was a symbol of political aspirations and defiance towards the big powers of South India. Incidentally the adoption of this Northern Aryan practice by the Cēra king of the 9th century speaks for the strength of Aryan influence.

As pointed out earlier, the royal dramatist Kulaśēkhara introduces himself as Mahōdayapura Paramēśwara.[68] Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, the royal Vaiṣṇavaite Tamil author and saint who may be identified with the Sanskrit dramatist of this name, pompously declares in his Tamil songs that he is Koṅgar Kōman (Lord of the Koṅgar), Kolli Kāvalan (Protector of Kolli), Kūḍal Nāyakan (Master of Kūḍal) and Kōḻiyar Kōn (King of Kōḻiyar).[69] Scholars have expressed the doubt whether any Cēra king of this period had been so powerful as to be overlord of Koṅgu, Kollimalai, Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa countries at the same time. If this Tamil-Sanskrit author is identified as king Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (844- c. 883 AD) it is probable that in the period before the rise of Āditya Cōḷa the decline of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom offered him an opportunity to claim a pre-eminent position in Dravidian South India. However, such titles occurring in poetic works need not be taken in the literal sense because every powerful king in this area aspired to be the suzerain of all South India.

The titles 'Kō Kōnmai Koṇṭān Kō' and 'Kōnōyinmai Koṇṭān Kō' are employed by Bhāskara Ravi.[70] The first title has been translated as meaning 'the

king who has taken the supreme rule'.[71] It has also been considered as the equivalent of 'Rājādhirāja'.[72] It is perhaps a literal Tamil rendering of 'rāja rājādhirāja'. The second title 'Kōnōyinmai Koṇṭān Kō' has appeared with the names of Cōḷa monarchs also.[73] The Travancore epigraphists have taken it as a variant of Kōnērinmai Koṇṭān Kō appearing in some other Cōḷa records and explained it as meaning 'the king who took to being without (or free from) disease'.[74] The historian of the Cōḷas takes it to mean 'the king in good health'.[75] These imperial titles must have been displayed by the Cēra king in reply to the challenge of the Cōḷa. The last two Cēra kings, Ādityan Kōta Raṇāditya and Rāma Kulaśēkhara, had assumed the title 'Cakravaṛtikaḷ.'[76] This aggressively proclaims the revival of Cēra independence after about half a century of Cōḷa vassalage. It certainly indicates military victories against the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya adversaries and the re-conquest of the Āy country but since the Cēras did not possess an imperial stature in South India, it should not be taken in the literal sense.

A Cēra king usually possessed two names, a personal name which consisted of two parts (e.g. Sthāṇu Ravi) and a coronation name. Thus Rājaśēkhara, Rājāditya, Raṇāditya and Kulaśēkhara must have been coronation names.[77] This practice was popular in South India from the period of the Pallavas of Kāñci.[78] It was adopted by other dynasties in due course. In the absence of definite knowledge about this variety of 'abhiṣēkanāma', previous writers have sometimes assumed 'Kulaśēkhara', a title which they found in several epigraphic and literary sources, to have been a hereditary title and thus christened the Cēras of this period as Kulaśēkharas.[79] In fact, the term 'Kulaśēkhara' is found to have been employed as a second name only by Sthāṇu Ravi of the 9th century and Rāma of the 11th century who was the last Cēra sovereign. Following the last ruler, the kings of Vēṇāṭu, who were probably his descendents, appear to have employed it as a hereditary title to proclaim their legal right to the throne.

Incidentally, the coronation title emphasises the meaning attached to the ritual of abhiṣēka or coronation. It proclaims the orthodox Hindu religious background of these kings. Though there is no first hand report of a coronation ceremony, Cēkkiḻār gives a poetic account of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār's coronation. He describes the royal procession around the capital city with the king seated on the back of an elephant with koṛṛakkuṭai', 'cāmarai', etc. in conventional style.[80]

Caste Symbols and Attitudes

The suffix Varma or Varman generally found at the end of the royal name in epigraphic records indicates the Kṣatriya caste of these kings. This suffix is mentioned by the court astronomer in the case of Sthāṇu Ravi.[81] The royal

dramatist Kulaśēkhara calls himself Kulaśēkharavarma.[82] The poet Sarvājñātma clearly states that his patron Manukulāditya was a member of Rājaṇyavaṁśa or Kṣatriya race.[83]

The Kṣatriyas are usually described as belonging to the Sūryavaṁśa (solar race) or Candravaṁśa (lunar race) or Agnivaṁśa (fire race). The first two labels follow the purāṇic order and the third is the device employed at a later stage to absorb new rulers into the fold of this caste. However, the Kṣatriya status of South Indian rulers like the Cēras, Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Pallavas, Kadambas, Mūṣakas and Āys does not necessarily imply a North Indian Aryan origin for all of them. The Kadamba dynasty was founded by a Brahmin though they later on changed the suffix 'śarma' into 'varma' in order to indicate the change of caste.[84] A few ruling families like the Mūṣakas could have migrated from the North.[85] But the three ancient dynasties of South India - the Mūvaraśar - have been described in Sangam works as the traditional rulers of the respective regions and were most probably of indigenous tribal origin. It is possible that the early Brahmins who came here followed the policy of treating the traditional ruling dynasties as Kṣatriyas, provided them with legends connecting their families and those of the classical heroes, and induced them to perform Vēdic sacrifices. In this manner, the Cēras must have received the status of Kṣatriyas of Sūryavaṁśa. The court astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa refers to his patron's family as 'ravikula' and dīptāmśuvaṁśa.[86] The traditional chronicles refer to Kulaśēkhara and his descendents as 'sūryakṣatriya'.[87]

The tendency on the part of the kings to adopt the caste symbols and legendary claims of the northern rulers, and the readiness on the part of the Brahmin priesthood to confer such honours, would signify close cooperation between kings and Brahmins. Recruitment of the traditional rulers of Dravidian origin into the Kṣatriya caste represents a definite stage in the progress of Aryanisation of South India. According to orthodox Brahmanical theory it was the duty of Kṣatriyas to protect the cow and the Brahmin and uphold dharma. In historical terms it meant the propagation of the caste system and the Hindu religion. Therefore, the recruits to Kṣatriyahood were committed to the patronage of Aryan Brahmins and the promotion of Aryan culture. When kings began to take pride in their Kṣatriya lineage, it reflected not merely the status they had already acquired in society, but also the part they wanted to play and their whole outlook on life. They naturally became champions of the cāturvarṇya and patrons of temples, Brahmins, and Sanskrit literature.

These implications of the caste status in terms of the king's rights and privileges could be found in contemporary Cēra practice. The king himself or his representative called Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and Āḷakōyil is often found presiding over the village assemblies in Aryan settlements which met inside the

temple.[88] His chief councillors were the Brahmins of Nālutaḷi or the four chief temples.[89] The royal dramatist Kulaśēkhara claimed that his hand was the "sun to the darkness of poverty among Brahmins".[90] An extreme case of subservience to Brahmins may be noticed in the Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, which says that the king offered prāyaścitta for having offended the Aryas of the place.[91] Such surrender of royal authority to Brahmins is extremely rare in India.

This last event clearly demonstrates that the Brahmins of Nālu Taḷi and the 32 Aryan settlements whom they represented had the upper hand in this kingdom and that the kings were guided by their advice. Even the Cōḷas have described Kerala as the state founded by Rāma (Parśurāma), the killer of all Kṣatriyas, and inhabited by the 'śiṣṭa jana' or the best people - a term obviously intended for Brahmins.[92] Thus a kind of Brahmin oligarchy prevailed in Kerala though the government was monarchical in appearance. Such a situation supports the *Kēraḷōlpatti* claims that the Brahmins of the 32 Aryan settlements created the king and conferred certain rights on him while keeping his powers limited.[93] According to it the king was entitled only to vṛtti (maintenace) but not ṣaḍbāga (one-sixth revenue) and he was to do everything according to the advice of the Brahmins and never to question their action.

The fact that the Cēra dynasty of Makōtai produced an Āḻvār and a Nāyanār who were kings and saints at the same time underlines the theocratic aspect in the character of the state. It must be remembered that the Cēra kings are less distinguished as empire-makers or warriors than as saints and authors. Thus an oligarchic pattern and theocratic character were manifested within a monarchical frame. This political set up reflects the dominant position attained by the Brahmins of the traditional settlements in the social, economic and religious life of Kerala.

Royal Marriages and Succession

In the chapters on political history the role of royal marriages in cementing political relations had already been taken up for discussion. A princess of the Makōtai family called Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ and identified as Iravi Nīli, the daughter of Vijayarāga, was married to Parāntaka Cōḷa. In addition to his chief queen who was the daughter of Sthāṇu Ravi the Cēra king Vijayarāga had taken a wife from the Mūṣaka dynasty of North Kerala. The tradition that Vīra Kēraḷa, the first independent ruler of Vēṇāṭu, was the son of the last Cēra king and a princess of Vēṇāṭu may be mentioned in this connection. All these marriages were important in promoting political relations.[94] The position of Rājāditya, son of the Cēra princess Iravi Nīli alias Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ and the Cōḷa crown prince under Parāntaka, and the large number of Keralites in his

retinue may be taken as a good index of the status of the Cēra relatives in the Cōḷa empire. From the fact that she is mentioned as the founder of a large number of charitable endowments in the Cōḷa country it may be inferred that Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ was very influential and powerful in the Cōḷa palace.[95]

The Cēra king Vijayarāga was the son-in-law of Sthāṇu Ravi and his Mūṣaka marriage shows that the Cēras, like other kings of the period, cultivated polygamy.[96] It is likely that they accepted wives from the families of other feudatories also. This is revealed by the Vēṇāṭu alliance of the last sovereign cited earlier as well as the tradition that the rulers of Ēṛānāṭu were sons of Cēra kings born of śūdra wives.[97] The position and influence of princesses and queens in the Cēra palace may be inferred from the gift of gold made by Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, daughter of Kulaśēkhara and wife of Vijayarāga, at Tirunandikkara; the cērikkal donated by Cēramān Mātēviyar to Āvaṭṭiputtūr temple; and the lamp and lands given by Perumāṭṭiyār Catiraśikhāmaṇi alias Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ to Trikkākara temple.[98]

The law of succession followed in the Cēra kingdom is not directly and clearly indicated in the records of the period. The absence of reference to genealogy in records appears rather strange, unless we assume that the Cēras did not follow the patrilineal order of succession. The relation of the kings to one another is not generally known except in the case of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara and Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga and even this knowledge is inadequate. In their case it is clear that the latter married the daughter of the former.[99] Did he inherit the throne as the son-in-law of Sthāṇu Ravi in the absence of a son? This is not likely since it is known that a son was born to Sthāṇu Ravi some time before 870 AD.[100] The most natural assumption is that Vijayarāga possessed the right to the throne as the nephew of the king according to the matrilineal order of succession which is quite familiar to Kerala. Otherwise it will be necessary to assume that either the son of Sthāṇu Ravi predeceased him or that it was a case of election to the throne. If the son had lived and Vijayarāga was only a caretaker or guardian, he would not have continued for 30 years, far beyond the years of minority for the prince.

It has been argued that the reference by the court astronomer to the birth of a son to Sthāṇu Ravi must be taken as indicating the usual patrilineal order of succession.[101] However, the court astronomer's casual reference to the birth of the son does not contain any suggestion that the child is heir to the throne. Moreover, the pointed statement that the child belonged to the solar race need not be taken to mean that he is considered to belong to the father's family but it may refer to his mother's family also. There are other Kṣatriya families in Kerala itself like the ruling family of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu which claim Kṣatriya status and affiliation to the solar race.[102]

It has been pointed out that royal succession among the Cēras of the Sangam age followed the patrilineal order and this is acceptable.[103] However, it

does not in any way preclude the possibility that matriliny was adopted in the 8th century or 9th century in the case of the Kerala royal family of Makōtai. The *Mūṣakavamśakāvya* shows that the Mūṣakas had switched from patriliny to matriliny towards the close of the 9th century, immediately after the establishment of Cēra sovereignty in that region.[104] It is likely that the change occurred under Cēra influence. Moreover, the assumption of matrilineal succession is supported by tradition also. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that when the Brahmins wanted to have a line of good Kṣatriya kings in Kerala they imported a Cēra prince and a Cēra princess, making the prince the ruler and marrying the princess to a Brahmin, obviously with the object of appointing the ruler's nephew as the crown prince.[105]

It may be pointed out that certain objections could be raised against the assumption that matriliny prevailed among the Cēras of Makōtai. It is well-known that the earliest reference to matriliny in the writings of foreign travellers who visited Kerala occurs in the journal of Friar Jordanus at the beginning of the 14th century.[106] It has been argued that the Āḷupas of South Canara followed the patrilineal system up to the close of the 13th century and that 'aḷiyasantāna kattu' (matrilineal system) was legally recognised only in 1444 AD.[107] The Āys of South Kerala followed the patrilineal order in the 9th century.[108] Similarly the kings of Vēṇāṭu and Ōṭanāṭu are shown to have been patrilineal at least up to the 13th century.[109] These facts are supposed to support the view that Makōtai Cēras were patrilineal and the long Cōḷa wars of the 11th century are assumed to have caused the development of matriliny in Kerala.[110]

These objections may be met by a scrutiny of the background and evidence. It may be stated that prior to Jordanus no foreign traveller has written in detail about the system of inheritance in Kerala. The Arab and European writers like Sulaiman (851 AD) Alberuni (1051 AD) Al Idrisi (1153 AD) Benjamin (1165 AD) Al Kasvini (1270 AD) Abul Feda (1275 AD) Monte Corvino (1291 AD) Marco Polo (1293 AD) and Rashiduddin (1300 AD) did not have the advantage of long residence in Kerala and close acquaintance with the people so much as to notice and record the peculiarity of the system of inheritance.[111] Moreover, the practice of Āḷupas to the north and Āys to the south of the Cēra kingdom does not prejudice the issue especially in view of the reference in clear terms to matriliny in the 10th century among the Mūṣaka feudatories of the Cēra. Finally, the argument that a war, even a protracted war, caused a revolution in the law of succession goes against the known facts of social evolution.

The assumption that a matrilineal system among the Cēras of Makōtai would have created complications for their marriage relations with the Cōḷas would not be justified by the evidence. According to the matrilineal system the daughter of a Cēra king does not inherit the property or status of her

father. Therefore, the Cōḷa prince Rājāditya, the son of the daughter of Kerala king Vijayarāga, would not have had any claim to the Cēra throne. Moreover, Nīli or Iravi Nīli, the daughter of Vijayarāga, must have mentioned her father's name instead of the uncle's name in the Cōḷa record for the reason that she too adopted the system prevailing there.[112] Again, mention of the Cēra king as her father would have been preferable on account of the prestige which accompanied the name.

The existence of matriliny among certain sections of the common people in Kerala during the Cēra period is proved by other epigraphic evidence also. Therefore, its absence or presence in foreigners' writings would become irrelevant to the general question. A record of Pārthivapuram in the Āy country which may be assigned to 964 AD mentions the matrilineal order of succession among the potters of the village.[113] Tiruvalla copper plates of the 11th century mentions matrilineal succession in connection with certain families in the neighbourhood of Tiruvalla.[114] Therefore, the natural assumption is that matriliny existed among certain tribes and classes in this area from a very early period either among the aboriginals or among the groups of dependants whom the Aryan Brahmin settlers brought here. The Aryan Brahmin settlers who possessed the best cultivated lands and dominated the economic and social life of the country must have approved it and made use of it for furthering their political interests. They must have persuaded the rulers who came to power with their support to adopt the system so that they could become part of the ruling class without giving up their exclusiveness and their social organisation. Thus the popularisation and legitimisation of matriliny in the Cēra kingdom should be treated as a by-product of the Aryan-Dravidian racial synthesis rather than the Cōḷa invasions of Kerala.

This interpretation of the position with regard to the royal order of succession clarifies many points. It offers an explanation for the absence of genealogies in Cēra inscriptions. It shows why the ancestral prefix in the king's proper name does not indicate the predecessor on the throne. It also reveals the secret of the extraordinary grip of the Brahmin over the machinery of government and their unique position of dominance in the social set-up of Kerala. As the husbands of the Cēra princesses who gave birth to the future kings of the country, the Brahmins must have enjoyed the highest status in the political hierarchy far beyond their customary position of leadership in matters of religion and culture.

Councillors and Secretaries

The king's council of Nālu Taḷi, consisting of the managers of the four taḷis or temples which were the seats of the four leading settlements of Brahmins around the capital, has already been mentioned in connection with the capi-

tal city of Makōtai. The word 'sthali' in Sanskrit means a natural spot of ground, and 'taḷi' in Tamil is derived from it but it is commonly used in old Tamil and Malayalam records in the sense of a temple.[115] Therefore, Nālu Taḷi as applied to individuals meant the representatives of the four chief temples of the capital. The temple officers called 'taḷi adhikārikaḷ' in the inscriptions must have been intended here. As pointed out earlier, tradition supported by fragments of evidence informs that the four chief temples of the capital - Mēltaḷi, Kīḻtaḷi, Neṭiya Taḷi and Ciṅgapuram Taḷi – were allotted to the four chief grāmas or Aryan settlements around the capital - Mūḻikkaḷam, Airāṇikaḷam, Paṟavūr, and Irinjālakkuḍa respectively.[116] Tradition affirms further that the four chief grāmas were the leaders of the four kaḻakams (ghaṭaka) in which the 32 Aryan settlements of Kerala proper were organised.[117] The names of the families in the four grāmas which had a hereditary right to send taḷiyātiris into the capital have been mentioned in some versions of the traditional chronicle. Thus Muṭṭil and Kōtamangalam families represented Mūḻikkaḷam; Kariṅgampaḷḷi and Cūravaḷḷi represented Airāṇikaḷam; and Eḷamturutti and Kaḍambanāḍ represented Paṟavūr. The names of the families representing Irinjālakkuḍa grāma have been lost or omitted.[118] These Taḷiyātiris, according to this tradition, represented the interests of the 32 settlements in the Perumāḷ's council. It is claimed that they were there to advice and check the Cēra sovereign.[119] Even if a margin is left for possible exaggeration of Brahmin's rights in the Brahminical chronicle, it is established by the epigraphic records quoted earlier that Nālu Taḷi formed an integral part of the king's ministry. The fact that the Aryan Brahmins of Kerala were well-organised under a central leadership is proved by the uniform pattern of temple inscriptions and above all the reference to Mūḻikkaḷam Kaccam or agreement of Mūḻikkaḷam as the precedent in records from different parts of Kerala.[120] Mūḻikkaḷam is actually one of the four leading settlements mentioned in this tradition. Therefore, the *Kēraḷōlpatti* claim in this regard may be taken as largely and substantially true.

As pointed out earlier, two persons were jointly put in charge of each of the four temples. Thus the reference to the officers of the four temples actually includes eight persons. Therefore, it may be inferred that the Perumāḷ had an eight-member Council. In fact the *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhyā* of the court astronomer contains a hint about this number in the first sloka where 'Sthāṇu' – this term is applicable to Lord Śiva as well as the king Sthāṇu Ravi – is said to be pervading this universe – the kingdom in this context – through eight bodies.[121] However, the number does not appear to have been fixed. The Perunna inscription says that besides Nālu Taḷi, another member called 'Tirukkunnappoḻai' was also present in the council.[122] This is the name of a village and this village contained the Śrīmūlavāsa Buddhist vihāra during the Cēra period.[123] Therefore, it is likely that while the eight Brahmins of the four chief temples represented the Brahmin settlements, a representa-

tive of the Buddhist vihāra was included in the council as the spokesman of that section of the people. In that case the community representation reveals the broad based character of the council though it had a hereditary membership. Perhaps this council was primarily intended to advice the king on religious matters and matters regarding religious institutions. This might be the reason why the Perumāḷ and Nālu Taḷi are described as meeting in a temple.[124] A good idea of the nature of business transacted in this council is provided by the Perunna inscription which shows that the king and council meeting at Neṭiya Taḷi, apparently on the basis of a representation from the Perunna village assembly, ordered the cancellation of the āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) and arantai (literally misery, meaning emergency dues in this connection) from that village, instituting with that amount namaskāram and māpāratam in the Perunna temple.[125]

While Nālu Taḷi was a permanent council, with a religious character, other councils existed to help the king in matters like defence. The Jewish copper-plates of Cochin show that in the year 1000 AD the Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi had convened at the capital a meeting of the feudatories like Gōvardhana Mārthāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, Kōta Cirikaṇṭhan, governor of Veṇpalināṭu, Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, governor of Ēṛāḷnāṭu, Rāyiran Cāttan governor of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, and Kōta Ravi, governor of Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu, and also Mūrkan Cāttan, Commander of the armed forces.[126] This was evidently a war council. The very object of the grant of privileges to the Jews, to which all these persons were witnesses, must have been the collection of funds for the prosecution of the war of resistance. Therefore, it may be presumed that Nālu Taḷi advised the king in religious matters while a council of feudatories and commanders discussed the affairs of war and peace involving defence.

A bigger council including Nālu Taḷi as well as feudatories such as Mānavikṛama, the governor of Ēṛānāṭu, the Āyiram, the Aṛunūṛṛuvar, and the Aryan Brahmins of the temple, is mentioned in the Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara.[127] This momentous gathering at Kollam, the war-time capital, immediately after the recovery of the city from the Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa invaders in 1102 AD, was to witness the Perumāḷ's 'prāyścitta' for having offended the Aryan Brahmins. Perhaps it was more of a royal assembly or durbar, intended as the forum for a proclamation than a council meant for deliberations. However, it shows that on certain important occasions the king used to have a joint meeting of the Brahmin councillors and Kṣatriya and Sāmanta feudatories.

There were a few officers who acted as secretaries or representatives of the king in various parts of the kingdom. They are known as Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and Āḷa Kōyil in the inscriptions. The term 'kōyil' is mainly employed for the palace in the Cēra period though it is used both for the palace and the temple in the present day.[128] It may also denote a resident of the palace, i.e.,

a Kṣatriya, or simply a prince. Therefore, the term 'Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ' may be literally translated as 'royal officer' and taken to denote any member of the royal family, i.e., prince.[129] The term 'Āḷa Kōyil' may be literally translated as 'governing prince'. Some ruling kings like Vijayarāga, Bhāskara Ravi, and Kulaśēkhara are also mentioned as 'Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ' in inscriptions.[130] Therefore, it may be assumed that like the terms 'Kōyil Tampurān' or 'Mūtta Kōyil' in modern Travancore, the term 'Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ' only meant 'a prince of the Cēra dynasty' in practice. Some of these princes were appointed as special officers or guardians in temples and other religious institutions. Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ Vijayarāgadēvar was present when some new privileges were conferred upon Mār Sāpiīr Īśo by Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇāṭu.[131] This may be taken as indicating that permission from the Cēra sovereign, and if possible the presence of his representative, had become necessary for such gifts to be made. The statement in the Pāliyam plates of Āy king Vikṛamāditya Varaguṇa, (898 AD), that the king had appointed Vīra Kōta to protect the property of Śrīmūlavāsa Vihāra (central Kerala) shows the nature of the functions of a prince of the royal family appointed to such office.[132] From the case of Vijayarāga it may be inferred that the crown prince or heir apparent was usually entrusted with such responsibilities. The two instances quoted above prove that princes were appointed to supervise the affairs of a Christian Church and a Buddhist Vihāra.

There are several other instances of Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ or Āḷa Kōyil presiding over the meeting of the village assembly or temple committee. In the 27th year of Kōta Ravi, the Āḷa Kōyil sitting with the temple authorities of Tṛpraṅgōḍe and Poṛaṅgāṭṭiri fixed the various items of routine expenditure.[133] In the 30th year of this king Ravi Āditya, the Kōyil, together with local temple officers, prescribed the service conditions for the staff of Tiruppūṇittuṛa temple.[134] In the 14th year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ appointed the governor of Vēṇāṭu as the governor of Nanṛuḷaināṭu also, fixed the āṭṭaikkōḷ(annual dues) from Trikkaḍittānam, and ordered the institution of akkiram with the balance.[135] In the 33rd year of Bhāskara Ravi (C Series) the āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) of Perunna was transferred from the governor of Nanṛuḷaināṭu to the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and the latter came into an agreement with the village assembly to the effect that the amount will continue to be the same as before.[136] In the same period a gift was made by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ at Pantalāyani Kollam.[137] A record from Tiruvañcikkuḷam registers the gift of a puraiyiṭam (compound) by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ to the royal architect named Rājasimha Peruntaccan.[138] A record of Pantalāyani Kollam says that the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ ordered 5 nāḻi per 100 of the āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) from the village, to be transferred to the village assembly.[139] An undated record of Cōkiram temple shows that the Āḷa Kōyil and the temple authorities conferred the ūrāṇmai, tānam, and paraṭai of a subordinate shrine on some people.[140]

When fines are prescribed in records for violation of rules, the share of the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ in the amount is mentioned immediately after that of the Cēra king and below him are the governors of districts and other lesser dignitaries. The amount of gold shown also reveals that the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ was second to the king only in the hierarchy of administration. For example when the Perumān gets 40 kaḻañcu, the Āḷa Kōyil has 20 kaḻañcu, the two sabhas in the area getting 12 kaḻañcus each and 16 kaḻañcu being set apart for the Tēvar (deity) of the temple.[141] In another case the Perumān Aṭikaḷ gets 25 kaḻañcu and the Āḷa Kōyil 12½ kaḻañcu.[142] When the Perumān Aṭikaḷ gets 100 kaḻañcu in another case, the Āḷa Kōyil and the Tēvar (deity) receive 50 kaḻañcu each.[143] There are other instances which bring out the proportion of fine between the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and the Nāṭuvāḻi or district governor. Thus at Trikkaḍittanam the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ was given 25 kaḻañcu while the Nāṭuvāḻi got 12½ kaḻañcu and the Vāḻkaivāḻi got 6½ kaḻañcu respectively.[144] At Perunna the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ received 100 kaḻañcu and the Nāṭuvāḻi got 50 Kaḻañcu while the Vāḻkaivāḻi had 12 kaḻañcu only.[145]

The terms Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ, Āḷa Kōyil, or Kōyil often stood for the full form 'Amaiccuḷ Urutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ' which means the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ of the Ministry.[146] The term Amaicci or Amaiccan means Amātya or Minister.[147] A Trippūṇithuṛa inscription refers to Ravi Āditya who is called Amaicci and Kōyil.[148] Thus Amaiccu must signify membership in the council of Ministers. It is possible that more than one prince enjoyed such a status being put in charge of different institutions in different parts of Kerala. The *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* of the 13th century states that the president of the ministerial council is the leader of 12 Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ.[149] These princes must have been stationed in different parts of the kingdom with the status of the king's representative. Such a system should have enabled the Cēra kings to keep the younger members of the family out of mischief by giving them gainful employment which at the same time gave them rich administrative experience. It also helped the king to exercise effective control over the districts, religious institutions, and local bodies through them. The Kōyil Adhikāris of the ministry seem to have provided a link between the central government on the one side and the district and local governments on the other and led the way to a closer co-operation between the temporal and ecclesiastical wings of the administration. It may be pointed out that royal agents called 'pratinidhi' or 'rājaputra' or 'rājasthānīya' were employed by several other kings of ancient India.[150] Therefore, the practice of nominating princes of the royal blood as king's representative was not something peculiar to Kerala.

Notes and References

1. See Index nos. A. 5, 17, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60 and 73.
2. Karhāḍ plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III Akālavarṣa, see chapter on Early Wars and Alliances.
3. See Index no. A. 10, 55. In the second the name is given as 'Cēraḷan Mātēviyār Aṭicci'. There is also a village named Cēramātēvi (Shermādēvi) near Nagerkoil in the old Pāṇḍya region. Cēran and Cēraḷan are also used in the place of Cēramān.
4. See Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivarpurāṇam.
5. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 19, 50-62 and 74-87. See also chapter on Survey of Sources, Note nos. 78 and 79.
6. See Aśōkan Edict no. II. 'Kerala' is the Northern form of 'Cēraḷ' found in Tamil. The change of Tamil-Malayalam 'ca' into 'ka' in Kannada-Telugu languages may be found in words like cevi-kevi, cīra-kīra etc. 'Putō' in Pāli is the equivalent of 'putra' in Sanskrit which is in turn the literal translation of the Tamil word 'mān' in 'Cēramān'. Similarly 'Satiya', is the northern form of 'Atiya' and the addition of 'sa' in words in Sanskrit and Kannada-Telugu languages may be found in the word for thousand; Āyiarm in Tamil-Malayalam, Sāvira in Kannada and Sahasram in Sanskrit respectively. Unfamiliarity with this linguistic principle had led some early scholars to take the meaning of Satya (truth) in Sanskrit and identify different groups of people as Satiyaputras on account of their integrity and love of truth mentioned in literature.
7. Pliny calls the king of Muziris 'Kaelōbōtrōs'. Ptolemy calls him 'Kerobōttrōs' and this term is found in the *Periplus* also. All of these are evidently corruptions of 'Kēraḷaputra' probably received through contact with the Mauryan empire. See R.C. Majumdar, (Ed.), *The Classical Accounts of India* (Calcatta, 1960), pp. 305, 312, 339, 365, 376, 381.
8. Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Inscription of Parāntaka Cōḷa, 29th year, Index no. A. 17. See chapter on Chronology, Note no. 27.
9. *L.B.V.*, chap. III, p. 46; chap. IV, p. 65; chap. VII. p. 82.
   "Uktam kēraḷavamśakētu raviṇā"; "Rājñā kēraḷavamśa pradīpēna kadācit kulaśēkharēṇa"; "Kadācit kēraḷēśvarāh kulaśēkhara idamāha".
10. *Tapatīsamvaraṇa*, Prologue, "Kēraḷakulacūḍāmaṇeh mahōdayapura paramēśvarasya śrīkulaśēkhara Varmaṇah..."; *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, Prologue, "Kalamarāśipēśala kaidārika kēraḷādbināthasya kulaśēkhara varmaṇō...".
11. See historical introductions of Rājarāja, Rajēndra, Rājādhirāja, Kulōttuṅga etc. and the *Ulās* of Oṭṭakkūttan, and the *Periyapurāṇam*.
12. 'Vāṉavan' literally means denizen of heaven. The Sangam age title 'vāṉavarampan' has been explained by traditional scholars as meaning the person with vāṉam (sky or heaven) as the varampu (boundary). But the other explanation that it signifies the aṉpan (beloved) of vāṉavar (gods) appears to be more appropriate. In that case it is a Tamil translation of 'Dēvānāmpiya' employed by the Mauryan emperor Asoka and the Ceylonese king Tissa.
13. This is why the Cēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvan is described in *Cilappatikāram* as carving the bow emblem on the Himalaya mountain. This feat is attributed to Neṭum Cēraḷ Ātan and Vēl Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan of the Sangam age also. It is an act symbolising the conquest of all India and most probably a piece of poetic fiction.

14. See *Patiṟṟuppattu*, Decad II, Patikam. This king Utiyan Cēraḷ is supposed to have been the subject of Decad I which has not been recovered. He is also called Perumcoṟṟu Utiyan, i.e., Utiyan of the Great Feast.
15. For example Udaya Mārtāṇḍa is referred to as Kōta Mārtāṇḍa in inscriptions. See *T.A.S.*, III, no. 15; IV, no. 7; V, no. 24; VII, no. 37 & 38.
16. This name is found in other personal names of ordinary persons also. Again a medieval Kerala hero of the ballads of North Malabar was named Otēṉan, another form of Udayan.
17. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 100, 107, 129; Sreedharan Menon, *Survey*, p. 123.
18. See Chapter on Early Wars and Alliances.
19. *L.B.V.*, chap. 3, p. 42.
"Putrah śrīravivarmadēvanṛpatēr dīptamśuvamśōditah
Prāsādē'dhikṛtē mahōdayapurē tatrāpi sēnāmukhē
Bhēryam vimśati tāḍitāsu ghaṭikāsvavirbahūvātha kim
Lagnam meṣadaśāmśakē savitari prācyām diśi kṣmāpatēh".
20. *Winslow's Tamil Dictionary*.
21. The *Mayamata* says:
"Sarvajanasamkīrṇam nṛpabhavanasamyuktam tatedēvatātha Bahurathyōpētam yat sēnāmukham ucyatē tajnaih".
The *Kamikāgama* says:
"Rājavēśma samāyuktam sarvajāti samanvitam
Guhyapradēśasamyuktam sēnāmukhamihōcyatē".
22. *L.B.V.*, chap. 3. p. 42.
"Bālakrīḍēśvarasthairadhikṛtaghaṭikāstāḍitāh pancavimśat".
23. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
"Goḷānmahōdayapurē ravivarma dēva
Sambandhi yantravalayāṅkita rāśicakrāt
Bhānōh kuḷīradaśabhāga gatē tulāntyam
Lagnam mayā viditamāśu vadēha kālam".
24. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
"Śrīmanmahōdayapurē kulaśēkharēṇa
Kartum sabhām kuśalaśilpibhiradya rajñā
Ajñaptamāśu.....".
25. *Ibid.*, chap. 7, p. 82.
"Ādityāstadriśriṅgam gatavati nṛpatirgōtramallēśvarastha
Prāsādāgrapraviṣṭō raviravaniravir draṣṭumēvam hyavōcat".
26. *Kōkasandēśam*, p. 76, Sloka 75.
"Bālakrīḍēśvaram aviṭe nī kāṇka bālam gaṇēśam".
27. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has observed in the commentary of the above ślōka that no such place like that exists today. *See Kōkasandēśam, Loc. Cit.* He infers that it must have been destroyed in the period of Portuguese ravages. The present writer explored the place and found a small Gaṇapati shrine in the compound of Kāvil Vāriyam to the south of Tiruvañcikkuḷam Śiva temple. It contains a huge granite idol of Gaṇēśa as a boy in sitting posture. This Bālagaṇēśa temple must be the same as old Bālakrīḍēśvara. At the instance of the present writer excavations were conducted in the

site by the Archaeological Survey of India team in 1970 and relics of the 9th-10th century period were unearthed.

28. See *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1926-7. pp. 10- 11 . The Ceramān Paṛambu is about 30 feet above the sea level. The road from Koḍuṅgallūr to Kōṭṭappuṛam cuts across this paṛambu which is about three acres in extent. The sites adjoining this paṛambu on all sides have been registered in the names of private parties and coconut plants have been planted thereon. Being an elevated place people had to level up their sites to make them suitable for coconut plantation, and while doing this ruins were found to consist of several walls, concrete foundations of buildings, tanks, wells etc. In one place a tank of 40 feet square is seen. "There are reports that people have unearthed valuable jewellery and other treasures from the neighbourhood of Cēramānpaṛambu but it has not been able to verify if this is true".

    Excavations were conducted in this site by the Cochin Archaeological department in 1945-46 and the Archaeological survey of India, Southern Circle, in 1969-70, in the last of which the present writer also participated. An old well, fragments of a ruined temple, broad and long foundation walls, platforms, etc. were unearthed. The stratigraphic analysis brought out pottery, beads, tiles etc. which Anujan Achan of the Cochin department wrongly assigned to 13th-14th centuries on the assumption that the natural soil at the bottom was deposited by the great flood of 1341 AD. However, this flood had no effect on this area as proved by the foundations of the neighbouring Tiruvañcikkuḷam, Kulaśēkharapuram and Kīḻttaḷi temples. The archaeologists under the leadership of Dr. K.V. Raman who took up the recent excavations have concluded that the earliest relics in this area belong to the 8th-9th centuries of the Christian era. For details of the excavations, photos and diagrams, see *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1944- 45 and 1945 - 46 and *A.R.A.S.I.* for 1970- 71.

29. *Kōkasandēśam*, p. 76. Sloka. 76.
    "Bhūyassambhāvaya viyaneḻum cēramānnāṭu cillit-
    Tūyattākkum nṛpakulapurīm nirjitasvargaśōbhām
    Tārārmātin capalacaritappōkkoṭuṅgallūrenrum
    Pērāṇṭirēḻulakilumulāvinṛa nānābhirāmam".

30. The Syrian Christian Copper-plate of Vīra Rāghava from Cochin, see Venkayya, (Ed.), *E.I.*, IV, pp 290 - 97. L1. 3- 6. "Śrī vīrarāghavaśakṛavartikku tiruvirācyam cellāyininṛa --- perunkōyilakattirunnaruḷa makōtaiyār paṭṭiṇattu iravi kōrttaṉāyiṉa Cēramān lōkaperumceṭṭikku ---".

31. *Ibid.*, L1, 10-17. "Nālu cērikkum tanicceṭṭum kuṭuṭṭōm... tarakum atiṉaṭutta cuṅkamum kūṭa koṭunkōḷūr aḻiyiyoṭu kōpurattoṭu viśēṣāl nālu taḷiyum taḷikkaṭutta kirāmattōṭiṭayil nīr mutalāyi ceppēṭu eḻutikkuṭuttōm".

32. See Ullur, "Payyanūr Pāṭṭu", *Kēraḷasāhitya Caritram*, I, pp. 343-4.

33. The Ancuvaṇṇam is mentioned in the Jewish Copper plates of Cochin, (Index no. A. 34) and the Maṇikkirāmam is mentioned in the later inscription of Vīra Rāghava cited above.

34. The Vaḷanciyar and Nānādēśikaḷ form the other two trade guilds prominently mentioned in South India. See Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 331-2. They are mentioned in the Eramam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, (A Series), Index no. A. 40.

35. Index no. A. 34.

36. The name 'Jūtakkuḷam' is often taken by scholars to mean the 'Jewish tank'. This is not necessary. Though the word 'kuḷam' also means a tank in Malayalam, this is affixed to several place names like Tiruvañcikkuḷam, Vāṇiyankuḷam, etc. In the case of Tiruvañcikkuḷam, it is definitely known that the earlier form was not 'kuḷam' but 'kaḷam' which means a colony or centre. This must be the case of Jūtakkuḷam also.

37. The temple of Kāḷi where warriors and other non-Brahmins perform worship was naturally built at the entrance of the city so that the Brahmin and aristocratic quarters are kept out of pollution. It could also serve the purpose of defence since sēnāmukha or cantonment was planned near the Kāḷi temple at the gate.

38. Index nos. A. 68, 71 and C. 32.

39. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 26. "Kōvilakattil samīpattu taṉṉe nālu kaḻakattiṉṉu kalpicca pariṣekku irippān nālu taḷiyum tīrttu: Mēltaḷi, Kīḻtaḷi, Neṭiyataḷi, Ciṅgapuramtaḷi. Ittaḷiyil irunnu rakṣikkunnatu taḷiyātirimār ennu pēruḷḷavar".

40. Index no. C. 32. Lt. 1 - 4, 6, 8, II, 15. "iṭapa viyāḻattil tulāñāyiṟṟu aypiyaittiruruvōṇattinnāḷ neytaṟṟarai mēykāṭṭu nālu taḷiyum kūṭi avirōticcu ceyta tankētamāvatu".

41. See M. Raghava Aiyengar, (Ed) 'Tiruvañcaikkaḷam, *Cēravēntar Ceyyuṭkkōvai*, II. p. 279.
"Malaikku nikaroppāṇa van tiraikaḷ
valittēṟṟi muḻanki valampuri kōn
Ṭalaikkum kaṭalankarai mēn
Makōtai yaṇiyārpoḻilancaikkaḷam".

42. Index no. A. 68. Eḷamkuḷam thinks that the king sat in the temple because his palace had been destroyed by the Cōḷas earlier. See *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 121. This assumption is unwarranted since the practice of the king sitting in Council in temples to regulate temple affairs could be found in Kerala in other inscriptions also. See Vāḻappaḷḷi Copperplate of Rājaśēkhara, 12th year, Index no. A. 1.

43. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp, 26-7. "Kīḻtaḷi Airāṇikkuḷattinnu, Ciṅgapuram Iruṅgāṭikkūṭattinnu, Neṭiyataḷi Paṟavūr, Mēltaḷi Mūḻikkaḷam iṅgine nālu taḷi ākunnu".

44. Kīḻtaḷi inscription, 10th century. Index no. C. 33.

45. *Kōkasandēśa*, p. 82, sloka, 84.
"Viranmārām neṭiyataḷiyilccērnna viprēśvaranmār
Ōrō pāṭe maruvi mahitam mikka nārīnarādhyam
Pārēḻinnum maṇimakuṭaval pannu cennaṅgu mokka
Ccīrārum colluṭaya paṟavūr grāmaṅgētu pinnē".

46. There is a Christian tradition that St. Thomas, the Apostle, came to Kerala and first landed at the southern part of Koḍuṅgallūr now known as Kōṭṭappuṟam where a Church is located. However, the church is a modern building and there are no ancient relics in that place.

47. *Viṭanidrābhāṇam*: "Ahō cūrṇisāritkallōlahastālingitamēkhalāyāh kēraḷakula rājadhānyāh śrīrāmavarmaparipālitāyāh mahōdayapuryāh.... śaṭhakōpasya muṇḍādhāriṇāh paḷḷimuttarēṇa".

48. *Śukasandēśa*, sloka 70.
"Achām annachadanibiḍitām artha madhyā mahatyā
Gurvīm padyasrajamabhinavairgumbhitām vākyapuṣpaih
Īśanāya paradiśa jayarātēśvaram mandiram prāp-
Yāmōdi syānniyatamanaya sarvathaivaisadēvāh".

The name ought to have been Jayarāgēśvara, the temple founded by Jayarāga or Vijayarāga as 'ta' is most probably a mislection for 'ga' in the royal name. A Jain temple called Vijayarāgēśvaram is mentioned in a Cēra inscription of Kiṇālūr, north Kerala. Index no. B. 23.

49. The local Muslims have recently put up a plaque saying that the mosque was built in 628 AD and claimed that it is the first mosque in India. However, the granite foundation of the building resembles those of 11th-12th century temples in Kerala. The more reliable Hindu and Muslim traditions also say that the Koḍuṅgallūr mosque was built after the period of the last Cēra sovereign. See Chapter XIII.

50. *Tapatīsamvaraṇa*, Prologue: "Tasya rājñah kēraḷakulacūḍāmaṇēh Mahōdayapuraparamēśvarasya śrīkulaśēkharavamāṇah kṛtiriyam". See also *Subhadrādhanañjayam*, Prologue. Tasya rājñh kaḷamarāśipeśala kaidārika kēraḷādhināthasya śrī Kulaśēkharavarmāṇō nija nibandhana madya badhnāti budha hṛdyam".

51. Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār Purāṇam, Verses, 1 – 4.
    1. "Māviṟṟirunta perum ciṟappin mannun tonmai malaināṭṭup-
       Pāviṟṟirunta palpukaḻār payilu miyalpir paḻampati tān
       Cēviṟṟiruntār tiruvañcaikkaḷamum nilaviccērar kulak
       Kōviṟṟiruntu muṟaipuriyum kulakkōmutūr koṭumkōḷūr".
    2. "Kālai yeḻumpal kalaiyinoli kaṇaṟṟukkarru vaṭikkumoli
       Cōlaiyeḻumen curumpinoli turakaccerukkārculavumoli
       Pālai vipanti payilumoli pāṭal āṭal muḻavinoli
       Vēlaiyoliyai viḻunkiyeḻa viḻankiyōnkum viyappinatāl".
    3. "Mikka celva manaika tōrum viḷaiyu minpam viḻankuvana
       Pakkanerunku cālai tōrum payil caṭṭarankaḷ palkuvana
       Takka anpar maṭanka tōrum caiva meymai cāṟṟuvana
       Tokka vaḷankoḷiṭanka tōru maṭanka nitiyantuvanṟuvana".
    4. "Vēta neṟiyil muṟai piṟaḻā mikka voḻukkan talai ninṟa
       Cāti nānkum nilai taḻaikkum tanmai ttaki ttaṭamaticuḻi
       Cūta vakuḷa caraḷa nirai tutaiyum cōlai valankartān
       Kōtaiyaracar makōtaiyena kkulavu peyaru muṭaittulakil".

52. See A.V.T. Iyer, 'Kārmuka-Grāma Lakṣaṇam', *Indian Architecture*, I, Chapter X, pp, 158-9 for the Mānasāra definition of Kārmuka plan.
    "Grāma kārmukavinyāsa lakṣaṇam vakṣyatē'dhunā
    Vistārasamam āyāmamāyāmādhika mēva vā
    Pattanam vātha kheṭam vā khaḍgēvātha prakalpayēt
    Nadītirēbdhitirē vā kārmukam tacca vinyasēt
    Rathyādvayaika vīthya vā pratyak prāgāyatā tathā
    Dakṣiṇāt pūrvatō rathyā uttarāt pūrvatō pi vā
    Kuryāt tu vīthi bahvētu kārmukākāravad budhah
    Ēkadvitri catuṣpañcam vīthirēvam prakalpayēt
    Rathyāh sarvadvipakṣah syūr vīthi mārgam yathēchayā
    Kārmukākāravat sarvam kārāyēchilpa vittamah
    Sthāpayēd Īśvarādīnām sthānam prāguktadēśatah
    Yathēṣṭadvārasamyuktam vapra bhityā vināthavā
    Ēvamtu kārmukam prōktam śeṣam prāguktavannayēt".

53. Syrian Christian Copper Plates of Vīra Rāghava, see Note no. 30 above.

54. *Unniyāṭicarita*, "Kēraḷaviṣayam pālippānāy mahitamahōdayanilayē maruvum nṛpasimhasya".

55. For the *Kōkasandēśam* reference to the ruined capital, see Note no. 29 above. For the 19th century reference, See *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1100 M E. (1925 AD), p. 49. A document of the Christian church, dated 1030 M.E. (1855 AD) says: "Makōtēvar paṭṭaṇattu Kaññūpaḷḷiyil kaikkār kayyāl---".
56. See Kollam-Rāmēśvaram inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, Index no. A. 71.
57. See Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions, Index nos. A. 31, 32, 33 and 34; B. 11, 13, 14 & 15.
58. See chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase for the tradition that Vīra Kēraḷa, ruler of Vēṇāṭu in the beginning of the 12th century, was the son of the last Cēra sovereign.
59. Index nos. A. 1, 8, 13, 14, 19, 53, 64, 67, 76 and 80, LI. 69, 388; B. 6, 13 and 14; C. 41 and 43.
60. Western Gaṅga rulers like Śrīpuruṣa, Rājamalla, Nītimārga etc. are called Perumān Aṭikaḷ or Permati in their inscriptions. See *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 161; Ht. 21; X. kl. 6, 90; MI. 255. The Pāṇḍyan king Māran Caṭayan is referred to as Perumān Aṭikaḷ in his Trivandrum Museum inscription. See *T.A.S.*, I, no. VII, pp. 153-9. The Cōḷa king Parāntaka is described as Perumān Aṭikaḷ in Kīḻ-Muttugūr inscription and Uttaramallūr inscriptions. See *E.I.*, IV, p. 177; nos. 1 and 2 of *A.R.E. of Madras* 1898. The Pallava kings also appear to have had this title, for Śrīpuruṣa of the Gaṅga dynasty is said to have defeated Paramēśvara Varma II of Kāñci and seized the royal Pallava umbrella together with the title Permānaṭi. See Sastri, *South India*, p. 154.
61. See chapter on Survey of Sources. See also note No. 5 above.
62. Index no. A. 1.
63. *T.A.S.*, II, no. 2, pp. 8-9.
64. For a discussion of the evolution and meaning of the title, see D C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, (Delhi. 1965), Technical Expressions, pp 333-37. See also, *E.I.*, XXI, p. 8 ff.
65. Salatore, B. A., *Ancient Karnataka*, I, p. 160; *S.I.I.*, no. 288, p. 144.
66. Altekar, A. S., *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 43. See also *I.A.*, V, pp. 145 ff; XII, pp. 181 ff; XIII pp. 46 ff. Altekar suggests that Rāhappa must be some Karnataka prince.
67. See Note no. 51 in Chapter IV.
68. See Note nos. 10 and 50 above.
69. Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, I-II; II-10; III-9; IV-IO; VI-10; VII-II; IX-II; X-II.
70. Cochin Jewish Copperplates of Bhāskara Ravi, 38th year, Index no. A. 34. L. 1; Perunna Inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 33rd year, Index no. A. 49.
71. Gundert, *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 137; Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII, p. CXV; Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, p. 507.
72. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 32.
73. See Anbil plates. L. 124, *E.I.*, XV, pp. 60 ff.
74. *T.A.S.*, II, p. 44.
75. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 480, F. N. 2.
76. Index nos. A. 65 and 71.
77. See Chapter III. Chronology of the Cēras for full names.

78. C. Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, Chapter III, pp. 39-40. "The practice of conferring a new name on the king at the time of the coronation - abhiṣēkha nāma - seems to have been prevalent among the Pallava rulers. Rājasimha had the abhiṣēkha nāma Narasimha Varman II. (*S.I.I.*, I, nos. 25 and 26, pp. 14-18) and we have the definite instance of this practice in the case of Paramēśvara alias Pallava Malla. When he was elected to the throne, his subjects, officers and feudatories conferred on him the name Nandivarman - Nandivarmanenṛu abhiṣēkham Ceytu' (*S.I.I.*, IV, Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ inscriptions).

"It is interesting to find that the practice of conferring an abhiṣēkha nāma was also prevalent in Campa. Praśastidharma, son of Rudraśarman, was given the name of śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation (Sanskrit inscriptions of Campa, no. 7, Majumdar, *Ancient History of Campa*). We have also other instances of the practice in Campa as in the case of Prakāśadharma who was conferred the title Śrī Vikrānta Varman (*Ibid*, no. 12)".

79. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 107-9.

80. Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār Purāṇam, Verse 17.

81. *L.B.V.*, pp. 42, 43, 44 and 87.

82. See Note nos. 10 and 50 above. This king is also referred to in a ślōka by the Maharashtrian poet Rājaśēkhara of the 10th century as Kulaśēkhara Varma.

83. *Samkṣēpaśārīrika*, Colophon. "- - - rājanyavamśye nṛpē śrīmatyakṣataśāsanē manukulādityē bhūvam śāsati". For details, see chapter III Chronology of the Cēras under Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya and also Chapter XIII.

84. See Talegunḍa Pillar inscription of Kadamba king Kākustha Varman, *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 24-36; *E.C.*, VII, p. 200; *I.A.*, XXV, p. 27. See also Sastri, *South India*, pp. 110-111.

85. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavamśa', *Proceedings of A.I.O.C.* Jadhavpur, 1969.

86. *L.B.V.*, p. 42.

"Cāraivārtām viditvā ravikulapatinā rāmadēvēna lagnam"

"Putrah śrīravivarmadēvanrpatēr dīptāmśuvamśōditah".

87. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 52.

88. Index nos. A. I, 13, 14, 16, 19, 29, 31, 58, 66, 68, and 72; Index no. B. 2; Index nos. C. 18, 23, 38.

89. Index nos. A. 68, 71.

90. *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, Prologue: "Yasya --- vasudhāvibudha dhanāyāndhakāra mihirāyamāna karakamalasya".

91. Index no. A. 71. See chapter V, Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase, Note no. 98.

92. Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, *S.I.I.*, III, P. 398.

"Sarvakṣatravadhavṛata praṇayinā rāmēṇa yannirmitam rāṣṭram śiṣṭajanābhirāmam - - -".

93. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 19, 20, 26 and 27.

94. See chapter IV, Early Wars and Cōḷa Invasions.

95. See 41 of 1895, *S.I.I.*, V, no. 598; 470 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, VIII, no. 58; III of 1929; 261 of 1907; 335 of 1902; *E.I.*, VII, p. 133, 169 of 1912; *S.I.I.*, III, no. 103; 196 of 1919; 189 of 1919.

96. See chapter IV.

97. For this tradition, see Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Letter VIII.
98. Index no. A. 7, 10, and 24.
99. Index no. A. 7.
100. See chapter III, Chronology, Note no. 22.
101. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp 100-101.
102. See chapter on Divisions of the Kingdom.
103. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 199-202. M. S. Ayyanagar and Somasundara Bharati attempted to find traces of matriliny among the Cēras of the Sangam age. See *Śentamiḻ*, Vol. XXVII, No.4; *Tamil Studies*, pp 103 ff. They have not succeeded in this venture. K.G. Sesha Ayyer has rightly pointed out that the Cēras described in *Patiṟṟuppattu* followed the patrilineal order of succession. See *The Cēras of the Sangam Period*, p. 110.
104. *M.V.K.*, Sarga. XII. The Mūṣakas are stated to have followed the patrilineal order until Pālaka, whose father Īśāna II was contemporary and brother-in-law of Cēra king Jayarāga (Vijayarāga). After Pālaka his nephew Validhara came to the throne (Sloka 90). He was followed by his two nephews Ripurāma and then Vikṛama Rāma (Sloka 93, 94). From then onwards there is regular matrilineal order of succession. Therefore, the change of order following immediately after Cēra king Vijayarāga's victorious campaign may be attributed to Cēra influence.
105. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 52.
106. Friar Jordanus came to Quilon in 1324 AD as a Roman Catholic Missionary and was subsequently appointed by the Pope as Bishop of Quilon, the first Catholic See in India. He was the first to record the practice of matriliny among the kings of Kerala. "In this India never do the legitimate sons of great kings or princes or barons inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters." *Mirabilia Descripta* quoted by K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, p. 282.
107. Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 358, 364.
108. Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 158.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-75.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 177– 80.
111. There is no reference to any rule of succession in those early foreign writings on Kerala.
112. Index no. A. 17.
113. Pārthivapuram inscription, *T.A.S.*, I, XVI, A, p. 887, L1. 7-8.

"Ivvūr vēṭkovanākiṉṟa cenkōṭanum tampimāru marumakaḷum ampalamum vātilmāṭamum cuṟṟumaṇḍapamum aḷivu cēla---". This record simply mentions the year opposite 98 and the editor attributes it to the year 99 of Kollam era. The reference to opposition without a number does not imply the addition of one year and, therefore, it is the year 98 only. Moreover, this need not be the Kollam era which is not known to have been followed outside Kollam in the Cēra period. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam suggests that the number 2 or 3 indicating the century might have been left out in the inscription. See *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 168. Such assumptions are not necessary. It is known that the Pārthivapuram temple was founded in 866 AD. See *T.A.S.*, I, I, pp. 1-14. Following a common practice, this record might have been dated in the temple era and, therefore, the year 98 actually refers to 964 AD.

114. Tiruvalla Copperplates, Index no. A. 80, L1, 544-5: "Kōyirpuṛattu Cēnnan kumāraṉum marumakkaḷum kūṭi"; L1 , 551-2: "Kōvinnan accutaṉum marumakkaḷum kūṭi".

115. T.K. Joseph quotes a Sanskrit ślōka to show that 'sthali' meant a natural spot as different from 'sthala' which is manmade. See *K.S.P.*, no. 4, p. 209.

"Sthalītvakṛitrimā prōkta
Kṛitrimam tu sthalā matā
Akṛitrimam kṛitrimam va
Sthalamityaucyatē budhaih".

However, the term 'kaṟṟaḷi' (kal + taḷi) is used in Cōḷa inscriptions for stone temple (no. 735 of 1905; *E.I.*, VIII, p. 261.). *Gundert's Dictionary* gives the term the meaning of a holy building or assembly hall but this is based on his interpretation of the *Kēraḷōlpatti* Chronicle. The fact that several old temples of Kerala are called taḷis in inscriptions as well as in present usage shows that it was a synonym for temple. See Nityaviyārēśvarattu taḷi (Index nos. A. 9, 27, 43, 69 and 70), Trikkulaśēkharapuram taḷi (Index nos. B. 21, C. 32), Rāman taḷi, Kōzhikōḍe taḷi, Neḍumpuṛam taḷi, Paṛamban taḷi, Kīḻtaḷi, Kaṇḍiyūr taḷi. Medieval Malayalam works like *Uṇṇunīli sandēśam* and *Kōkasandēśam* have also used taḷi in the sense of a temple.

116. See Notes nos. 38 to 45 above.

117. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 26.

118. These names are not given in all copies of the text. Gundert's text, which we have followed as the standard text, has only the names of Kariṅgampaḷḷi, Kārimukku, and Eḷampuṛakkōṭṭu families (p. 27). The names mentioned here are given by Nagam Ayya in his summary of *Kēraḷōlpatti*. See *Travancore State Manual*, I, pp. 220-4. It is likely that Eḷamturutti of Gundert and Eḷampuṛakkōṭṭu of Nagam Ayya are identical. Kārimukku, mentioned in Gundert's version, might be one of the families representing Iriñjālakkuḍa village since a Kārimukkil Dēvan Viṣṇu from that village is mentioned in a Tiruvaḍūr inscription (Index no. B. 16, L1 8-9). A certain Kāmakkānpaḷḷi (Kariṅgampaḷḷi?) Rāman Tāyan and Kaḍambanāṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇan are jointly sent by the Perumāḷ Rāma Kulaśēkhara and Nālu Taḷi sitting at Neṭiya Taḷi to implement a royal order at Perunna (Index no. A. 68, L1. 45-50). These two persons must have been members of the council. Similarly a previous record from Perunna belonging to Bhāskara Ravi, 33rd year, shows that two persons Cōravaḷḷūr Ravi Kanni and Kuḻamaṅgalattu Śrī Kumara Nārāyaṇan were sent as royal officers to implement another order there. (Index no. A. 49, L1. 4-5). These two also must have been members of the Nālu Taḷi, Cōravaḷḷūr being the same as Cūravaḷḷi and Kuḻamaṅgalam being the same as Kōtamaṅgalam of the tradition quoted above. A certain Iḻantturutti Kōtai Kēraḷan appears as the author of an inscription evidently caused in in fulfilment of a royal order in a Trikkākara inscription (Index no. B. 7, L1. 8-9). He too must have been a member of the Nālu Taḷi. In the case of the house name of Muttil, it is likely that it is a corruption of Mēttaḷi, a house name suggestive of the temple where they preside. In fact, the house name of Mēttaḷi figures in a Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year (Index no. A. 25, L1. 2-3). These epigraphic references go to substantiate the tradition recorded in the chronicle.

119. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 25-27.

120. See chapter X. Social System, under Aryan Brahmin Settlements.

121. "Vyāptam mūrtibhir aṣṭabhir jagadidam yasyākhilam dṛiśyate
Sa sthāṇurjayati trirūpa sahitō lingēpi lōkārcitah".

122. Index no. A. 68. L1. 10-15.
"Nālu taḷiyaiyum tirukkuṇṛappoḻaiyum kūṭṭikkoṇṭu neṭiya taḷi irunnaruḷi...".

123. The place called 'Śrīmūlavātam' today is located near Trikkunnappuḻa village. The Śāsta Temple at Trikkunnappuḻa contains an inscription of 931 M.E. (1756 AD) saying that the image was recovered from the sea. See *T.A.S.*, VII, p. 63. The Śrīmūlavāsavihāra was threatened by the sea in the 10th century as mentioned in *M.V.K.*, Sarga XLI, sloka 96. For details see chapter on Religion and Religious Culture.

124. Index nos. A. 68, 71.

125. Index no. A. 68, L1. 10-30.

126. Index no. A. 34.
"Ippari aṛivēn vēṇāṭuṭaiya kōvartaṉa mārtāṇṭan.
Ippari aṛivēn veṇpali nāṭuṭaiya kōtai cirikaṇṭan.
Ippari aṛivēn ēṛāḷanāṭuṭaiya mānavēpala mānavīyan
Ippari aṛivēn vaḷḷuvanāṭuṭaiya irāyaran cāttan
Ippari aṛivēn neṭumpuṛaiyūr nāṭuṭaiya kōtaiyiravi
Ippari aṛivēn kīḻpaṭai nāyakam ceyyinra mūrkan cāttan".

127. Index no. A. 71.

128. There is not a single reference to the temple as 'kōyil' in Cēra inscriptions. The temple is designated as 'taḷi' or 'mukkālvaṭṭam'. On the other hand terms like 'Paṉaṅkāvil kōyilakam' (Index no. A. 71) and 'Perumkōvilakam' (Syrian Christian Copperplates of Vīra Rāghava, 1225 AD, see Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 169) are found in the inscriptions. *Bhāṣhā Kauṭalīyam* (13th century) also frequently employs the term 'kōyil' for palace. *Gundert's Dictionary* gives three meanings for 'kōyil' - 1) palace 2) temple and 3) king or Kṣatriya.

129. Gundert and Gopinatha Rao translated the term as 'palace major' or 'agent of the palace'. See *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 130; *T.A.S.*, II, P. 70. Eḷamkuḷam seems to consider that Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ was a 'temple commissioner'. See *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 121. But, as pointed out in the Note no. 128 above, the word 'kōyil' is more often used for palace than temple and other religious institutions too. Adhikāri means an officer. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p 462. "We have also the general title 'adhikārikaḷ' used to describe the higher officers in the army and in general administration".

130. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam seems to think that the last Perumāḷ, Rāma Kulaśēkhara, was the only ruler simultaneously referred to as 'Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ' also. This is not true. Besides him and Vijayarāga (Index no. A. 6), Bhāskara Ravi is referred to as 'Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ' in Eramam inscription (Index no. A. 40) but this had not come to the Professor's notice.

131. Index no. A. 6.

132. See chapter IVon Early Wars and Alliances.

133. Index nos. A. 13 and 14.

134. Index no. A. 16.

135. Index no. A. 31.

136. Index no. A. 49.

137. Index no. A. 51.

138. Index no. A. 58.

139. Index no. A. 72.

140. Index no. C. 18.

141. Index no. A. 8.

142. Index no. A. 13.

143. Index no. A. 14.

144. Index no. A. 31.

145. Index no. C. 42.

146. Index no. A. 25, L. 4; Index no. A. 49, L. 3; Index no. A. 58, L. 2; Index no. A. 68. L1. 27-30; Index no. C. 37. L1. 5-7; Index no C. 42, L .4.

147. See Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 106; See the word 'amaiccan' in *Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary* also. A.S. Altekar thinks that 'amātya' was the revenue member of the ministry. See *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, II, p. 170.

148. Index no. A. 16.

149. *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*, I, P. 69. "Mantripariṣad adhyakṣanāvōn pantiraṇṭu kōyil adhikārattinnu nāyakam ceyyumavan". The princes of Cochin had the title 'Tirukkōyil Adhikārikaḷ'. See 'Kōyil' in *Gundert's Dictionary*; *Cochin State Manual*, pp. 38-9; *T.A.S.*, V, I, p. 42; *R.V.R.I.B.*, X, I, pp, 15-19.

150. See A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, II, p. 172. The author points out that Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings attended to the administrative work either by themselves or through the heir-apparent. He also quotes from *Śukṛa Nītisāra* which mentions an officer called 'pratinidhi' occupying a status inferior only to that of the Crown prince (*Śukra*, II, 71). The Palitāṉa plates of Śilāditya dated 574 AD mention an officer called 'rājasthāniya' immediately after 'rājaputra' and before 'amātya'. See *E.I.*, XI, p. 115.

VII. Divisions of the Kingdom

The territory of the kingdom was divided into several parts known as 'nāṭu' (district) in the inscriptions. This term is generally used for such units all over South India.[1] It was the Tamil counterpart of the Sanskrit term 'Rāṣṭra' found in North India and the Deccan. This fact is clearly demonstrated in a Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription where 'Vaḷḷuvanāṭu', a part of Kerala, is designated in Sanskrit as 'Vallabharāṣṭra'.[2] There is no consolidated list of the feudatory chieftains in any of the records and as such their total number is unknown. It is possible that in the life-span of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai some new chieftainships were created and others eliminated so that the total number was different at different times.

The governors of districts are usually called 'Nāṭu Uṭaiyavar' (literally meaning 'owner of the district') or 'Nāṭu Vāḻumavar' (literally meaning 'governor of the district') in the Cēra inscriptions. The boundaries of the districts are not clearly mentioned anywhere. Therefore, it is difficult to know their actual and comparative size. However, most of the Nāṭus or districts, which figure in Cēra inscriptions by being subject to the Cēra, continued with those very same labels as independent principalities well into the modern period and the traditional territories were respected even when some of them became stronger than others.[3] These kingdoms claimed that they ruled over the territories given to them by the Cēramān Perumāḷ, obeying the instructions at the time of his departure.[4] This claim is made in the *Kēraḷōlpatti* also.[5] Moreover, it is well-known that no military action overthrew the ancient political set up of Kerala till the partial occupation by Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore. Under the circumstances it may be assumed that the conventional boundaries of the medieval principalities corresponded roughly with the boundaries of the districts under the Cēras of Makōtai. This is a unique feature of political continuity not noticeable in other ancient or medieval kingdoms of South India.

Further, the reference to the institution of Munnūṟṟuvar, Aññūṟṟuvar, Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Eḻunūṟṟuvar etc. attached to the different districts enable us to gather an idea of their comparative size. For example Nanṟuḻaināṭu had an

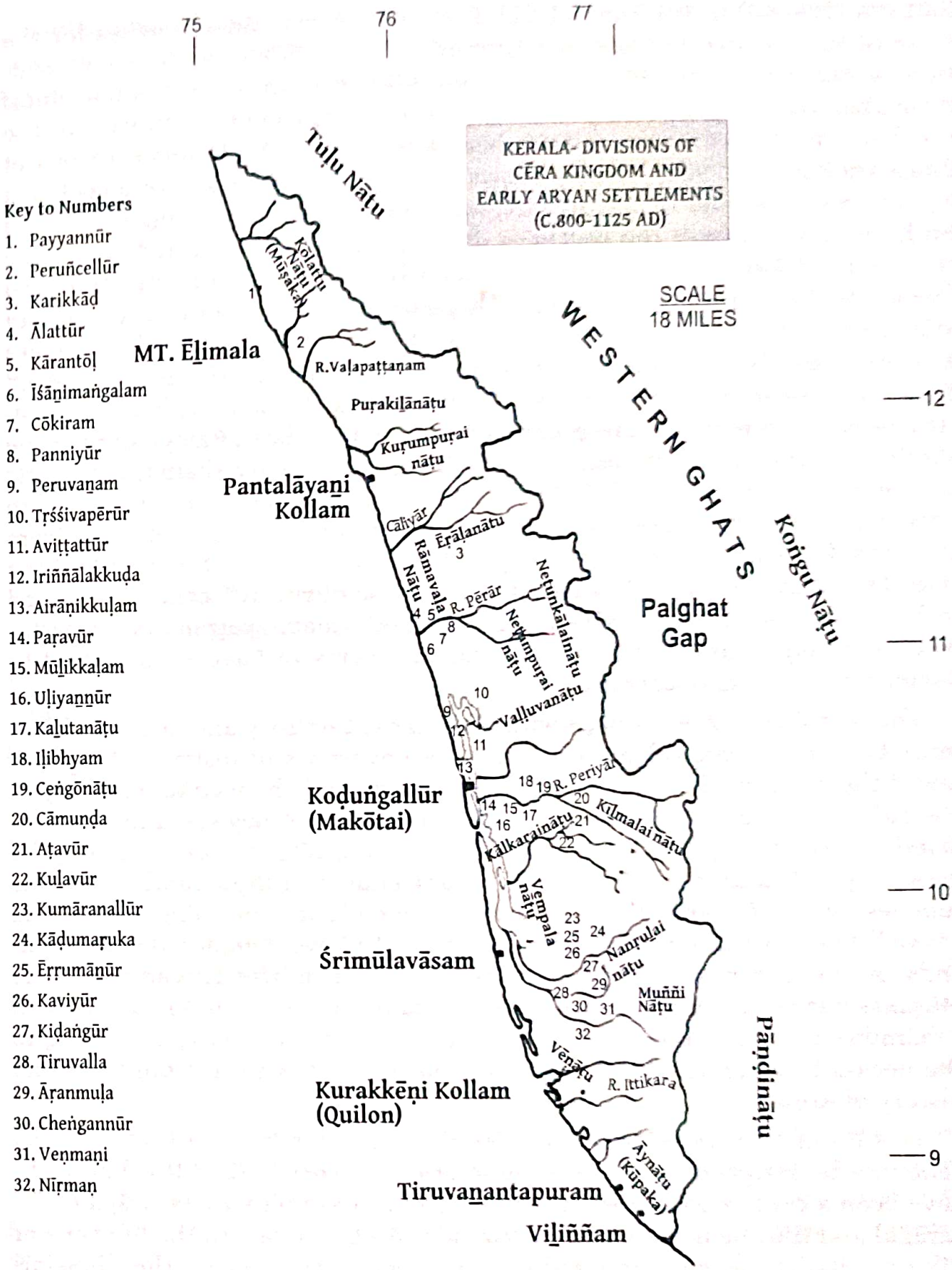
organisation called Munnūṟṟuvar (The Three Hundred) and Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu had one called Eḻunūṟṟuvar (The Seven Hundred) and these figures are suggestive of the area and resources of the respective districts.[6] It is also possible to gain some information about the early history, headquarters, ruling families and ethnic composition of the people in the districts from various sources. While some had a hereditary governorship others had their governors nominated from time to time and they were often recruited from among other governors or from the different aristocratic families. The governors belonged to the Kṣatriya, Sāmanta and Nāyar communities though the pattern of administration followed was the same throughout Kerala. These facts may be brought out by taking up each known district separately for discussion. In this the geographical order from North to South may be followed for convenience.

Kōlattunāṭu

This division is not mentioned by name in the inscriptions. It is the name of the medieval kingdom at the north end of Kerala comprising of territory from Kasargode to Cannanore. The *Mūṣakavamśakāvya*, written in the 11th century, professes to give a history of the Mūṣaka dynasty of Mūṣakaparvata from the time of its mythical founder Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣaka, a contemporary of Paraśurāma, to that of Śrīkaṇṭha, contemporary and patron of the poet Atula.[7] The Mūṣakaparvata of the kāvya is the same as Ēḻimalai near Cannanore.[8] The dynastic title 'Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣaka' of the kāvya must be the same as the 'Rāmakūṭa Mūvar' of the inscriptions of the Cēra period. King Nandana, the first Mūṣaka king described in four sargas of the kāvya, following the mythical founder, may be identical with Naṉṉan of Ēḻimalai celebrated in Sangam literature.[9] The city of Kōlam described as the capital in the later sargas of the kāvya must have given the name to the principality.[10]

The *Mūṣakavamśa kāvya*, of which the really historical portions begin with the twelfth sarga, spells out the intimate relations between the Cēras and the Mūṣakas from the time of Īśāna II Mūṣaka and the Kerala king Jayarāga (Vijayarāga). Though the Kerala conquest of the Mūṣaka country is not openly acknowledged in the kāvya it is suggested by the course of events narrated.[11] The triumphant entry of Kerala king Jayarāga into the Mūṣaka capital and the tributes he received all along, show that the Mūṣakas accepted a feudatory status under the Cēra. The court historian's account of the crown prince Valabha's journey to the South to assist the Kerala king against the Cōḷa also suggests the continuance of this relationship from the time of Cēra king Vijayarāga to that of Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi.[12]

There are some inscriptions of this period which prove the Cēra suzerainty over Kōlattunāṭu.[13] A record of Ēḻimalai-Narayankaṇṇūr dated 4029 of the


75
76
77
KERALA- DIVISIONS OF CĒRA KINGDOM AND EARLY ARYAN SETTLEMENTS (C.800-1125 AD)
SCALE 18 MILES
Key to Numbers
1. Payyannūr
2. Peruñcellūr
3. Karikkāḍ
4. Ālattūr
5. Kārantōḷ
6. Īśāṉimaṅgalam
7. Cōkiram
8. Panniyūr
9. Peruvaṉam
10. Tṛśśivapērūr
11. Aviṭṭattūr
12. Iriññālakkuḍa
13. Airāṇikkuḷam
14. Paṟavūr
15. Mūḻikkaḷam
16. Uḻiyaṉṉūr
17. Kaḻutanāṭu
18. Iḻibhyam
19. Ceṅgōnāṭu
20. Cāmuṇḍa
21. Aṭavūr
22. Kuḻavūr
23. Kumāranallūr
24. Kāḍumaṟuka
25. Ēṟṟumāṉūr
26. Kaviyūr
27. Kiḍaṅgūr
28. Tiruvalla
29. Āṟanmuḷa
30. Cheṅgannūr
31. Veṇmaṇi
32. Nīṟmaṇ
Tuḷu Nāṭu
Kolattu Nāṭu (Mūṣaka)
MT. Ēḻimala
R.Vaḷapaṭṭaṇam
Puṟakiḻānāṭu
Kuṟumpuṟai nāṭu
Pantalāyaṉi Kollam
Cāliyār
Ēṟāḷanāṭu
Kāmavaḷa Nāṭu
R. Pērār
Neṭuṅkaḷanāṭu
Neṭumpuṟai nāṭu
Valḻuvanāṭu
Koḍuṅgallūr (Makōtai)
R. Periyār
Kīḻmalai nāṭu
Kālkaṭainātu
Vēmpala nāṭu
Śrīmūlavāsam
Naṉṟuḻai nāṭu
Muṉṉi Nāṭu
Vēṇāṭu
R. Ittikara
Kurakkēṇi Kollam (Quilon)
Āynāṭu (Kūpaka)
Tiruvaṉantapuram
Viḻiññam
Pāṇḍināṭu
Koṅgu Nāṭu
WESTERN GHATS
Palghat Gap
12
11
10
9

Kali era (929 AD) in the time of Validharan Vikṛama Rāma vouches for the sway of Mūḻikkaḷam Kaccam in Kōlattunāṭu.[14] A Pullūr-Koḍavalam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, dealing with the āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) from that village, proves the extension of this Cēra king's authority to the northern-most part of the district near Kasargode.[15] An Eramam record of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, clearly shows that Kaṇṭan Kāri Varman alias Rāma Kuṭa Mūvar, the ruler of the district, was under the Cēra sovereign.[16] Several Brahmin families from the southern districts of the Kerala kingdom are the recipients of land at Tiruvaḍūr – a fact which shows again that the nāṭu formed an integral part of Kerala.[17] This ancient ruling family of Rāma Kuṭa Mūvar existed in Kōlattunāṭu at least from the beginning of the Christian era as proved by the *Mūṣakavamśa* and the Tamil works of the Sangam age.[18] They were considered as Kṣatriyas of Sōmavamśa (lunar race).[19] Their ancestral home before migration to Kerala seems to have been Rāmghaḍ near the Vindhya mountains on the banks of Mūṣi river which gave them the dynastic title of 'Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣaka'.[20] Their earliest headquarters in Kerala seems to have been Ēḻimalai where the Rāmantaḷi village probably got its name from their family name.[21] Later on the city of Kōlam was built at the mouth of the river Prathana.[22] Valabba II Mūṣaka of the close of the 10th century is stated to have built two cities – Mārāhi (Māṭāyi) and Valabhapaṭṭaṇa (Vaḷarpaṭṭaṇam or Baliapaṭṭam).[23] Later on the capital seems to have been shifted to Karippāttu near Taḷipparamba.[24]

The Mūṣakas of Kōlattunāṭu with their large territory and ancient claims must have had a special place among the governors of districts. They followed the patrilineal order of succession at first and changed to matriliny in the 10th century after the advent of Cēra influence.[25] They seem to have enjoyed the right to perform the ceremony of abhiṣēka or coronation.[26] The great Aryan Brahmin settlement of Perumcellūr or Taḷipparamba with the temples of Cellūr and Triccambaram is mentioned prominently in the kāvya[27] The Mūṣaka king Valabha II is stated to have conquered several islands of the ocean and these may be identified as the Laccadives.[28] The Mūṣakas had under them subordinate chieftains like those of Bhaṭasthali and Vihāradurga.[29] The following governors of the Mūṣaka dynasty belonging to the period between the 9th century and the 11th are known from the court history of Atula.[30]

This list of 19 governors really belongs to 12 generations as brothers may generally be assigned to the same generation. Of these, Īśāna II is known to have been a contemporary and brother-in-law of Kerala king Jayarāga (Vijayarāga) and thus he may be placed around 900 AD.[31] A date in the life-time of Vikṛama Rāma, nephew of Validhara, has been provided by the Ēḻimalai-Narayankaṇṇūr inscription of 929 AD.[32] Valabha II was sent southwards to help the Cēra against the Cōḷa while he was the crown prince and thus he

might be placed around 1000 AD.[33] Śrīkaṇṭha, as pointed out earlier, may be identified with Kaṇṭan Kāri alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar who figures in a record of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year (1020 AD).[34]

1. Kuñci Varman

2. Īśāna II. (son) (c. 900 AD)

Cēdi Princess Nandini — Cōḷa Princess

5. Pālaka (Son)
6. Validhara (Nephew)
7. Ripurāma (Nephew)
8. Vikṛama Rāma (Brother) (c. 929 AD)
9. Janamāni
10. Sankha
11. Jayamāni
12. Valabha I.
13. Kunda (Brother)
14. Pālaka II (Nephew)
15. Ripurāma II (Relative)
16. Gambhīra (Nephew of Pālaka II)
17. Jayamāni (Brother)
18. Valabha II (Nephew) (c. 1000 AD)
19. Śrīkaṇṭha or Kaṇṭan Kāri (Brother) (c. 1020 AD)

3. Nṛparāma (Son)
4. Candra (Son)

There is no information about the hundred organisation of this district in the inscriptions. However, it is known that the Maṇikkirāmam, Vaḷanciyar, *Nāṉādēśikaḷ* etc. took an active part in administration.[35] An officer called 'Rājēndra Cōḷa Samaya Sēnāpati', evidently member of a Cōḷa occupation force, is also mentioned in the Eramam inscription of 1020 AD.[36] Rājādhirāja claims that he destroyed in anger the Ramakuṭa Mūvar and this ruler must be identical with Valabha II or Śrīkaṇṭha.[37] A certain Ramakuṭa Mūvar figures as a

donor of Tiruvalla temple in South Kerala and this donation must have occurred during the period of Cōḷa wars when the said ruler participated in wars in South Kerala.[38] The Mūṣakas are described as great patrons of Brahmanical temples like Nārāyaṇapura, Cellūr, Triccambaram, Ahiraṇēśvara, Vaṭukēśvara etc. donating liberally to them and renovating their buildings.[39] They are also praised as the founders and benefactors of numerous temples of Śiva and Śāsta.[40] At the same time conflicting creeds are said to have coexisted peacefully in their kingdom like wild animals in the vicinity of a sacred āśrama.[41] The partiality exhibited by some of the Mūṣaka rulers like Vikṛama Rāma and Valabha II towards the Buddhist vihāra called Śrīmūlavāsa in central Kerala is recorded in the court chronicle.[42] Like their Cēra overlords the Mūṣakas appear to have encouraged the Christians and Jews too. The reference to Maṇikkirāmam indicates the presence of Christians.[43] The reference to Ancuvaṇṇam in *Payyanūr Paṭṭōla*, an early Malayalam work dealing with Payyanūr, near Taḷippaṛamba, and the place name 'Jūtakkuḷam' in Māḍāyi or Paḻayaṅgāḍi suggest the presence of ancient Jewish colonies in this region.[44]

Puṛaikiḻānāṭu

The district referred to in Cēra inscriptions as 'Puṛaikiḻānāṭu' could be easily identified as 'Puṛanāḍ' or 'Kōṭṭayam' of the later medieval age. The 14th century Maṇipravāḷa work named *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam* refers to the chieftain called 'Puṛakiḻār Taṅgaḷ' in connection with a story of Tiruvaḍūr located in Wynad taluk which formed part of Puṛanāḍ kingdom till it was taken over by the British after defeating Paḻaśśirāja.[45] The Sanskritised form of Puṛakiḻār is Puraḷi and there is a hill called Puraḷimala which is according to local tradition the ancestral home of this line of rulers.[46] A 15th century Sanskrit work named *Kōkilasandēśa* calls the kings of Puṛanāḍ by the title 'Puraḷikṣmābhrit' or king of Puraḷi.[47] Kēraḷavarma, a member of this family and the author of the Kōṭṭayam Kathakaḷi works of about the same period, calls his ancestors 'the Lords of the city of Puraḷi.[48] It is possible that just as Ēḻimala formed the early citadel of the Mūṣaka kings, the Puraḷimala served as the first headquarters of these chieftains. Their title 'Puṛaikiḻār' suggests a relation with the ancient Cēras of the Sangam age who were known as 'Puṛaiyar' also.[49]

A tradition recorded by Uddaṇḍa in the 15th century says that a king Hariścandra of this family was responsible for introducing the Kumārila school of philosophy in Kerala.[50] Though Kumārila Bhaṭṭa is taken to be a contemporary or predecessor of Śankara in the 9th century there is no certainty about the period when his theory was introduced here. But the fact that Kēraḷa Varma calls Hariścandra the founder of his family may indicate that he lived before the rise of the Cēras of Makōtai.[51] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* also speaks of a certain Hariścandra Perumāḷ who built a fort on top of Puraḷi mala.[52] In fact, the

ruins of a fort known as Hariścandran kōṭṭa exist in that place.[53] Therefore, a historical truth might be concealed in this tradition.

Śankaran Kōta Varma alias Aṭikaḷ Puṟaikiḻār who is also called Puṟaikiḻānāṭu Mutukūṟu Vāḻumavar, i.e., the senior prince of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu, makes a gift to Tirunelli temple in the 46th year of Bhāskara Ravi.[54] These titles prove the hereditary character of the governorship, the Kṣatriya caste status of the governors, and the existence of at least two sthānams like, 'mutu kūṟu' and 'iḷam kūṟu', i.e., senior prince and junior prince. Śankaran Kōta might be the successor of Ēṟan Śankaran, governor of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu, who made a gift to Tiruvalla temple in South Kerala.[55] As pointed out earlier it may be inferred that Ēṟan Śankaran went to South Kerala in connection with the Cōḷa wars fulfilling his duty as loyal vassal of the Cēra sovereign.[56] The chances are that he perished in battle since Cōḷa records mention the whole-sale slaughter of Kerala princes in the battles of this period.[57] In that case his successor seems to have visited Tirunelli to perform the last rites of Ēṟan Śankaran. The comparative rank of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu among the districts may be guessed from the reference to the Aññūṟṟuvar' (Five hundred) organisation.[58]

Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu

The governor of Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, Mūtta Kūṟu Vāḻkinṟa Kuncikuṭṭa varma alias Aṭikaḷ Vīrakkuṟumpoṟaiyār, made a gift to Tirunelli temple in the 43rd year of Bhāskara Ravi's reign.[59] Another person called Ārappan Kuñci alias Kuṟumpoṟai figures as donor in another Cēra period inscription of about the 11th century.[60] This Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu must be the same as the medieval Kuṟumbṟanāḍ principality and the modern taluk of that name.[61] The suffix 'varma' and the title of senior prince are sufficient to indicate a Kṣatriya ruling family with hereditary office and two 'sthānams' of the senior and junior princes. A Kuḍumbiya king Viṣṇuvarma, evidently a member of the Kadamba dynasty of Mysore, appears as donor in the Eḍakal cave inscription (South Wynad) of about the 5th-6th centuries.[62] The Kadamba conquest of this part of Kerala, adjoining Mysore, at the close of the Sangam age must have been responsible for the spread of the people called 'Kuṟumbar' throughout this region. It is also likely that the Kuṟumpoṟai dynasty as well as the nāṭu of that name is the by-products of Kadamba influence.[63] How and when they came under the Cēras of Makōtai has not been described anywhere.

The governor's gift to Tirunelli cited earlier is made in the presence of the Eḻunūṟṟuvar (The Seven hundred) attached to him.[64] Therefore, it may be inferred that Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu was bigger than Puṟaikiḻānāṭu with a Five Hundred organisation and perhaps bigger than all the districts except Kōlattunāṭu. The Munnūṟṟuvar (The Three Hundred) mentioned in the Kiṇālūr inscription cited earlier might be the organisation attached to the junior

prince.[65] A certain Adhikāran (officer) named Ārūr Kuñcivikṛaman, a Paṭaināyan (military commander) named Amaiyamaṅgalattu Yakkan Cāttan, the Kuṛumpoṛaināṭṭu Mēnāyam (chief secretary of Kuṛumpoṛaināṭu) named Ravi Rāman, and the Kuṛumpoṛai Peruntaṭṭān (chief goldsmith of Kuṛumpoṛai) named Vāliśśēri Gaṇapati Nīlakaṇṭan are also mentioned Tirunelli copper plate cited above.[66]

Rāmavaḷanāṭu

This territorial division is mentioned in a Tirumaṇṇūr inscription of Rājarāja Cēra.[67] It seems to have disappeared after the period of the Cēra kingdom since the area of Tirumaṇṇūr formed part of the kingdom of Calicut ruled by the successors of the governors of Ēṛānāṭu. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* they moved from their inland area into the coastal area including Calicut (Kozhikode) and conquered several chieftains following the instruction of the last sovereign.[68] The large village of 'Rāmanāṭṭukara' which still survives at a distance of 8 miles from Tirumaṇṇūr might be a relic of the ancient division.

Pāliyattu Kaṇṇan Kaṇṭan was the governor of Rāmavaḷanāṭu at the time of the Tirumaṇṇūr inscription cited above.[69] Kaṇaiyapaḷḷi Yakkan Cellan, a previous governor, is also mentioned there.[70] As they belong to two separate families – Pāliyattu and Kaṇaiyapaḷḷi – it may be inferred that the district was not under hereditary rule. These governors must have been appointed by the Cēra king from time to time. The suffix 'varma' is absent in their names. However, the company of Aṛunūṛṛuvar (The Six Hundred) indicates that it was one of the bigger districts under the Cēras. If the name is taken to furnish a clue to its origin this district must be associated with the reign of king Rāma Rājaśēkhara or Rājarāja Cēra himself in case his personal name was Rāma.

Ēṛāḷanāṭu

Mānavēpala Māna Viyatan, Governor of Ēṛāḷanāṭu, is one of the witnesses among other governors in the Cochin Jewish copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi.[71] This name of the governor of Ēṛāḷanāṭu appears in an undated 11th century inscription from Triccambaram, discovered recently by the present writer.[72] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* and the Calicut Granthavari state that two Ēṛāṭi (chieftains of Ēṛāḷanāṭu or Ēṛānāṭu) brothers named Māṉiccan and Vikṛaman who distinguished themselves in the fight against foreigners were awarded the territory of Kozhikode (Calicut) by the last Cēra king and that they became the founders of the kingdom of Kozhikode.[73] Their descendents are known as the Zamorins today and the three male names used in the family are Mānavikṛama, Mānavēda and Vīrarāya, the Zamorin always being known

as Mānavikṛama.[74] It is possible that Mānaviyata (Mānavēda) was the original hereditary title of the governor of Ēṛānāṭu and that Mānavikṛama was his younger brother who received the territory of Kozhikode as a gift in honour of his military service from the last Cēra sovereign. The senior prince Mānaviyata (Mānavēda) must have died in battle so that Mānavikṛama became governor of Ēṛānāṭu and Kozhikode and later on shifted his headquarters to Kozhikode with the attainment of independence. The use of a hereditary name would show that at least from the time of Bhāskara Ravi Ēṛānāṭu was under hereditary rule.

Though there is no caste suffix in the names of governors of Ēṛāḷanāṭu appearing in Cēra inscriptions, the Zamorins are considered to belong to the community of Sāmantas who have the birth, marriage and death customs of Śūdra Nāyars while having a slightly higher social position.[75] The term Sāmanta, meaning a vassal, could have been applied to the erstwhile feudatories of the Cēra who were not Kṣatriyas but who formed a separate sub-caste away from other Nāyars on account of their political eminence. In some late Sanskrit works the Zamorins have claimed that they are Kṣatriyas of the 'Agnikula' (Fire Race).[76]

The territory of Ēṛāḷanāṭu was later on called Ēṛānāṭu and this name continued in the British taluk till Independence.[77] Neṭiyiruppu, a hilly region near Malappuram, is believed to have been the ancestral place of the Zamorins and this has imparted the name Neṭiyiruppu Swarūpam to the royal family.[78] There are two other titles by which the Zamorins are known – Pūntuṛakkōn and Kunnalakkōn – and these have not been satisfactorily explained. There is a place called Pūntuṛa in Koṅgu and another in South Travancore. There is a possibility that an ancestor of the Zamorins won a battle at Pūntuṛa, either in the East or in the South, and thus earned the title of Pūntuṛakkōn.[79] The title Kunnalakkōn is usually explained as meaning "the lord of hills and waves" and if this is correct it may be of a later origin.[80] The present title of 'Zamorin' has also puzzled scholars but it is perhaps the Arab form of some old Malayalam word like 'Tampurān'.[81]

An undated inscription of about the 11th century from Pulpatta near Manjeri mentions the Aṛunūṛṛuvar (The six Hundred) of Ēṛāḷanāṭu and the Munnūṛṛuvar (The Three Hundred) of Eṭattaṛanāṭu.[82] It is known that 'Eṭattaṛanāḍ Nambiyātiri Tirumulpāḍ' or 'Eṭatṛāḷpāḍ' is at present the title of the 4th prince in the Zamorin's family, who used to reside at Eṭattaṛa near Manjeri.[83] Therefore, it may be inferred that while the senior prince of the family commanded 'The Six Hundred' the junior prince had 'The Three Hundred' attached to his person. On the basis of the strength of the hundred organisation of the senior prince, it may be stated that Ēṛāḷanāṭu was of about the same size as Rāmavaḷanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Kīḻmalaināṭu, Vēṇāṭu etc. though its rulers came to be masters of a larger territory in the post-Cēra period.

Vaḷḷuvanāṭu

This division had continued under the same title until recently and the territory must, therefore, be roughly the same as that of the British taluk of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu.[84] The governor of this district in the first half of the 10th century is mentioned in a Cōḷa inscription of 959 AD as the 'Vallabharāṣṭra nātha' named Rājaśēkhara.[85] This appears to have been a hereditary name in the family of these governors since inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries from this area mention the governor either as Rājaśēkhara or as Rāyira which is the colloquial form of that name.[86] Again, Rāyiran Cāttan, the governor of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, was a witness in Cochin Jewish copper plates.[87] The medieval Malayalam work *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam* (14th century) mentions the danseuse called Naṅgayya as the wife of Rāyara.[88] This hereditary name continues in the Vaḷḷuvanāṭu Raja's family to this day and perhaps it was derived from the founder and was related to the royal Cēra name of Rājaśēkhara.

The medieval royal family of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu was known as the swarūpam (dynasty) of Āṛaṅgōḍe.[89] There is a village of this name near Shoranur and this might well have been the original home of the family. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, the region of Tirunāvāy and the presidentship of the ancient twelve-yearly festival of Māmāka (Mahāmāgha) held there originally belonged to these people.[90] These chieftains are known as veḷḷōḍi (Vaḷḷuva Aṭi) and Veḷḷāṭṭiri (Vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu Aṭi) also.[91] They are considered to belong to the Sāmanta sub-caste.[92] The body of Aṛunūṛṛuvar (The Six hundred) of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu finds mention in an undated Cēra inscription of the 10th century from Irinjālakkuḍa which reveals the strength and status of the hereditary governor as well as the southern extension of his district into the neighbourhood of Makōtai.[93]

Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu

The name itself implies that the district had its headquarters at Neṭumpuṛaiyūr where the temple of Neṭumpuṛaiyūr Taḷi has yielded several Cēra inscriptions. These inscriptions reveal the names of the different governors also. They were Maṇalmanṛattu Yakkan Kōta in the 17th year of Indu Kōta, Kōta Ravi in the 38th year of Bhāskara Ravi, Panṛitturuttti Pōḻan Kumaran in the 31st year of Bhāskara 'Ravi' (B series) and Maṅgāṭṭu Kumaran Ravi in the 11th year of the same sovereign.[94] The difference in family names proves that governors were not hereditary but nominated. Moreover, the practice of putting more than one nāṭu under the same governor is revealed by the fact that, Panṛitturuttti Pōḻan Kumaran was simultaneously governor of Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu and Kālkkarainātu also.[95]

It may be noticed further that of the four families which supplied governors to this district - Maṇalmanṛattu, Panṛitturuttti, Maṅgāṭṭu and Talaippullattu - the first two provided governors for other districts also. Thus Maṇalmanṛattu Yakkan Cirikaṇṭan was governor of Nanṛuḷaināṭu in the reign of Ravi Rāma and Panṛitturuttti Yakkan Kunṛappōḷan was governor of Kālkkaraināṭu in the reign of Indu Kōta.[96] This would establish the fact that nominated governors of the districts were drawn from a few aristocratic families.

The members of Maṇalmanṛattu family were Nāyars in caste.[97] Therefore, it may be inferred that they belonged to the warrior class and were rewarded for distinguished military service. There is no information about the hundred organization of this district. However, two officers called 'Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu Paṭaināyar' (military commander of Neṭumpuṛaiyūr nāṭu) - Kāññirappaḷḷi Ravi Kaṇṇapirān and Ceṛupullūr Kumaran Kumarādityan - are seen to be regulating temple affairs on behalf of the governors at Neṭumpuṛaiyūr Taḷi temple.[98]

Neṭunkālaināṭu

The name of this district appears once in the inscriptions at Rājādityēśvaram in the Cōḷa country as the home district of one of the Malayali officers of Rājāditya.[99] The full name of the officer is Malaiyāḷan Neṭunkālaināṭṭu Īśānamaṅgalattu Mānavallan Kaṇṇan. Though there is no reference to this district in other known Cēra inscriptions, the fact that the Kerala officers of Rājāditya Cōḷa were actually representing different districts would show Neṭunkālaināṭu must have been the name of a district in existence at that time. Further, it is known that a small principality called 'Neṭuṅganāṭu' existed around Cerpaḷccēri in medieval times.[100] Therefore, it may be inferred that 'Neṭuṅganāṭu' was the continuation of 'Neṭunkālaināṭu' of the Cēra period, though no further information about its governors and political set up is available from the present sources. Īśānimaṅgalam is mentioned as one of the 32 original Brahmin settlements in *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle.[101]

Kālkkaraināṭu

This name itself indicates that the district had its headquarters at Tirukkālkarai, now known as Trikkākkara, where the famous temple of Vāmana (Viṣṇu) is located. A number of inscriptions from this place refer to the district and its governors. Panṛitturutti Yakkan Kunṛappōḷan was governing the district in the early years of Indu Kōta.[102] Kaṇṇan Puṛaiyan was governor during the latter part of the same reign but his family name is not mentioned.[103] However, Pōḷan Kumaran, a member of Panṛitturutti family, is described again as governor of Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu and Kālkkaraināṭu.[104] It is

probable that the Paṉṟitturutti family had a hereditary right to the governorship of Kālkkarainātu and that one of them was nominated as governor of Neṭumpuṟaiyūrnāṭu also.

A certain Paṉṟitturutti Kaṇṇan Pōḻan appears among the twenty witnesses in a Trikkākkara inscription of the 16th year of Indu Kōta and since these witnesses must be the 'Ūrāḷar' of the grāma, they must be Brahmins also.[105] Therefore, it may be inferred that Kālkkarainātu had a Brahmin family as rulers with hereditary office. This is in agreement with later history since the medieval rāja of Eḍappaḷḷi (Eḍappiḷḷi Nambiādiri) who exercised authority over Trikkākkara was a Brahmin.[106] There are some hints about a conflict between the governor and the Ūrāḷar of Trikkākkara in an inscription of the period of Kaṇṇan Poṟayan, governor of Kālkkarainātu, in which the Śānti, (priest) of the temple is prohibited from lending money to the governor on threat of excommunication.[107] There is no information about a hundred organization. There is a tradition recorded in *Kōkasandēśam* (15th century) to the effect that the kings of Kerala used to pay tribute to the rāja of Eḍappaḷḷi.[108] This may be due to the belief that offerings to Vāmana, an avatār of Viṣṇu, would bring wealth and progeny to the ruling families.

A record of Indu Kōta, 17th year, states that Kaṇṇan Poṟaiyan, the governor, exempted some lands donated to the temple from payment of all dues to Nāṭu, Vāḻkai and Pati.[109] This reference indicates that the nāṭu was further divided into smaller units over which the Vāḻkaivāḻi and the Pati presided. Just as nāṭu is the Tamil counterpart of rāṣṭra in the Deccan, Vāḻkai which literally means revenue must be the Tamil counterpart of bhukti in the Deccan.[110] Similarly pati which comes next to Vāḻkai must be the same as 'kuṭipati' found in other Cēra inscriptions.[111] This term literally means 'lord of households' and must indicate the Tamil counterpart of 'grāmakūṭa' of Maharashtra or 'gāvuṇḍa' of Karnataka who is the royal officer in charge of a village.[112]

Vempalanāṭu

A medieval principality of this name existed in central Kerala till the 18th century when it was conquered by Mārttāṇḍavarma of Vēṇāḍ or Travancore. Its name is left behind in the name of the extensive backwaters known as Vempanāṭṭu Kāyal along the shores of which the kingdom was located. This kingdom was the successor of the division called Vempalanāṭu in the Cēra period. It is mentioned as one district in the records up to the time of Bhāskara Ravi. However, in Tiruvalla copper plates of the 11th century there are references to Tekkinkūṟu (southern branch) of Vempalanāṭu signifying a division into the northern and southern branches.

Kōta Ravi ruled over the district in the 17th year of the Cēra king Kōta Ravi.[113] Kōta Cirikaṇṭan was governing it while Bhāskara Ravi issued the Jewish copper plates.[114] Ravi Cirikaṇṭan, probably the immediate successor of Kōta Ravi, is mentioned as governor of Vempalanāṭu in Tiruvalla copper plates.[115] Kumaran Yakkan, Governor of Tekkinkūṟu (southern branch), is mentioned in another passage of these copper plates.[116]

The members of the Vaṭakkinkūṟu and Tekkinkūṟu royal families in old Vempalanāṭu are now regarded as Kṣatriyas and add the suffix 'varma' to their names.[117] However, no such suffix is found in the Cēra inscription quoted above. Even late medieval records refer to these kings as Nāyars.[118] Therefore, they must have had the status of Nāyar in the Cēra period. Ravi Cirikaṇṭan is found to be alienating in perpetuity a whole village from his territory, donating it to Tiruvalla temple.[119] From this and from the existence of two 'kūṟu' (branches) of the family it is evident that he had a hereditary title to the governorship of the region. There is no information about the strength of their hundred organization.

Kīḻmalaināṭu

This district must have occupied roughly the same territory as the later principality of Kīḻmalaināṭu which continued until 16th century when it was merged in Vaṭakkinkūṟu state.[120] The term 'Kīḻmalaināṭu' literally means 'the eastern hill country' and it is quite appropriate for the taluks of Dēvikuḷam, Toḍupuḻa and parts of Muvāṟṟupuḻa taluk in the High Ranges. Kārikkōḍe, near Toḍupuḻa, was the capital of the principality and probably also the earlier district of that name.

A record of 1064 AD in Trikkaḍittānam temple mentions the name of Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, the ruler of Kīḻmalaināṭu.[121] This person appears in Tiruvalla copper plates also.[122] An undated record of Trikkākkara simply refers to the donor as Aṭikaḷ Māḷuvakkōnār.[123] It appears that Māḷuvakkōn was a hereditary title. A certain Māḷuvakkōnār Aṭankan Cāttan, described as an officer of the Malayali regiment of the Cōḷa crown prince Rājāditya, must have been a member of this family since this regiment included the son of the governor of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu and others from the ruling families of the various districts in Kerala.[124] The hereditary title also implies hereditary office. In the absence of the suffix 'varma' in the names it may be inferred that they were not Kṣatriyas by caste.

Yakkan Gōvindan of Kōdikkaḷam, a village which can still be identified by that name in Karimaṇṇūr pakuti of Toḍupuḻa taluk, appears as the beneficiary of the land gifts made by Kaṇṭan Kumaran, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu, at Trikkaḍittānam, and as the governor's representative at Tiruvalla.[125] He must have been a minister of the governor. The Aṟunūṟṟuvar (The Six Hun-

dred) of Kīḻmalaināṭu were also present on certain occasions.[126] This number indicates the comparative size and strength of the territorial division.

Muññināṭu

There is no trace of this district in the post-Cēra period so that the exact location of it becomes a problem today. The appearance of its name in records of Perunna and Tiruvalla would suggest that it flourished in that neighbourhood, probably to the east of this area and the south of Kīḻmalaināṭu. Ādityan Kōta, Governor of Muññināṭu, is mentioned in a Perunna inscription.[127] Rāman Kōtavarman, Governor of Muññināṭu, Rāman Mātevi of Muññināṭu, probably the sister of the former, a certain Muññimarāyar or king of Muññināṭu whose personal name is not mentioned, and Kuṉ`ṛan Rāman, the Iḷam kūṛu (Junior prince) of Muññināṭu, figure as donors in Tiruvalla plates.[128]

In the case of Muññimarāyar, his donation of Vaṭatalai Vāḻkai, the revenue district of Vaṭatala, was made as fine for having committed a murder at Perukūr, a place which probably lay within the jurisdiction of Tiruvalla grāma.[129] The suffix 'Varma' in the name of Rāman Kōtavarman discloses their Kṣatriya status, and the reference to Iḷamkūṛu (junior prince), their hereditary title, but there is no information regarding the strength of the governor's retinue and the manner in which Muññināṭu disappeared from the political scene.

Nanṛuḻaināṭu

This was another small district which disappeared without leaving a trace. As records from Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr, Trikkaḍittānam and Perunna, all situated near each other between Vempalināṭu and Vēṇāṭu, refer to taxes payable to Nanṛuḻaināṭu and claim protection from its officers, it may safely be assumed that the district was situated in this region.

The earliest reference to this Nāṭu is found in a fragmentary inscription of the 5th year of Indu Kōta (949 AD) from Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr temple.[130] When Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, made gifts to this temple, the maintenance of the endowment was left to the officers of Nanṛuḻaināṭu.[131] This is the case with another undated record also.[132] Gōvarthana Mārttāṇḍa who followed Śrīvallavan Kōta as governor of Vēṇāṭu in the 14th year of Bhāskara Ravi (976 AD) was appointed in the same year as governor of Nanṛuḻaināṭu also.[133] He is mentioned in this dual capacity in three other records, two from Trikkaḍittānam and the other from Perunnai.[134] A record of the 33rd year of Bhāskara Ravi from Perunna says that the village assembly communicated to the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ its earlier agreement to pay 80 kalam of paddy to

Nanṟuḻaināṭu as annual tribute and adds that they received a fresh order permitting them to continue the same and not to pay anything more.[135] This may be taken to indicate some change in the political status of the Nāṭu and the temple.

It is likely that after this period the governorship went into the hands of persons from other families. Maṇalmaṇṟattu Yakkan Cirikaṇṭan is mentioned as governor of the district in a record of Ravi Rāma from Trikkaḍittānam temple.[136] He confiscated the rights and property of a Brahmin, called Tencēri Cēnnan Tāyan, who stole from the temple treasury, depriving him of iṭaiyīṭu (land on lease) puraiyiṭam (house and compound) kūṟu (share) in certain lands, and paṭakāram as member of kaṇam (land assigned to one as member of gaṇa) and used the amount for instituting pañcamaśabda in the temple.[137] This is the only known instance of a thief being punished for his crime, showing that the Nāṭuvāḻi (district governor) exercised such power in consultation with the Ūr (village assembly) Paraṭai (temple managing committee) and Sabha (assembly of learned Brahmins) of the place. The governor is described as a 'Nāyar' in another passage.[138] The Munnūṟṟuvar (the Three Hundred) of Nanṟuḻaināṭu is again mentioned in an undated record of the same place which registers a donation by Kaṇṭan Kumaran, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu.[139] It is likely that this person was at the time acting as governor of Nanṟuḻaināṭu also. However, this nāṭu disappeared soon after the Cēra period.

Vēṇāṭu

This district which developed into the big principality of Vēṇāṭu in the 12th century, and grew later into modern Travancore, is prominently mentioned in Cēra inscriptions from the time of Sthāṇu Ravi. It must have been the same as the land of the 'Vēḷ' figuring in Sangam literature.[140] The Vēḷs and the Āys of the Sangam age were closely related to each other. Of these the Āys have claimed in this period that they belonged to the Yādava or Vṛṣṇi race. This claim has been advanced by the medieval rulers of Vēṇāṭu or Travancore also. In the 8th century the Pāṇḍyas invaded the land of the Āys and the Vēḷs and dragged the Cēras into a conflict as the result of which Vēṇāṭu with its headquarters at Kollam became a district under the Cēra while Āynāṭu with its headquarters at Viḻiññam continued its existence as a separate kingdom within the sphere of Pāṇḍyan influence.

It is possible that after the Cōḷa occupation of the Pāṇḍyan capital Madura (910 AD) the governors of Vēṇāṭu were bent on extending their influence into the former Āy region. They could have taken advantage of the discomfiture of the Cōḷas at Takkōḷam (949 AD) and the confusion which followed in the Cōḷa empire. The later history of the Āy dynasty after Vikṛamāditya

Varaguṇa (883 AD-912 AD) remains obscure. It is possible that they revived their independence during the period of eclipse of the Cōḷa empire after the middle of the 10th century and, most probably with Cēra support, organised resistance to the Cōḷa. The fact that Kāntaḷūr Śāla, the model of Āy Śālas, became Cēraḷan śāla by the time of Rājādhirāja Cōḷa may be taken to mean that the Cēra influence and the direct rule of the governor of Vēṇāṭu extended southwards to Kāntaḷūr Śāla. The western boundary of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya empire in the period of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa had to be drawn along Kōṭṭāṟu further south and this might imply that the Vēḷs owing allegiance to the Cēra had recovered the whole region down to Kōṭṭāṟu. That the Vēḷs had established their authority in the former Āy kingdom is suggested by the prevalence of Vēṇāṭu inscriptions of the post-Cēra period in that region.[141]

The growth of Vēṇāṭu in the Cēra period was partly at least the result of the growth of Kollam as an international harbour with the settlement of Syrian Christians and Jews of the Maṇigrāmam and Ancuvaṇṇam in that place. It was also partly the result of the strategic importance of Vēṇāṭu as the southernmost Cēra district which was often exposed to Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa invasions by land as well as the sea. The foundation of Kollam in 825 AD is indicated by the beginning of the era of that name. The prosperity of Kollam is reflected in the popularity of that era which was used only within the city during the Cēra period but which eventually came to be widely followed in Kerala. The importance of Kollam in the 11th century is clear from the fact that a 'Kollam-aḻintayāṇṭu' (Era of the destruction of Kollam) was established in 1098 AD after the Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya invasion of Kerala.

The Syrian copper plates reveal the fact that Vēṇāṭu was under hereditary governorship, for Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ is mentioned as the junior prince.[142] They also inform us that in important matters like the settlement of foreigners and the grant of privileges to them the governor and his court adopted decisions in the presence of the king's representative. In this connection the body called Aṟunūṟṟuvar (The Six hundred), Adhikārar (Officers), Prakṛti (the Chief Citizens), Maṇigrāmam and Ancuvaṇṇam, and the Patis of Punnaittalai and Pōḷaikkuṭi are also mentioned, besides the king's agent and the governor's heir apparent as part of the royal assembly which conferred such great privileges on Mār Sāpir Īśō, the founder of Tarsāppaḷḷi and the tenant of the nagara.[143]

Śrīvallavan Kotavarma, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, was the donor of Māmpaḷḷi copper plates of 149 ME (974 AD) which registered a donation to Ceṅgannūr temple.[144] He made gifts to other temples like Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr and Trikkaḍittānam, and his mother founded and endowed Dēvīdēvēśvaram temple, creating a huge Brahmin settlement also there.[145] The suffix 'Varma' in the name of Śrīvallavan Kōta denotes the Kṣatriya status of the ruling line. Śrīvallavan Kōtavarma was succeeded in Vēṇāṭu by Gōvarthana Mārttāṇḍa who

was simultaneously appointed governor of Nanṛuḻaināṭu in the 14th year of Bhāskara Ravi (876 AD).[146] He figures in several records including the famous Jewish copper plates.[147] Most probably he was the governor of Vēṇāṭu whom Rājarāja Cōḷa claims to have confined to the limits of the Cēra kingdom. Vēṇāṭṭu Kumaran Udayavarman, entrusted with the management of a Cērikkal by king Rāma Kulaśēkhara in his 13th year, might have been another governor of Vēṇāṭu though this position is not clear from the passage.[148]

The Paṉaṅkāvil palace at Kollam is mentioned in two inscriptions of the period, one of 149 ME (974 AD) and the other of 278 ME (1102 AD).[149] Since the Cēra King Rāma Kulaśēkhara himself is found to be holding an assembly in this palace in 1102 AD it may be inferred that Kollam had been made a second capital and Paṉaṅkāvu the royal residence at least temporarily for prosecuting the war of resistance. The emergence of Vēṇāṭu as a big and powerful principality, perhaps the foremost among the successor states of the Cēra kingdom, as proved by subsequent history, was the result of wars and conquest as well as trade.

These facts in relation to the different districts examined here prove that governorships were of two kinds - hereditary and nominated. Even among hereditary governors a few like those of Kōlattunāṭu, Puṛaikiḻānāṭu, Kuṛumpoṛaināṭu,Vēṇāṭu and perhaps Muññināṭu were Kṣatriyas of ancient lineage who probably ruled in the respective areas even before the establishment of the kingdom of Makōtai. Other hereditary governors like those of Ēṛāḷanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu and Vempolināṭu were Sāmantas, belonging to the Śūdra-Nāyar group, probably sons of the Cēra kings, raised to new dignity during the period of the Cēras themselves as a reward for distinguished military service. Still others were Brahmins like those of Kālkkarainātu who owed their prosperity and position to temples. Among the nominated governors of Rāmavaḷanāṭu, Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu, Nanṛuḻainātu and probably Neṭunkālainātu also, some were Nāyars like those of Maṇalmanṛattu family while others were Brahmins like Panṛitturutti Pōḻan Kumaran of Kālkkarainātu and Kṣatriyas like Gōvarthana Mārttāṇḍa of Vēṇāṭu put in charge of the neighbouring district of Nanṛuḻainātu also.

The districts differed considerably in size and importance too but they possessed a common pattern of administration. The governors held their own courts which were the replicas of the royal court at Mahōdaya. The Adhikāris (officers), the heads of the Nūṛṛuvar organisation, and the heads of important guilds corporations like the Ancuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam, and the Ūr and Paraṭai were present in the district assemblies.[150] There were officials like the Peruntaṭṭān (chief smith) who acted as the scribe.[151] Under the governors there were, as pointed out in the case of Kālkkarainātu and Vēṇāṭu, the Vāḻkaivāḻi or revenue collector and Kuṭipati or head of the village

The Jewish copper plates reveal that feudatory governors assembled at the capital in 1000 AD on the eve of a major invasion, evidently at the command of the Cēra, in order to offer their counsel and service.[152] Again the Sāmantas (feudatories) are seen to have assembled at the royal assembly at Kollam Rāmēśvaram, soon after the recapture of the city from the Cōḷa.[153] They are known to have sent feudal regiments earlier to participate in the war against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire.[154] They directly took part in the wars against the Cōḷa in South Kerala as revealed by the presence of many of them at Tiruvalla.[155] Even the Mūṣaka from the extreme North came to the South to fight for the Cēra.[156] Some of the governors perished in battle as revealed by Cōḷa praśastis as well as the presence of two governors in Tirunelli temple, obviously for performing death ceremonies.[157] Though the governors ruled independently as little monarchs in their own districts, they habitually employed the regnal year of the Cēra king in their inscriptions.[158] They made important decisions concerning foreign settlers, religious institutions etc. in the presence of the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ or king's representative.

Notes and References

1. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 87. "The nāḍu seems to have been the connecting link between the kingdom as a whole and the smallest unit of local administration which is referred to usually as grāmam". Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 465. "The Self-governing village was the unit of government. A number of them constituted a kūṟṟam or nāḍu or kōṭṭam as it was called in different parts of the country". C. Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, P. 121. "It is clear that nāḍu is an administrative unit larger than the village and smaller than the kōṭṭam".
2. Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 20th year. No. 181 of 1912; *E.I.*, XXVII, p. 293. This record giving the life-story of a Keralite says that he was the son of a ruler of Vallabharāṣṭra in Kerala. See chapter on Early Wars and Alliances. Note nos. 94-96. The terms 'nāṭu' and 'rāṣṭra' are used as synonyms in the Pāṇḍyan Śinnamanūr grant also. See Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 87. The kingdoms of the Deccan usually designated the district by the term 'rāṣṭra'. See Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 136.
3. For an account of these principalities, see P.K.S. Raja, 'A Political Geography of Malabar', *Medieval Kerala*, pp. 57-73. See also chapter on Previous Research, under Legendary Perumāḷs.
4. See Calicut Granthavari quoted in K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 67-69; and the Cochin Granthavari quoted in K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Cochirājyacaritram*, pp. 26-32.
5. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 74-87.
6. For the Munnūṟṟuvar of Nanṟuḷaināṭu, see Index no A. 22. For the Eḷunnūṟṟuvar of Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, see Index no. A. 46.

7. See chapter on Survey of Sources, under title of Literature, and Notes from no. 21 to 28.
8. The term 'Mūṣakaparvata' is a fanciful translation of the original name of "Ēḻimalai' which is wrongly pronounced Elimala. In Malayalam 'eli' means rat and 'mala' means mountain.
9. Naṉṉan of Ēḻimalai, also described as Naṉṉan of Konkaṇam and an adversary of the Cēra, is mentioned in *Akam*, 15, 44, 97, 142, 148, 152, 173, 181, 199, 208, 258, 349, 356, 392, 396; *Puṟam* 151 to 155; *Naṟṟiṇai* 265, 270, 391; *Patiṟṟuppattu* 4, 10; *Kuṟuntokai* 73, 292.
10. Kōlam is stated to have been located on the banks of river Prathana, surrounded by fortress walls with high gōpuras (towers) and deep moats. See *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII, Slokas 103- 5.
11. The Kerala king Jayarāga, who was the brother-in-law of the Mūṣaka king Īśāna II, is stated to have led an expedition against the Mūṣakas following the latter's marriage alliance with the Cēdi kingdom of the Deccan. A war ensued on the banks of river Parūṣṇi, followed by peace at the instance of Gōda (Kōta) who intervened between his father and uncle. After this Jayarāga entered the Mūṣaka capital Kōlam, received the presents to his own capital. See *M.V.K.*, sarga XII, Slokas. 15-53. See also chapter on Early Wars and Alliances, under subtitle Cōḷa-Cēra Entente.
12. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XIV, Slokas 7-14. See also Political History, chapter on Cōḷa invasions and the Last Phase.
13. In spite of the *M.V.K.*, scholars like Prof. Eḷamkuḷam did not accept Kōlattunāṭu as a part of the Cēra kingdom in this period. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p.109. The *M.V.K.*, version was corroborated and the question settled with the present writer's decipherment and publication of the epigraphic evidence. See 'Two Ancient inscriptions of Ēḻimalai', *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 93-113.
14. Index no. B. 3.
15. Index no. A. 39.
16. Index no. A. 40.
17. Index no. B. 16. The beneficiaries of the land gift made in the time of Jayamāni Mūṣaka or soon after his death (c. 1000 AD) are 24 Brahmins who are drawn from 5 settlements i.e. Vaikkam (5 persons) Paṟavūr (2 persons) Āvaṭṭipputtūr (6 persons) Irinjālakkuḍa (4 persons) and Peruvanam (7 persons) of central Kerala. The text is unpublished.
18. See references to Naṉṉan of Ēḻimalai in Note no.9 above. There are also two references to a chieftain called Mūvan in Sangam works. Poykaiyār describes him as the adversary of the Cēra. (*Naṟṟiṇai*. 18). Perumtalai Cāttanār criticises the miserliness of the Mūvan (*Puṟam*. 209). This Mūvan is evidently the Mūva king of Ēḻimalai.
19. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII, Sloka 94, L. 3 - 4.
"Abhavad avanicakram vikramōdkhatanāmā
Kṛtamatiratha rāmassōmavamśapradīpah".
20. The kāvya refers to their Cēdi-Haihaya ancestry. For the archaeological relics of Rāmghāḍ, see M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History From The Mūṣakavamśa'. *Proceedings of A.I. O.C. 1969*. The Sangam works also called Naṉṉan of Ēḻimalai as the Lord of Konkanam. See Note no.9 above.

21. The name Rāmantaḷi literally means the temple of Rāma. This is a large village at the foot of Ēḻimalai on the sea shore.

22. There is no place, village or town, called Kōlam today. Perhaps ancient Kōlam was located at Eṭṭikkoḷam or at Payaṅgāḍi, most probably in the second place. This term literally means 'the old town'. It is situated on the banks of river Baliapaṭṭam.

23. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XIV, Slokas 66 - 67.
"Samyātrikaprahitapōtapathāvakīrṇa-
Dvīpāntaradraviṇasāravṛtāpaṇāḍhyam
Killāsarijjalādhisangamasannikṛstam
Mārāahi nāmanagaram nṛpatiścakāra".
"Bhūyāścakāra pṛthugōpura bhinnadurga
Prākaracitra vihitātulaguptiśōbham
Vardhiṣṇukhātasalilam prathāṇa tarangaih
Vibhratsadā valabhapaṭṭaṇavṛddhimuccaih".

24. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* calls the ruler of Kōlattunāṭu in the period of the last Cēramān Perumāḷ as Karippattu Udaya Varman. Karippattu is the name of a village near Taḷippaṛamba. It is likely that the royal family resided there.

25. See chapter on Monarchy, Under Royal Marriages and Succession.

26. *M.V.K.*, Sarga, XIV, Slokas 61-65. The mahābhiṣēka of Valabba II was performed by Brahmin priests by pouring sanctified water from golden vessels and the king sat on the golden throne.

27. *M.V.K.*, Sarga, XIII, Slokas 50-72. The ślōkas describe the crown prince Valabha II's visit to Cellūr and Sambarapura (Triccambaram). Cellūr is mentioned as a mahāgrahāra with Brahmins who retain the qualities of a better age. They were learned in the Vedas and performing the 'ṣaḍkarma' properly. It was the home of Bhava and Nandi in days bygone. The Viṣṇu temple of Triccambaram and the Śiva temple of Cellūr founded by Śatasōma were visited by the prince. He ordered the repair of the temples.

28. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XIV, Sloka. 69.
"Uttīrṇa sāgarajalēna kulam ripūṇām
Hatvā balēna harikuñjarabhīṣaṇēna
Laṅkāhvayam raghupatih paramēkamēva
Dvīpān bahūnabhṛta rāmaghaṭēśvarastu".

These 'many islands' must be the Laccadives or Lakshadweepu. The Cōḷa king claims to have conquered several islands in this part of the ocean. During the medieval period the Muslim dynasty of Āli Rājas of Aṛakkal, near Cannanore, who were vassals of Kōlattunāṭu, ruled over the Laccadives. It was from them that the Mysore Sultans and later on the British took the territory. See K.K.N. Kurup. 'The Āli Rājas of Aṛakkal, E. I. Company, and Laccadives', *Proceedings of I.H.C. 1970*. See also Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XX, p. CCLX.

29. The suppression of the revolt of the pati (chief) of Bhaṭasthali by Valabha I Mūṣaka and the gift of that land to a relative named Nṛparāma are described in the kāvya. See *M.V.K.*, Sarga, XIII, slokas 6-12. This term Bhaṭasthali could be the Sanskritised form of local name. The original might have been Vaṭṭōḷi.
(Vaṭa + taḷi = Vaṭataḷi = vaṭṭōḷi) or Baḍagara.
(Vaṭa + kara = Vaṭakara = Vaṭakara = Baḍagara)

Valabha II Mūṣaka's capture of the fort called 'Vihāradurga' where the enemy Vikṛama Rāma had taken his stand, is narrated at a later stage. *M.V.K.*, Sarga, XIV, Slokas 50-60. Vihāradurga could be the Sanskritised form of Paḷḷikkunnu since paḷḷi is the Malayalam word for Vihāra and 'kunnu' is hill or even hill fort and thus approximately equal to Durga.

30. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII-XV. For the outline of chronology, see the present writer's paper 'History From the Mūṣakavaṁśa'. *Proceedings of A.I.O.C 1969, Op.Cit.* And chapters on 'Chronology' and 'Early Wars and Alliances'. The Mūṣaka governor Vikrama Rāma (No.8) is wrongly described as the son of Ripu Rāma by Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, P. III. He deciphered "Sapaditanujanma janmabhājām purogah" in the place where the words must be reconstructed as "Sapadi tanujanmā janma bhajam purogah" in Sarga XII, Sloka 94.
31. See chapter on Chronology under Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga and chapter on Early Wars and Alliances under Cōḷa-Cēra entente.
32. Index no. B. 3.
33. See Chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last phase.
34. Index no. A. 40. This governor was the patron of the poet Atula, author of *Mūṣakavaṁśa*.
35. For Maṇikkirāmam appointed as guardian of temple property, See Index no. B. 3. For Vaḷanciyar and Nāṉādēśikaḷ participating in temple administration, see Index no. A. 40.
36. Index no. A. 40. See chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last phase, Under Cōḷa Invasions.
37. See chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last phase Note no. 75.
38. Index no. A. 80. Ll. 140-142.
"Irāmavaṭuka mūvaramaicca tiru viḷakkinu pūmi cellāroṭiyum eṭṭotiyumāy kkoḷḷum pāṭṭanel mūnnūṟu paṟai".
39. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XIII, Slokas 13, 51 to 72; Sarga XIV, Sloka 68; Sarga XV, slokas, 36 to 39, 47.
40. *Ibid.*, Sarga XII, Slokas 72; Sarga XIV, sloka 68.
41. *Ibid.*, Sarga XII, Sloka 112.
"Kṛtāspadāh kānanasatvajātayah
Tapōbhṛtām siddhimatāmivāśramē
Jagatpratītātiviruddhavṛttayah
Sahēkhilā yata vasanti dēvatāh".
42. *Ibid.*, Sarga XII, Slokas 96-98 and XIV. Slokas 25-26.
43. Index no. B. 3. For the association of Maṇikkirāmam with Christianity, see chapter on Religions and Religious Culture.
44. Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XXI. p. CCLXVIII.
45. Tēvan Cirikumān *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam*, (Travancore University, Mal. Series No. 73), Prose No.7, P. 20. "Mātāmāmudaya māṭēṟumappuṟakiḻār tengaḷām pūrṇa candradvayē Vēliyēṟina kaṭal". The term 'pūrṇacandradvayē' seems to be a mistake for 'pūrṇacandrōdayē' in this passage. Following the published text, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam interpreted it as meaning the two moons of Puṟaikiḻār, i.e., the senior and junior princes. See *Bhāṣayum Sāhityavum*, p. 55. This is irrelevant and therefore a mistake. The simile

will make sense only when it is stated that the sound of band music rose high at the sight of Puṟakiḻār, just as the ocean sounds rise at the appearance of the moon. There are other references to Puṟakiḻār in *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam*, Verse 1 and Prose 22. The medieval Puṟanād, called Poṟaikiḻānāṭu in Cēra inscriptions must be the same as the Polanāḍ of *Kēraḷōlpatti*, which calls the ruler Porḷātiri, see p. 79.

46. Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XXI, p. CCCXIV.
"Puṟaḷimala, situated centrically, is a long ridge about 6 miles in length east and west unconnected with the ghats".

47. Uddaṇḍa, *Kōkasandēśa*, Sloka 43.
"Phullārāmam praviśa puṟaḷikṣmābhṛtām rājadhāṉim".

48. Kēraḷavarma, *Kōṭṭayam Katha*, Prologue.
"Asti svahastārjita vīryadhāmnām śastā Hariścandra kulōdbhavānām
Mahīpatīnām puṟalītināmnā puri purārāti niṣēvakānām".

49. The term 'kiḻār', 'kiḻān', 'kiḻavan' etc were applied to chieftains in Sangam literature. Perhaps this indicated the Poṟaiya chieftain as different from the Poṟaiya sovereign.

50. Uddaṇḍa, *Kōkasandēśa*, I, Sloka 44.
"Yēṣām Vamśe samajani hariścandranāmā narēndrah
Pratyāpattih pataga! Yadupajnam ca kaumārilānām".

51. Kēraḷa Varma, *Kōṭṭayam Katha*, Prologue, *Op.Cit.* This tradition is mentioned in *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam* also. See Prose 30. "Hariścandravamśābdhi candrōdaya".

52. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 36. The term 'Parālia' found in Ptolemy's geography and the Periplus has been identified as Paraḷi by Burnell, Yule and Gundert. Padmanabha Menon took this to be a reference to Travancore. Rāma Varma has rightly pointed out that this is to be identified as Puraḷimala of North Kerala. See *Malabar Quarterly Review*, March 1903, p. 16; *R.V.R.I.B*, p. 31.

53. Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XXI, p. CCCXI.

54. Tirunelli inscription, Index no. A. 36.

55. Tiruvalla Copper plates, Index no. A. 80, Ll. 150- 51.
"Puṟakiḻānāṭu vāḻinṟa ēṟan cańkaran amaicca tiruviḷakkiṉu pūmi iṭaittiṭṭai nūṟṟukkalam".

56. See chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase, under Cōḷa invasions.

57. *Ibid.* See Note no. 55 of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. Verses 94-99 in *S.I.I.*, III, No. 205.

58. Index no. A. 36. Ll. 26-27. "Puṟaikiḻānāṭṭu aññūṟṟuvarkku aiyāyiravarkkum kīḻiṭu".

59. Tirunelli inscription, Index no. A. 46.

60. Kiṇālūr inscription, Index no. B. 23.

61. See, Logan, *Malabar*, II. App. XXI p. CCCXV.

62. *I.A.*, XXX, pp. 409-21. Dr. Hultzsch deciphered part of the archaic grantha writing as "śrīviṣṇuvarma kuṭummiya-kula vardhdhanasya lirita" meaning in Prakrit "the writing of the propagator of the family of the householder Sri Viṣṇu Varman." He also suggested that 'Kuṭummiya' might be the family title 'kadamba'. On the basis of a fresh eye copy of this record taken by M.R. Raghava Varier for the Department of History, Calicut University, the present writer reads the same passage as "śrīviṣṇuvarmakuṭummiya kalimaddansya lirita" and considers 'kuṭummiya' as indi-

cating the Kadamba line. A certain Kadamba king named Viṣṇuvarma is known to have flourished in c. 500 AD. See Sastri, *South India*, pp. 111-12.

63. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XXI. pp. CCCXXVII. The author mentions a legend of the 'Kumbāḷa' king who came to Wynad and caused the end of the rule by Vēḍar kings. This may be a vague echo of Kadamba occupation in folklore.

64. Index no. A. 46. Ll. 5-11. "Kīḻkkāṭṭiyppolāccērikkāl aṭṭikkuṭuttan mūtta kūṟu vāḻkinṟa kuñcikkuṭṭavarmaṉāyiṉa Aṭikaḷ Vīrakkuṟumpuṟaiyār tiruvaṭi. Aṭṭikkuṭuttaruḷiyār mūtta kūṟṟil eḻunnūṟṟuvarum paṇiyuṭaiyanāyaṉum ūru ūriṭavakai veḷḷāḷarum. Kuṟumpuṟayināṭṭu mūttakūṟṟinukkamaiñca niḻalum paṇiyunnāṭumiṭavakaiy pirakirutiyum uṭankūṭi ninṟavirōtamāy tirunellipperumāḷkku niyatam akattu pantīraṭi tiruvamirtiṉukkum oru nantāviḷakkiṉum Kīḻkkāṭṭiyppolāccērikkāl aṭṭikkuṭuttitu".

65. Index no. B. 23. Ll. 51-53. "Munūṟṟuvarum kārāḷaṉum mūvāyiravarum tiruttu celuttikkoḷḷakkaṭavar".

66. Index no. A. 46. Ll. 21-25. "Itukkaṟivu ārūrkkuññivikkiramaṉākiya atikāraṉum amaiyamaṅgalattu yakkan cāttaṉākiya paṭaināyaṉum kiḻiyāṟṟu tulāvilli ayyaṉum kāyuman māyiṉan kaṇṭan kēriḻaṉum kaṇṇaṉūr irāman kuññiyumaṟivar. Kuṟumpuṟayināṭṭu maināyan iraviyirāmaṉē evalāḷāy kaiyyeḻutiyaṟivēn vāliśśērikkaṇapati nīlakaṇṭaṉāyiṉa kuṟumpuṟaipperuntaṭṭān eḻuttu".

67. Index no. A. 62.

68. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 87-97. See also K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 80- 85.

69. Index no. A. 62. Ll. 2-3. "Avvāṇṭu irāmavaḷanāṭu vāṇṇa pāliyattu kaṇṇan kaṇṭaṉum paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷum Aṟunūṟṟuvarum niḻalōrum pāṭṭār ceyta kāriyamāvatu".

70. *Ibid.*, Ll. 3-5. "Tirumaṇṇūrppaṭārar mēl kaṇaiyapaḷḷi yakkancellan koḷḷavēṇṭumenṟa pon paṇṭillātatu koḷḷa vēṇṭa tenṟoḻincār". There is a house name 'Kaṇṇampaḷḷi' at Tirumaṇṇūr even today and this name was given to a school also.

71. Index no. A. 34. Ll. 22- 23. "Ippari aṟivēn ēṟāḷanāṭuṭaiya mānavēpala mānaviyatan".

72. Index no. C. 1. (Unpublished) Ll. 1-2. "Tiruccemmarattu tiruviḷakkiṉu ēṟānāṭuṭaya mānav(ēpala māna)viyatan ippa...".

73. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 55-62. For Calicut Granthavari, see K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 67- 69.

74. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 6-7.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

76. See Kākkaśśēri Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭa, *Vasumatīmānavikṛama* (unpublished. Manuscripts with Kuṭṭyēṭṭan Rāja, Kozhikode and K. P. Narayana Pisharodi, Trichur). "Sūtradhāra: Vītihōtragōtra vārākarapārijātasya śrīmānavikṛamakṣamānāyakasya" For details of Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭa (15th century) and the work, see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 85- 90.

77. For details of the old Ēṛnāḍ taluk, see Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XXI. p. CCCIIV. ff.

78. See Note no. 75 above.

79. Prof. K.V. Krishna Ayyar states that the Zamorin is called 'Pūnturakkōn' in *Māmākam Kiḻippā□□u*, *Kēraḷōlpatti*, the first treaty which the English made with him in 1616 AD, the charter granted to the Danish East India Company by him in AD 1752, and the records of the palace. See *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 15. However, the earliest known instance of the use of this title is that of the Muccunti Mosque inscription, of 13th

century, the only stone inscription of the Zamorins, deciphered and published recently by the present writer. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 61-68.

The historian of the Zamorins puts forward three explanations for the title. 1) Pūnṭuṛa must be a corruption of Perumṭuṛai, meaning the great harbour. 2) It may be derived from the Arabic 'bantar' meaning a harbour town. 3) It might be another form of Pūntaṛa, (taṛa means a village) which could have been the name of the ancestral house. See the *Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 15-16. All these explanations are inadequate. If this title is really connected with a port city it may denote the possession of 'Pantar' or Pantalāyaṉi Kollam' near Quilandy which might perhaps be identified with 'Pantar' of the Sangam age. It is also possible that the ancestors of the lords of Ēṛāḷanāṭu came originally from Pūnṭuṛa in Koṅgudēśa or that they secured a great military victory either at Pūnṭuṛa in Koṅgudēśa or at Pūnṭuṛa in South Travancore.

80. See Krishna Ayyar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 14. See also Index no. A. 63.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14. The Malayalam forms found in palm leaf records are 'Tāmūri', 'Sāmūri' and 'Sāmutiri'. This title has been explained as 'Svāmiśri' (Svāmi + Śri) in Sanskrit but this is not satisfactory.
82. Index no. C. 12 (unpublished). Ll. 1-5. "(Mukkāl)vaṭṭam nirayakkūṭi aṛunūṛṛuvarum (mun)nūṛṛuvarunkoṇṭu celuttikka kaṭava---pulippoṛṛai ūrunkōyilum ēṛāḷanā(ṭṭu aṛunūṛ)ṛuvarum iṭattiṛayppoḻa munnūṛṛuva(rum) avirōtattāl ceyta karumamāvatu".
83. See Krishna Ayyar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10. Eḍattaṛa is the name of a village near Manjeri where the Zamorins had a palace.
84. For details of old Vaḷḷuvanāḍ taluk, see Logan, *Malabar*,II, App. XXI, p. CCCLXXXVI. ff.
85. See chapter on Early Wars and Alliances under Cōḷa-Cēra Entente.
86. Cōkiram inscriptions, Index no. 18, Ll. 1-3. "Cōkirattu ūrārum irāyacēkararāṉa irāyiravaru---". Index no. C. 20, Ll, 1-3. "Cōkirattu paraṭaiyārum iḷaiyārum kōyil irāyacēkararāyiṉa vaḷḷuvarum kūṭicceyta kaccamāvatu". Painkaṇṇūr inscription, Index no. C. 22, Ll. 1-2. "Painkaṇṇūrpparuṭaiyārumū(rārum) Aṭikaḷ irāyacēkararunkūṭicceyta kaccamāvatu".
87. Index no. A. 34, Ll. 23-24. "Ippari aṛivēn vaḷḷuvanāṭuṭaiya irāyaran cāttan".
88. *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam*. The poet describes the Cōkiram grāma of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, the Śāsta temple founded Ātavarma included in the grāma, and the Poyilathu house, the mistress of which is the famous danseuse called Naṅgayya. She is called 'rāyara prēyasi' or the wife of Rāyaran.
89. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 45.
90. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 80. The Vaḷḷuvakkōṉātiri of Āṛaṅgōṭṭu swarūpam was granted Tirunāvāy maṇappuṛam (the sandy banks of Tirunāvāy) and 1000 Nāyars to celebrate the Mahāmāgha.
91. They are called 'vaḷḷuvar' in Cēra inscriptions. See Index no. C. 20, Ll. 1-3. Note no. 86 above; see also Index no. C. 23, Ll. 1-3. "Pūkkōṭṭūr pparaṭaiyārum ūrpaṭṭārum anrāḷa kōyilum potuvāḷum vaḷḷuvarum kūṭa avirōtattār ceyta karumamāvatu".
92. The Maṇipravāḷam work *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam* (14th century) refers to 'Vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu mahāsāmanta', i.e., "Cōkirarakṣāṇaracitōtsāhō nanrum vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu mahāsāmanta samūham pōle".
93. Index no. A. 74, L. 19. "Iccērikkal Vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu aṛunūṛṛuvarkkum kāval".

94. Index no. A. 27, Ll. 3-4. "Avirōtattāl neṭumpuṟaiyūṟnāṭuṭaiya maṇalmanṟattu iyakkan (intirāyi) kōyiluḷḷiruntu". Ll. 26-27. "Neṭumpuṟaiyūṟnāṭuṭaiya maṇalmanṟattu iyakkanintirāyi tamaicca akkiram". Index no. A. 34, Ll. 24-25. "Ippari aṟivēn Neṭumpuṟaiyūṟnāṭuṭaiya kōtaiyiravi". Index no. A. 45, Ll. 3-4. "Panṟitturuttippōḻan kumaran neṭumpuṟaiyināṭum kālkkaraināṭum vāṇa nāḷ ulpāṭaṉum perumutiyaṉum kūṭiyiruntu inney vānkuvatu". Index no. A. 69, Ll. 3-4. "Maṇaṅgāṭṭu kumaran iravi nāṭu vāḻkaiyil cētatu". Index no. A. 70, Ll. 1-2. "Maṇaṅgāṭṭu kumaran iravi nāṭu vāḻkaiyil Neṭumpuṟaiyūṟ nityaviśālēśvarattu taḷiyum taḷi atikārikaḷum kūṭi cētatu". Ll.5-6. "Talaippulattu kaṇṭan kumaran nāṭuvāḻkaiyil---".

95. Index no. A. 45, Ll. 3-4. See Note no. 94 above.

96. Index no. A. 64, Ll. "Tirukkaṭittāṉattūrārum paraṭaiyārum capaiyārum nanṟuḻai-nātu vāḻiṉṟa maṇalmanṟattiyakkan cirikaṇṭaṇum". Index no. B.7, Ll. "Paṉṟitturutti yakkan kunṟappōḻan nāṭu vāḻkkaiyil". Index no. B. 7, Ll. 8-9. "Yikkaccam Panṟitturutti yakkan kunṟappōḻan nāṭuvāḻkkaiyiḻanturutti kkōtai kēraḻan paṇṇiccitu".

97. Index no. A. 64. See Note no. 96. See also L. 3. "Ippāricinnāṭu vāḻum nāyarum munnūṟṟuvarum paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷum uḷḷiruntu ikkaccam eḻuticcitu". This makes it clear that the nāṭuvāḻi was a Nāyar by caste.

98. Index nos. A. 69 and 70.

99. No 329 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 958, p. 467. See chapter on Early Wars and Alliances under Cōḷa-Cēra entente. Also see this Nāṭu in Index no. A. 80, Ll. 225, 484-85.

100. See P. Kunhikrishna Menon, (Ed) *Koṭṭicceḻunnaḷḷattu*, p. 71. This is a report of the ritual procession of Ēṟāḷppāḍ (second prince of the Zamorin's family) through the territory of Neṭuṅganāḍ, reproducing all events in dramatic form to commemorate his conquest of the region.

101. See chapter on Social system under Aryan Brahmin Settlers.

102. See Note no.96 above. Index no. B. 7 and B. 8.

103. Index no. A. 25, Ll. "Kālkkaraināṭuṭaiya kaṇṇan puṟaiyan---aṭṭikkuṭuttān". Index no. A. 26, Ll. 1-2. "kaṇṇan puṟaiyan nāṭu vāḻkaiyil neṭiyataḷi pūmi---".

104. Index no. A. 45, Ll.3-4. See Note no. 95 above.

105. Index no. A. 25, L.5. Witness No. 8 in the list attached.

106. See K.P.P.Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, pp. 68-9.

107. Index no. B. 9, L1. 4-5. "Nāṭuvāḻumavakaḷkku kaṭankoṭuttukoṇṭu cānti irukkappeṟār. Koṭuttu iruppāruḷarāyil paṭāraraiyum paṭāraratikāraraiyum tuṭapperār. Ivvaṇṇam paṇṇatu.... pattuḷḷa tiruvārātiṉai muṭṭiccōrāme. Mūḻikkaḷakaccam piḻaiccār --- kkūru koṭuttu cānti irukkumavaṉumikkaccam piḻaiccān. Tēvarkku kaṭam koṭukkapperār".

108. *Kōkasandēśam*, sloka 95.
"Kāminṟā nī mahita malanāṭām maṇicceppilanpu
Pūṇāram tārvanita varivaṇṭinnu phullāravindam
kṣōṇīpālāvali tiṟayiṭṭum tentaḷittampurān tan
Nīṇāḷ vāḻum puravaramiṭappeḷḷi mulpāṭu pinnē".

109. Index no. A. 26, L.4. "Nāṭṭiṉum vāḻkkaikkum patikkum koṭukkum kōḷkuṭaiyumoḻiccu koṭuttān kālkkarai nāṭuṭaiya kaṇṇan puṟaiyan tēvarkku".

110. The 'Bhukti' was the territorial unit below the 'Rāṣṭra'. The officer in charge of its administration was called a 'Bhōgapati' or 'Bhōgika'. The 'Bhukti' contained about 100 to 150 villages and hamlets and corresponded to the taluks under British admin-

istration. See Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 137. The Vāḻkkai in Kerala must have been smaller in size.The 'Bhōgapati' or 'Bhōgika' of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records was called 'Vāḻkaivāḻi' or simply 'Vāḻkai' in Cēra inscriptions.

111. For Kuṭipati, see Kollam Syrian Copper plates of Sthāṇu Ravi, Part II, Index no. A. 6, Ll. 9-10. "Punnaittalai patiyum pōlaikkuṭippatiyum uḷpaṭa vaccu"; See also Perunna inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara. Index no. A. 68, Ll. 39-45. "Kāpalimaṅgalattum muttūṟṟum oḷḷa kuṭippatikaṭkku tirumukam tiruvuḷḷam paṇṇi". Ll. 54-59. "Iraṇṭūrkkuṭippatiyum peruneytal mukkālvaṭṭattu vannu".

112. For details of these offices in the Deccan during this period, See Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 189-92.

113. Neṭumpuṟamtaḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year. Index no. A. 9, Ll. 3-4. "Venpolināṭuṭaiya kōtai iravi uḷpāṭṭil aruḷḷiruntu ceyta kaccamāvatu".

114. Cochin Jewish copper plates. Index no. A. 34 and Ll. 21-22. "Ippari aṟivēn veṇpalināṭuṭaiya kōtai cirikaṇṭan".

115. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 51-54. "Veṇpolināṭuṭaiya iravicirikaṇṭan taṉṉuṭaiya muṭṭārākiṉṟa pūmi muvāyirattaiññūṟṟukkaḷa nilamu māvaṟakkoṇṭu mutalamaiya aṭṭikkoṭuttān iravi cirikaṇṭan. Tantatippirakirutiyāy kārāṇmaicceytu niṉṟu iṭaṅkaḻiyāl patināḻi". Ll. 331-33. "Veṇpolināṭuṭaiya iravicirikaṇṭan taṉṉuṭaiya kuṭavūrum kuṭavūrkkuppaṭum patiṉeṭṭu variyaiyum aṅkāṭiyumakappaṭattiruvallavāḻappaṉu kīḻīṭaṭṭikkuṭuttān iravi cirikaṇṭan".

116. *Ibid.*, Li. 345-46. "Venpolināṭṭu tekkinkūṟu vāḻnna kumaran iyakkaṉamaicca tiruviḷakkiṉum tiruvamirtiṉukkum---".

117. Vaṭakkumkūr Rājarājavarma is the author of the monumental history of Kerala's contribution to the Sanskrit literature.

118. See Pāliyam plates of the year 322 of Puduveppu era (1663 AD), *T.A.S.*, I, no. IV, pp. 1-12. p. 7. Ll. 47-48. "Namukka āpattukaḷ uṇṭāyirikkumpōḷ vaṭakkumkūṟṟil nāyari ākunna takāyankaḷ cētirikka koṇṭa nāyarikka oru āviccam varumpōḷ---".

119. See Note no. 115 above.

120. *T.A.S.*, V, II, p. 181. See also *Bhāshāposhiṇi*, 1906, for a song named 'Paḷḷippāṭṭu' which mentions the kōvil (rāja) of Kīḻmala while describing an event of 754 M E (1579 AD).
"Aracaṉu rāja maṇikaṇṭa vīrā kiḻumala vāḻum kōvil
Aruḷatu pōlē karutaṇam enkil karuti varutti mēnmēl".

121. Index no. B. 19, Ll. 1-2.

122. Index no. A. 80, L. 351.

123. Index no. C. 20.

124. No. 326 of 1902. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 955. p. 466. See also chapter on Early Wars and Alliances.

125. Index no. B. 19, Ll. 3 - 4. "Kōṭikkaḷam uṭaiya iyakkan kōvinnaṉukku kārāṇmai aṭṭikkoṭuttār ūrum potuvāḷmārum". Index no. A. 80, Ll. 359-60. "Ipparicu Kōṭikkaḷattu yakkan kōvinnaṉum paṇiyuṭaiyavar iruvarum aṟunūṟṟuvarumkūṭi aṭṭikkoṭuttār".

126. Index nos. A. 80, B. 19 and C. 20.

127. Index no. C. 42.

128. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 533, 537-38, 542 and 556- 7.

129. *Ibid.* Ll. 542-3. "Muññimārāyar perukūrttuccilam Paṇṇiyatiṉu tiruvallavāḻappaṉu taṇṭam paṭṭa vaṭatalaivāḻkkaiyākiṉṟa pūmi tiruvamirtiṉuḷḷitu".

130. Index no. A. 22.

131. Index nos. B. 13, 14.

132. Index no. C. 41.

133. Index no. A. 31, L.1. "Vēṇāṭuṭaiya kōvarttaṉamārttāṇṭaṉai amaiccu nanṟuḻaināṭu vāḻnṟu".

134. Index no. A. 32. (Trikkaḍithānam), A. 33. (Perunna) and A. 47 (Trikkaḍithānam).

135. Index no. A. 49.

136. Index no. A. 64.

137. Index no. A. 64. Ll. 1 - 2. "Paṭāraruṭaiya paṇṭāram kaṭṭa teñcēriccēnnan tāyaṉuṭaiya iṭaiyīṭum avan kuṭi irunna puraiyiṭamu ñāyalvēlikariyum vaṭṭakkariyum payiṟṟaṭṭiyākiṉṟa nilattil ivaṉṉuḷḷa kūṟum tenvāyppalikkaṉattil avaṉṉuḷḷa paṭakāramum icconṉa nilamum puraiyiṭamum teñcēri cēnnan tāyaṉuṭaiya yiṭaiyīṭittaṉaiyum maṟṟum piṉuḷḷatellām uḷḷoṭunka ūrum paraṭaiyum sabhaiyum ivakaḷ tiruvuḷḷam avirōtamākki uḷḷiruntu Nanṟuḻaināṭu vāḻiṉṟa maṇalmanṟattiyakkan śrīkaṇṭan pañcamaśabdamamaicca paricāvitu".

138. *Ibid.* L. 3. "Ipparicinnāṭu vāḻunna nāyarum munnūṟṟuvarum paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷum ikkaccam eḻuticcitu".

139. Index no. B. 19, Ll. 3, 4.

140. For the history of Vēḷs and Āys and the Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa invasions in this area, see chapter IV Early Wars and Alliances.

141. See Cōḷapuram inscription of Vīra Kēraḷa, king of Vēṇāḍ, 1126 AD in *T.A.S.*, IV, no. 3. pp. 17-18; Śucīndram inscriptions of Kōtai Kēraḷa, king of Vēṇāḍ, 1145 and 1150 AD, *Ibid.*, nos. 4, 5 and 6, pp. 18-21.

142. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 6 - 10. "Kōyilatikārikaḷ viyarākaṇtēvar uḷpaṭa iruntaru□ippi□i naṭatti nīrtuḷḷiyōṭu kūṭa ayyanaṭikaḷ tiruvaṭiyum iḷankūṟu vāḻiṉṟa rāma tiruvaṭiyum atikārarum prakṛtiyum aṟunūṟṟuvarum puṉṉaittalaipatiyum pōḷaikkuṭippatiyum uḷpaṭavaccu---".

143. *Ibid.* For Munnūṟṟuvar (of junior prince?) of Vēṇāṭu, see *T.A.S.*, VII, no. 40.

144. Index no. B. 11.

145. Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr, Index no. B. 13, 14. Trikkaḍithānam, Index no. A. 32. Dēvīdēvēśvaram, Kollūr Maḍham plates, Index no. B. 15.

146. Index no. A. 31.

147. Trikkaḍithānam, 14th year, Index no. A. 32, Ll. "(Gōvarttana) mārttāṇṭar nanṟuḻaināṭuvāḻa ttirukkaṭittānattu". Perunna, 14th year, Index no. A. 33, L. 2. "Nanṟuḻaināṭuṭaiya vēṇāṭu vāḻnṟa---". The rest of the line is built over but since the 14th year and the dual governorship are mentioned, it can be none other than Gōvarthana Mārtāṇḍa. Trikkaḍithānam, 26th year, Index no. A. 47, Ll. "Vēṇāṭuṭaiya kōvarttana mārttāṇṭan nanṟuḻaināṭu vāḻa ttirukkaṭittānattu". Cochin Jewish Plates, 38th year, Index no. A. 34, Ll. 20-21. "Ippari aṟivēn vēṇāṭuṭaiya kōvarttana mārttāṇṭan".

148. Index no. A. 71, Ll. 61-7. "Accērikkal kārāṇmai ceta vēṇāṭṭu kumāraṉutaiyavarman...".

149. Index No. B. 11. Ll. 3-7. "Kollattu paṉaiṅkāvin kōyiluḻuyaṟiya koṭṭiluḷ tiruccenkunṟūr ppaṟuṭaipperumakkaḷ kūṭṭamkūṭi iruntaruḷiyēṭattu vaiccu ---vēṇāṭuṭaiya śrīvallavan

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kōtai". For details of Paṉaṅkāvil palace site and references to it in later literature, see Eḷamkuḷam, 'Paṉaṅkāvil Koṭṭāram', and notes to sloka 74. *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam Caritradṛṣṭiyilkūṭi*, (First Edition), pp. 98-108 and notes 30-34.

150. Index no. A. 1, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 27, 35, 40, 46, 62, 63, 64, etc.

151. Index no. A. 46, B. 16.

152. Index no A. 34.

153. Index no. A. 71.

154. See Chapter IV, Early Wars and Alliances.

155. Tiruvalla copper plates, Index no. A. 80. Several district governors appear in these plates like Ravi Cirikaṇṭan, Governor of Veṇpolināṭu (Ll. 51-2, 331, 334,. 341-2); Rāmavaṭuka Mūvar (Ll. 140-1); Ēṛan Sankaran, Governor of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu (L. 150); Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ (Ll. 200-201); Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu (Ll. 345-6); Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu (L. 351); Rāman Kōta Varman, Governor of Muññināṭu (L. 533); Muññimārāyar (L. 542); and Kuṇṛan Rāman, junior prince of Muññināṭu (Ll. 556-57). In the case of northern princes, at least, their presence in the south might have been occasioned by the Cōḷa invasions.

156. *M.V.K.*, Sarga. XIV, slokas 7 and 8.

157. Index nos. A. 36 and 46.

158. There are some exceptions to this rule. In several cases (Index Table C) no year is mentioned at all. In others (Index Table B) local eras are mentioned. However, no governor has employed his own regnal year in the inscription.

VIII. Local Bodies

In addition to the king and his officers, the governors and their subordinates, there were in the kingdom a number of semi-autonomous local bodies, urban as well as rural, which possessed their own charters of rights from the rulers and played an important part in local administration. The urban and rural corporations enjoyed the power to collect certain forms of revenue, to enquire into certain kinds of disputes, and to take action by imposing fine and other types of punishment including physical obstruction and excommunication. They were also capable of receiving and alienating land and undertaking the protection of institutions and institutional properties. Their share in running the government may be taken up for discussion here.

Nagara

There are some hints here and there in Cēra inscriptions about the share of the urban trading corporation called 'Nakara' or 'Nagara' and the various bodies like Ancuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam which constituted the Nakara. The Kollam-Tarsāppaḷḷi copper-plates of Sthāṇu Ravi and Vijayarāga are capable of laying bare some aspects of city administration. The second set of these describes Mār Sāpir Īśō, the builder of Tarsāppaḷḷi, as the founder of the Nakaram also.[1] The Ancuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam are described as the tenants of the Nakaram.[2] From this it may be inferred that according to the feudal principle, the management of the Nakara had been handed over to these corporations. Mār Sāpir Īśō must have received his original charter from the king earlier. Though this has not come down to us it is mentioned in these Copper-plates.[3] The Īḻava and Vaṇṇār families handed over to Tarsāppaḷḷi were exempted from all dues payable to the king and the Paḷḷiyār (church authorities) and were freed from the responsibility to pay taxes of any type.[4] Another passage prohibits the government servants like Tiyyamāḷvān and Matilnāyakan from exercising authority over those people. If these people committed any offence the Paḷḷiyār themselves were to inves-

tigate.[5] This is an instance of the delegation of judicial power by the governor to the church in respect of persons allotted to their service.

In the second set of these copper-plates there is reference to the handing over of a plot of land and a few families - two families of Vāṇiyar one of Taccar, and four of Veḷḷālar - by the same governor to the same church authorities. Here again it is stated that the Paḷḷiyār were to be the judges in all matters where the settlers on the land committed any offence. They are also authorised to collect the head price and the breast price - the money usually received when selling people as slaves by way of punishment for offences. The servants of governor are expressly asked not to enter the settlement or cause any kind of interference. Moreover, the Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Ancuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam are jointly appointed as guardians of the church and its properties.[6]

The last portion of the second set of plates deals with the privileges granted to the Ancuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam corporations. They are exempted from several dues and taxes.[7] The governor's servants are asked to associate them in official work such as fixing duties and prices for commodities and in everything else. They are to keep under seal the duty collected each day, probably because the duty was collected in kind and the corporations had convenient godowns for the purpose.[8] In other words, they are appointed as the governor's agents in order to assist in the work of assessing and collecting revenue. This appears to have been the common practice in Kerala in the latter period also.[9] The *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* mentions the practice of appointing tax-farmers and keeping goods under seal for preventing malpractice.[10] It is stated that the two corporations are to enjoy the 'patippatavāram' (chieftain's share of one-tenth) on the land of the church when it is leased out to tenants.[11] This means that they are appointed as 'pati' or local chief in the Nakara.

In the concluding passage there is another reference to the judicial powers exercised by the two corporations in the city. If any offence against them is committed they are free to get redressal of grievance even by obstructing the collection of sales duty and weighing fee. If the offence is committed by one among them, the two kārāḷar, i.e., the corporations are to conduct a joint investigation and only that which is agreed upon by the two heads of corporations became valid in practice.[12] The first proposal to obstruct payments to the authorities illustrates a form of picketing to attract immediate intervention by the state. The nature of this right is further clarified by the grant of permission by Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, to the Potuvāḷs of Tiruvalla settlement, to obstruct a village if the promised quota of paddy is not paid in time.[13] It may be concluded that corporations and perhaps prominent individuals also were permitted to take the law into their own hands in this manner to move the state in order to get justice. Medieval writers on Kerala

have left elaborate accounts of the practice known as 'taṭuttu vekkal' or 'vaḷaccu vekkal' in Malayalam language, a practice often resorted to by creditors against debtors, and landlords against their tenants in Kerala.[14] The references to such legalised obstruction found in the Syrian copper plates and Tiruvalla copper plates prove that the system existed in the Cēra period also. According to the medieval system the aggrieved party arrested the accused invoking the authority of the Brahmins and the rāja. This was done by drawing a circle around the person and commanding him not to move out until the claims of justice are settled. This was a unique individualised and localised system of rendering immediate justice.

The role of two officers called Tiyyamāḷvān and Matināyakan, mentioned in these copper plates, may also be explained here. They figure in connection with the right of the Īḻavar and the Vaṇṇār belonging to the church to transact their business in the aṅgāḍi (bazaar) and the matil (fort). These officers are asked not to prevent the settlers in church land from transacting business there. The term 'Matināyakan' (Matil Nāyakan) means the Commander of the fort.[15] The other term Tiyyamāḷvān might mean either 'the Chief of Tiyyar' or 'the Chief of the Criminal Court', i.e., the magistrate.[16] The second meaning is more appropriate here. Thus the two officers are the military and civil authorities of the place.

The general pattern of administration in the Nagara must have been the same in all major cities where such corporations existed. Makōtai was the premier city in the kingdom, directly under the Cēra Perumāḷ who enjoyed the title of 'Mahōdayapura Paramēśvara'. The part of Nālu Taḷi of the capital in the Perumāḷ's council has already been described above. The Jewish copper plates reveal the existence of Ancuvaṇṇam in the capital and the high status accorded to Joseph Rabban as the leader of Ancuvaṇṇam. He is exempted from taxes and all payments by the settlers and at the same time granted all the usual privileges enjoyed by them. He is granted on a hereditary basis all the seventy two privileges which must have been the status symbols of aristocracy in Kerala.[17] Therefore, it may be assumed that even though the details of the administrative role of Ancuvaṇṇam are missing here, this corporation played the same part and occupied the same position as its counterpart in Kollam. Similarly, though there is no reference in Cēra inscriptions to Maṇigrāmam in the capital, it may be assumed that this corporation of the Syrian Christians existed there from early times and enjoyed the same privileges.[18]

A record of Irinjālakkuḍa deals with the grant of land to four persons - Ayirakkarai Kōtai Kumaran, Ūran Kumaran Kōtai, Nākan Kaṇṇan and Ūran Kaṇṭan Kumaran - to establish a township called Bhāskarapura. They are stated to have accepted the tenancy of the land set apart for the purpose. They are exempted from payments to the governor's men and authorised to

award punishment and collect fine as they chose.[19] A record from Tāḷakkāḍ, which mentions the privileges of Maṇigrāmam people in the newly formed trading centre, states that they were authorised to collect taxes and tribute within the Nakara. They are also given the right to fix the prices of commodities.[20] This kind of association of mercantile guilds in the city with governmental work is fully in conformity with the political theory and practice of ancient India and especially the states of South India.[21]

Ūr or Grāma

The Cēra kings allowed the village assemblies and temple committees of Aryan settlements, which were rural agrarian corporations in character, to enjoy partial autonomy and take part in local administration as the urban guilds and corporations. The term 'Ūr' means village and 'Ūrāḷan', therefore, literally means the master or proprietor of the village.[22] This term is usually employed in the plural as 'Ūrāḷar' since it was joint proprietorship in these villages. The villages with assemblies that we come across in the Cēra inscriptions are only temple-centred Aryan settlements, and the observations that are made in regard to these local bodies called Ūr, Paraṭai, Kaṇam, etc. are limited to them.[23] The original charters or endowments of the major Brahmin settlements of this period have not come down to us probably because most or all of the settlements were in existence even before the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. However, the charters of some smaller Aryan Brahmin settlements with the nomination of Ūrāḷar have been registered in these records especially in those from Panniyūr and Cōkiram villages. From these it is known that Ūrāṇmai Tāṉam (proprietorship) is bestowed on Brahmins by the district governors.[24] In the case of Tiruvaḍūr, in the Mūṣaka district, an undated record of the period of Jayamāni (c. 1020 AD) says that 24 Brahmins from five old settlements - Vaikkam, Paṛaiyūr, Āvaṭṭiputtūr, Iruṅgāṭikkūḍal and Peruvanam - were given hereditary proprietorship in the village.[25] The Dēvīdēvēśvaram temple settlement was originally established in the time of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, (c. 974 AD) and as the charter was decayed and illegible, it was renewed by the then king of Vēṇāṭu in 1189 AD most probably on the same old lines as before. The charter also shows that the proprietorship was enjoyed by 23 Brahmin families who formed the Sabha and that two of them and the Potuvāḷ (secretary) formed the executive committee.[26] A Kiḻimāṉūr record of 1168 AD, dealing with the foundation and endowment of Tiruppālkkaḍal temple, throws more light on the temple-centred Aryan village. Ten persons are selected from eight leading Brahmin settlements - Paṛavūr, Mūḻikkaḷam, Airāṇikaḷam, Iruṅgāṭikkūḍal, Peruvanam, Ceṅgaṉṉūr, Tiruvallavāḻ and Āṛanmuḷa - and each assigned 6 kalam of arable land and one pair of slaves, male and female. It is stipulated that two of the ten Ūrāḷar shall form the executive committee and

that places on this annual committee shall go by rotation.[27] These arrangements found in the immediate post-Cēra period must have been continued from the Cēra period and, therefore, we may take them to indicate the usual pattern of early Brahmin settlements in Kerala. The executive committee is generally referred to as Pariṭai (Pariṣad) and the officers who assisted them are known as Potuvāḷ, literally meaning public servant, and Vāriyar, literally meaning a person in charge of revenue.

The Ūrāḷar were known by other terms like Nāṭṭār, Sabhaiyār or sabha, aTaḷiyār or Taḷi and Śrīvaiṣṇavar also. Sometimes they were designated merely by their numbers as Irupatteḻuvar (the Twentyseven), Patiṉāṟumar (the Sixteen), etc. in the inscriptions. The term Nāṭṭār is usually employed with their number as in 'Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār' which literally means eighteen citizens. It may be observed that all South Indian historians have erred in the interpretation of this term.[28] It is clear that 'Tiruvāṟṟuvāy Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār' mentioned in the 12th year of Rājaśēkhara must be the same as 'Tiruvāṟṟuvāy Sabha' mentioned in the 17th year of the next reign of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara.[29] Similarly 'Nityaviyārēśvarattu Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār' found in two inscriptions of Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi must be the same as 'Nityaviyārēśvarattu Taḷiyār' mentioned in another inscription and Nityaviyārēśvarattu Taḷi mentioned in yet another inscription from the same temple.[30] Following the same principle it may be asserted that the Śrīvaiṣṇavar of Tirunelli were the Ūrāḷar of that place. For example, one record of Tirunelli says that a land gift was made over to the 'Sannyāsis, Yōgis and Ūrāḷar' of the place.[31] Another record says that a similar land gift was placed in the hands of the 'Sannyāsis, Yōgis and Śrīvaiṣṇavar' of the temple.[32] Moreover, it is stipulated that the Śrīvaiṣṇavar of Tirunelli were to be feasted with 50 nāḻi of rice.[33] Since the usual quantity of rice mentioned in records for feeding a person was 2 nāḻi, this leads to the inference that there were 25 Śrīvaiṣṇavar in Tirunelli village. Again two inscriptions from Trikkākara mention that the Śrīvaiṣṇavar of that place were to be feasted on 50 nāḻi of rice and, therefore, their number also may be fixed as 25 as before.[34] This is found true in the case of Tiruvalla where the 25 Śrīvaiṣṇavar who enjoyed the privilege of being feasted at the temple are mentioned in Tiruvalla copper plates.[35] Perhaps it was a common custom that Śaivite settlements had 18 Ūrāḷar and Vaiṣṇavite settlements had 25 Ūrāḷar though this pattern was not unchangeable. It has already been pointed out that Tiruvaḍur had 24 Ūrāḷar, Dēvīdēvēśvaram 23, and Tiruppārkkaḍal 10 only. The Āvaṭṭiputtūr settlement built around a Śiva temple had 27 Ūrāḷar.[36] There were 16 Ūrāḷar for the Kumaranallūr settlement of which the Bhagavati temple was the centre.[37]

The Ūrāḷar of Kerala were the counterparts of men variously known as Mahattara, Mahājana, and Perumakkaḷ in different parts of South India.[38] They formed the general body of the village assembly in the Aryan settle-

ments of Kerala. It goes without saying that these proprietors of the settlement, owning Dēvasvam and Brahmasvam land sometimes referred to as Paṭakāram in the records, were Brahmins by caste. Scholars have generally exhibited a tendency to describe these village assemblies as democratic in character.[39] However, in a society ordained according to the hierarchical principle of caste, determined by birth and hereditary occupation, democracy is out of place. These village assemblies were groups of proprietors belonging to the Brahmin caste united by common interest in property and privileges. Whoever came and settled on the village land as tenants, merchants, officers of state, artisan, etc. or even as Brahmin priests or teachers, the shares and privileges of the Ūrāḷar continued unaffected as indicated by the fixed numbers which could even be used as permanent names for the local bodies. Therefore, these bodies had the character of a feudal oligarchy, and their jealous preservation and promotion of the rights and privileges through centuries reveal a fundamentally anti-democratic orientation.

It has already been pointed out that there were two councillors at Dēvīdēvēśvaram and Tiruppālkkaḍal and that they came to office by rotation. Perhaps it was a general convention that two of the Ūrāḷar formed the Paraṭai. It has been pointed out that in the case of Śucīndram temple "the management of the daily affairs of the temple, as well as of its finances, fell to the lot of a smaller body called the Mūlaparuṭai Sabha".[40] The records of Kerala during this period indicate that the Paraṭai took the place of the 'Mūlaparuṭai' here. Normally the Paraṭai must have managed the routine work of the temple and the village and when important decisions were to be made, the Paraṭai acted jointly with the Sabhā. Therefore, it is very difficult to get a picture of their separate functions and existence.

The Paraṭai or executive committee of the Ūrāḷar was also known by different names in different places. They are called Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ (literally meaning temple officers) or simply Adhikārikaḷ in the records of Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi.[41] Records of Trikkākara speak of Paṭārar Adhikārikaḷ - God's officers - and simply Adhikārikaḷ.[42] A record of Tirunandikkara mentions Taḷi Āḷvān (temple manager) in this place.[43] The term Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ or Taḷi Adhikāri appears as Taḷiyātiri in *Kēraḷōlpatti*.[44] It has been pointed out earlier that two Taḷiyātiris were managing each of the four chief temples of the capital and sitting in the Perumāḷ's council to represent the whole Brahmin community of Kerala. It is likely that officers called 'Uḷpāṭan' and 'Perumutiyan' in the records of Trikkākara, and 'Mūttār' and 'Iḷayār' at Kāvuntaṟa, Cōkiram and Alanallūr, were members of this committee since they are found to receive donations and make certain arrangements on behalf of the temple.[45]

A record of Trippūṇittuṟa says that a meeting of Ravi Āditya, the Minister, Piccaipparaṭaiyār, and the Potuvāḷ agreed that the Paraṭaiyār shall not ob-

struct the work of temple servants from priest down to sweeper or obstruct the land and confiscate the produce of Dēvadāna (property of the temple).[46] This decree was evidently issued on the basis of some complaint against the Paraṭaiyārs' interference in the routine work of the temple. The Paraṭaipperumakkaḷ (great men of the Paraṭai) and Potuvāḷ represented Tirucceṅgaṉṉūur settlement at the court of Śrīivallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, when they received the Ayirūr temple as a kīḻiṭu (subordinate institution) of their village.[47] At Trikkaḍittāṉam the Paraṭai, Kaṇattār and Potuvāḷ meeting in the presence of the officers of Nanṟuḷaināṭu agreed to protect the property of the drummers and abstain from receiving it on mortgage or confiscating the produce.[48] This again was obviously done following some complaint from the drummers and incidentally it reveals the nature and limitations of the control exercised by the Paraṭai on the subordinate service.

Another inscription of Trikkaḍittāṉam, which records an agreement reached by the Ūr, Paraṭai and Potuvāḷ, brings out more clearly the functions of the Ūrāḷar and the Paraṭai. The Ūrāḷar and Paraṭaiyār are instructed not to obstruct cultivation or confiscate the produce of the land assigned for various items of temple expenditure. They are ordered not to accept 'kaikkūli' or bribe while leasing out such lands or appointing the Śānti (priest) and the professor of Mahābhārata. The period of appointment of the Śānti is limited to 3 years. The Śānti and other employees are declared unfit for Tāṉam (place in the assembly - Ūrāṇmai) and Paraṭai. The members of the Paraṭai are asked not to take up tenancy and not to borrow gold from the temple.[49] These restrictions demonstrate the functions of the Paraṭai in collecting rent, punishing those who did not pay, supervising the expense, appointing the priests and professors of Mahabharata, leasing out the temple lands and keeping in their custody the gold of the temple. The term 'Piccaipparaṭaiyār' used in a Trippūṇittuṟa inscription quoted earlier shows that the members of the Paraṭai were provided 'piccai' (bhikṣa) or free meals daily. If they violated the decision they were not to be offered the 'Palakai', i.e., not to be allowed to take food there.[50]

Procedure and Powers

It has already been observed that Cēra Perumāḷs, their representatives called Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ or Āḷkōyil, and governors of districts and their officers, often presided over the meetings of the Ūr and Paraṭai. This constituted the element of Kōyinmai or overlordship in the political framework of an Aryan village and it was usually represented by a Kṣatriya prince. Then there was the element of Ūrāṇmai or proprietorship composed of the elders of Brahmin families settled there. These two elements were combined in the councils of the village. Below this there was the element of Kārāṇmai or tenantship which was generally represented by the Śūdra peasants who culti-

vated the Dēvasvam and Brahmasvam lands and supplied the fixed quota of paddy, oil, vegetables etc. for use in the temple. Normally the last mentioned section had no place in the assembly though they too must have resided within the village territory as mentioned in a Kumaranallūr inscription.[51] However, extraordinary sessions of the village assembly, for which all residents were called, would take place when momentous decisions had to be made. Thus all the residents of the Ūr, designated by the term Ūrār as distinct from the Sabhaiyār or Ūrāḷar, were present when a person called Teñcēri Cēnnan Tāyan who committed theft was ostracised.[52]

The government of such a village involved three kinds of duties, i.e., 1) the collection of the governor's or king's share of revenue in return for the protection offered by him as overlord, 2) the settlement of disputes among the Ūrāḷar, and 3) the management of the Kārāḷar by imposing on them a code of conduct by means of law and punishment. That the governor's hundred organisation called Niḻal offered protection to such establishment and realised a tax called 'iṟai' and that the non-payment of this tax invited obstruction of cultivation by Kōyilmanuccar (king's servants) are known from a Tirunelli copper plate.[53] The wishes and interests of the village assembly also seem to have been taken into account by the rulers in the matter of fixing the royal share of revenue. A Trikkaḍithāṉam record says that the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ fixed the āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual revenue) payable to the Nāṭuvāḻi (governor) as 12 kalam paddy and allowed the rest to be used for 24 kalam of Akkiram (Brahmin feeding) in the temple.[54] There is another instance where the Ūr, Paraṭai, and Potuvāḷ of Peruneytal (Perunna) had agreed to pay 80 kalam of paddy as āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual revenue) to the governor of Nanṟuḻaināṭu. After some time they represented that they might be allowed to pay this amount and nothing more to the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ who took charge of the temple and this was sanctioned.[55] Another Perunna inscription says that while Kulaśēkhara was sitting in council with Nālu Taḷi and Trikkunnappuḻa at Netiyataḷi he was pleased to grant 40 kalam paddy out of the āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual revenue) for instituting Namaskāram and Māpāratam in the temple. He also agreed to cancel the 'arantai' (war tax) collected from Perunna. This was obviously done as the result of some representation by the Ūr and Potuvāḷ of Perunna.[56] The other instance of the same king doing prāyaścitta (atonement) for having incurred the displeasure of the Aryas reveals the great respect shown by kings towards these Brahmin proprietors of the village.[57] Since the very settlement of Brahmins in his kingdom was looked upon as a blessing by a pious Hindu king, this attitude is quite understandable.

The Ūr, consisting of 18 or 25 members or more, usually met in the precincts of the temple, called 'mukkālvaṭṭam' in inscriptions. A separate Yōgamaṇḍapa is mentioned in Tiruvalla temple.[58] The fact that the Ūr met in the

Brahminical temple itself is evidence to show that the members were Brahmins and that these were caste councils, rather than democratic assemblies. They passed all important resolutions in the presence of kings, governors, or some royal officers or representatives as pointed out before. There is no reference to quorum and the expression 'kuṛaivu tīrttu kūṭi' shows that full attendance was the rule.[59] Perhaps some junior member attended the meeting in the absence of the head of the family. The decisions or agreements were called 'kaccam' or 'Vyavastai' or 'Uṭampāṭu' in records.[60] They were always unanimous as indicated by the phrase 'avirōtattāl' literally meaning 'without opposition' found in several inscriptions.[61] How this unanimity was arrived at is not clearly mentioned anywhere. There is no reference to any system of lots or voting. One record speaks of the Paṭaināyar talking the assembly into agreement and this reveals the manner in which they could reach unanimity as the final outcome of discussions in the presence of government authorities.[62] If there was no agreement, pressure from the government side could have been resorted to. In an atmosphere of habitual obedience to royal authority, reinforced by religious and moral sanctions, the presence of common economic interest could have acted as a strong incentive for unanimous action.[63]

The agreements arrived at were first committed to writing on palm-leaves and some of the important resolutions were transcribed on stone.[64] These were then planted in the courtyard of the temple within the prākāra.[65] In many cases these records were caused to be inscribed on the granite blocks of the foundation, rising three to six feet above ground either in the Śrīkōyil (sanctum sanctorum) or the maṇḍapa or the first prākāra.[66] Sometimes they are found on a stambha (pillar) or balikkal (offering stone).[67] Sometimes records were not preserved in this manner as we find reference to a Praśasti granted by the mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, to the Brahmin settlement of Dēvīdēvēśvaram getting decayed and illegible in the course of the centuries.[68] There was also the practice of recording the decisions at the time or later in copper plates.[68]

In several cases the names of the officers, witnesses, scribes, and smiths are mentioned in the records themselves. Very often the witnesses must have been Brahmin members of the Urāḷasabha. They are often called Sādhukkaḷ, or men of noble character.[70] The scribes were usually Potuvāḷs (secretaries) of the assemblies.[71] The smiths or engravers were having titles relating to the district governors whom they served. Thus we find reference to one Vāliśśēri Gaṇapati Nīlakaṇṭan alias Kuṛumpuṛai Peruntaṭṭān and also to a Mūṣakēśvara Suvarṇakara.[72]

Mūḻikkaḷam Kaccam

There are several inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries from different parts of Kerala which refer to the agreement of Mūḻikkaḷam variously called Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam, Mūḻikkaḷa vyavastai, Mūḻikkaḷattu oḻukkam, or Mūḻikkaḷa ccavatai, as the model or precedent to be followed. They are found at Cōkkūr, Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri, Trikkākara, Tirunelli, Mūḻikkaḷam, Tiruvalla, Ēḻimala, Kaviyūr, Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, Maṇiyūr, Rāmanāṭṭukara, Pūkkōṭṭūr, Alanallūr, Triprayār, Kumaranallūr, Nāvāykkuḷam, and Triunandikkara.[73] From this it may be inferred that the Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam was followed as the model by Brahmin settlements all over Kerala. It has been suggested that the Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam was a grand agreement between the representatives of all Kerala temples arrived at in a meeting under the presidentship of the Perumāḷ or his representative.[74] There is nothing in the records to warrant such an assumption. They only prove that certain rules followed at Mūḻikkaḷam in regard to the management were accepted as a model in several other settlements also. The anxiety to protect the right of the Kārāḷar (tenants), attributed to the makers of the kaccam, is also outside the realm of evidence. These rules must have been designed by the assembly of Mūḻikkaḷam grāma, probably meeting under the Perumāḷ or his representative as usual. As Mūḻikkaḷam happened to be one of the four leading Brahmin settlements their leadership could have been accepted in the matter of this code of conduct in other places too.

The original Mūḻikkaḷam agreement has not been recovered though a record of Bhāskara Ravi, 48th year (1010 AD), from the Mūḻikkaḷam grāma-kṣētra (chief temple of the village) itself quotes it as model.[75] The earliest record so far known to quote the Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam belongs to Cōkkūr and is dated in the 15th year of Kota Ravi (898 AD).[76] The latest among the dated records belongs to Tirumaṟṟakkōḍe, and is dated in the 8th year of Ravi Kota (1028-29 AD).[77] It is likely that the kaccam had been established earlier and that it continued to be in force at least up to the end of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai. The northernmost temple inscription to refer to Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam is Narayankaṇṇūr on Ēḻimalai in Kōlattunāṭu and the Southernmost is Tirunandikkara in Āynāṭu.[78] This proves the Kerala-wide acceptance of the kaccam as containing a set of model rules.

It is only possible to infer the contents of the original kaccam from the extracts and references found in some of these inscriptions. The Cōkkūr inscription deals with the original endowments of a temple, giving a list of lands assigned for each item of routine expenditure. It is stated that those who obstruct or plunder the cultivators of these lands, and their accomplices, shall perish according to the conditions of Mūḻikkaḷam.[79] The Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri inscription registers the allotment of Brahmasvam and Dēvasvam lands of that temple and states that those of the Ūrāḷar who violated the agreement

shall perish according to Mūḷikkaḷattu cavattai and be outcastes from the village.[80] A Trikkākara inscription of the 16th year of Indu Kōta related to land gifts to the temple simply mentions the kaccm at the end in referring to those who cause default in temple expenditure.[81] Two other inscriptions from the same place do the same thing in referring to the kaccam without further clarification.[82] This is the case with similar inscriptions from Tirunelli, Tirumūḷikkaḷam, Tiruvalla, Narayankaṇṇūr, Kaviyūr, Tiruvanvaṇḍūr, Maṇiyūr, Rāmanāṭṭukara, Pūkkōṭṭūr, Alanallūr, Kumaranallūr, Nāvāykkuḷam and Tirunandikkara. However, one record from Kaviyūr clarifies the position further by stating that offenders shall lose Tāṉam (Sthānam of Urāḷar),Paraṭai (Place on the executive committee) and property attached to Ūrāṇmai according to Mūḷikkaḷa kaccam.[83] A Triprayār inscription states the same thing in different words by saying that offenders shall be expelled from the village according to Mūḷikkaḷaccavatai.[84]

These indications are sufficient to show that it was the policy enunciated at Mūḷikkaḷam to see that those who violated an agreement arrived at unanimously by the Ūrāḷar and government officers had to be excommunicated after the confiscation of their rights and properties. This was essential to build up a strong, well-knit and efficient system of local government in the Aryan Brahmin settlements. This was the secret of their unique success and continued prosperity in Kerala. There is one example of this kind of ostracism used as punishment against an individual named Teñcēri Cēnnan Tāyan in the Brahmin village of Trikkaḍithāṉam. The Mūḷikkaḷa kaccam is not mentioned, but it is clear from the details that the action taken was typical of the manner of punishment prescribed there.[85] This instance reveals how the district governors and village assemblies co-operated in maintaining law and order in the Brahmin settlements by punishing the culprits among the Ūrāḷar themselves. It gives the court procedure in which the village assembly, presided over by the district governor, is transformed into a judicial institution.

It must have taken some time for Mūḷikkaḷa kaccam to gain popularity and come to be accepted as the model all over Kerala. Prior to this the earlier village assembly resolutions used another device to enforce discipline among the Ūrāḷar in respect of temple rituals and temple properties. Thus we find some of the early kaccams asserting that those who violated the agreements or broke the routine by obstructing cultivation or plundering or appropriating land illegally shall be deemed as the worst sinners. The Vāḷappaḷḷi copper plate of Rājaśēkhara laid down that an offender against the agreement shall be treated as one who married his mother.[86] An Irinjālakkuḍa inscription of Sthāṇu Ravi, 11th year, states that the Ūrāḷar who violated the agreement shall be equal to persons guilty of matricide and that the same evil shall attach to their supporters also.[87] A passage in Tiruvalla plates goes a step fur-

ther and asserts that the offender shall be regarded as one who murdered his father and married his mother, and that his lands and houses shall be confiscated and utilised as the property of the deity of Tiruvalla.[88] An undated record from Airāṇikuḷam (late 9th century) has improved still further upon this theme by asserting that he who violated the agreement shall be guilty of murdering his own father and the teacher who initiated him into the Vedas, and marrying his mother.[89] Similar imprecatory sentences are sometimes found in Brahmincal records of this period outside Kerala too and these are generally taken by scholars as curses meant to keep would-be rebels out of mischief.[90] However, they are probably meant to signify something more than a curse. They show that offenders who act in violation of the said agreement shall be treated as being guilty of some of the mahāpāpas (great sins) for which there is no prāyaścitta (atonement) according to ancient Hindu scriptures.[91] As the punishment for committing any of the pañca-mahāpāpa is nothing short of excommunication, these clauses refer indirectly to the same system as described above. This idea was later formalised and enshrined in Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam which was subsequently quoted everywhere.

Other Kaccams

Even after the formulation and popularisation of the Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam, there are references in some records to other kaccams as the precedent. Thus we have Kaṭaṅgkāṭṭu kaccam, Tavaranūr kaccam, Śankaramaṅgalattu kaccam, and Kaitavārattu kaccam in the records of the age.[92] Each of these was, however, meant for all extraordinary situations. The first three kaccams are connected with the surrender of a cērikkal as kīḻīṭu of the temple and Kaitavārattu kaccam refers to a union of two villages to form a bigger one. In the absence of specific mention in Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam of such transactions as the surrender of whole big villages to the temple, and the amalgamation of several villages, it is likely that local kaccams were instituted and followed in different places. These do not contradict Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam but complement it in many ways.

When a Cērikkal (common village) is placed as kīḻīṭu (subordinate property) under a Brahmin settlement, certain powers and responsibilities are bestowed upon the latter but certain limitations are also prescribed.[93] At Āvaṭṭiputtūr it is stated that in return for the Rakṣābhōga (protection fee) of 2 nāḻi of paddy per day, the Brahmin assembly was to undertake the protection and supervision of the Cērikkal surrendered by the Cēra queen.[94] When some grievance was reported the Ūrāḷar and Potuvāḷ were obliged to join hands and redress it immediately and the Śānti (priest) were to do the same even by stopping routine worship in the temple.[95] But the Ūrāḷar were at the same time explicitly prevented from obstructing cultivation, confiscating property, settling new families, acquiring land, receiving clothes, or climbing the

bedstead (concubinage) and showing any favour or hostility towards the village.[96] These must have been the privileges enjoyed exclusively by the royal owners of the Cērikkal villages. The Brahmin 'protectors' were also not to interfere in any way by word or deed in what the overlords of the village did there. They were not to take sides when the owners injured the settlers, collected house tax, punished them, extracted fine, or even killed the residents of the village.[97] If they did, such Ūrāḷar and Potuvāḷ violated the Kaṭaṅgkāṭṭu kaccam, lost their property in their own village, their Sthānam, (in the assembly of Ūrāḷar) and Paraṭai.[98] Therefore, it is clear that Kaṭaṅgkāṭṭu kaccam governed the conduct of Brahmin settlements towards the kīḻīṭu village in this region.

Tavaranūr kaccam, which is of a similar character, is mentioned in three inscriptions. A Tripṛaṅgōḍe inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year, (910 AD) refers to it as the kaccam governing the Ūrāḷar's relations to the entire property of the temple set apart for the routine worship, probably a Cērikkal or common village. Here again those who violated the agreement were to be fined and sent out of the settlement.[99] An undated and fragmentary Cōkiram inscription quotes Tavaranūr kaccam as the model. This deals with a village offered as kīḻīṭu by Ravi Dēvi Amma for which the Brahmin assembly of Cōkiram received 2 nāḻi of rice and a Tiruviḷakku as protection fee. The officer in charge of collecting this is called Tavaranūr Pāṭṭavāḷan, i.e., the rent collector of Tavaranūr.[100] It is clear that Tavaranūr is the same as the village now called Tavanūr, a few miles away from Cōkiram village. Therefore, Tavaranūr kaccam should have been the agreement entered into when that village was first offered as kīḻīṭu to Cōkriram. Some of the clauses, similar to those of Kaṭaṅgkāṭṭu kaccam, are mentioned here. The Ūrāḷar were prohibited from obstructing cultivation, confiscating property, taking over cultivation, collecting more rent, settling families, climbing the bed (procuring concubines), acquiring land or molesting the settlers or interfering with the actions of the overlords of the village.[101] Incidentally, this kaccam also proves the absolute power which the rulers possessed in relation to the ordinary villages.[102]

Fortunately, the original Tavaranūr Kaccam has also been recovered from Cōkiram though in a fragmentary from. It is an agreement arrived at by the Paraṭaiyār (temple committee) Iḷaiyār (Junior - probably the elders formed the Committee here) and Rājaśēkhara, the Vaḷḷuvar, who was patron of the settlement, setting aside Tavaranūr village and all the lands belonging to it for expenses of Cōkiram temple. The Ūrāḷar were explicitly prohibited from obstructing cultivation, selling paddy, confiscating property, entering the village with such motives, enjoying the proceeds of these lands, and obstructing Bali (sacrifice) Oḻukkavi (daily-worship) and Śānti (priest) in the temple. They were enjoined to discontinue receiving what the elders were

receiving formerly. Those who violated the agreement were to be expelled from Ūrāṇmai.[103]

Śankaramaṅgalattu Kaccam is quoted in Tiruvalla Copper plates in connection with the surrender of Kuṭavūr village as a kīḻīṭu to the Brahmin assembly of Tiruvalla by Ravi Śrīkaṇṭan, governor of Veṇpolināṭu. The Ūrāḷar were asked to protect the village from the displeasure of kings and feudatories in return for the payment of the protection fee.[104] However, they were asked to abstain from obstructing cultivation and confiscating property in the same manner as in Tavaranūr Kaccam and those who raised opposition to the kīḻīṭu were to lose Ūrāṇmai, Tāṉam and Paraṭai.[105] This proves that Śankaramaṅgalattu kaccam also dealt with the conditions of surrender of whole villages as kīḻīṭu to an Aryan Brahmin village. Though there is no mention of a particular kaccam, the Māmpaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīvallavan Kōta deal with a similar case. Ādityan Umayamma who received the proprietary rights of the temple of Ayirūr and its landed property as gift from the governor, surrendered it as kīḻīṭu to Tirucceṅgannūr Brahmin village. The Ūrāḷar were to protect the temple and its property and receive 200 paṛa of paddy per year as Rakṣābhōga.[106] Those among them who violated the agreement by obstructing cultivation or confiscating property in the kīḻīṭu, and their accomplices, were to pay 200 kaḻañju of gold as fine.[107]

There is also one instance of a kaccam dealing with the voluntary union of two Brahmin villages. An undated record of the 10th century from Airāṇikkuḷam refers to such a union between Tiruvallavāḻ (Śrīvallabha) and Airāṇikkuḷam (Girijāgrahāra) - two villages 'inhabited by noble Brahmins' - agreed to by the Ūr and Potuvāḷ of both villages. The three temples of Tiruvallavāḻ, Irāṇikuḷam and Cērakēśvaram (probably founded by king Jayarāga) and the Cērikkal belonging to all of them are brought together. Besides this they agreed to share their wealth and punitive measures, glory and humiliation, and everything else so as to form an ēkagrāma (single village). It was henceforth the duty of the Ūrāḷar to go and share happiness and misery whenever grievances were reported.[108] Those who refused to do so and their supporters lost the adhikāram (power) in both grāmas and the right to settle there. Kaitavārattu kaccam is referred to as the precedent in this resolution.[109] The permanent union of Brahmin settlements in this fashion must have been a common practice which led to their growth in power and prestige. We have a record of similar agreement between two Brahmin villages of the Cōḷa country also promising to become one. In this case also the union was the result of their voluntary choice and was effected without any direct reference to the central government.[110] Since Airāṇikkuḷam was one of the four leading Brahmin settlements having a representative in the royal council of Nālu Taḷi at the capital, it may be assumed that union with it was tempting to other villages.

There are some records of the Brahmin settlements in which punishment in the form temporary loss of rights, or loss of tenancy or office, or fine, are prescribed for certain offences. According to a record from Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi, the Taḷiyār and Adhikārar guilty of violating the agreement were not to exercise their powers until they paid the prescribed fine.[111] A similar injunction that others shall not work with the Paraṭayār until they paid fine is found in a Trippūṇithuṛa inscription.[112] A Trikkākara inscription prevents the Śānti who violated an agreement from touching the deity and officers of the temple.[113] A Tirunelli inscription also prohibits the entry into the temple by persons guilty of violating the rules until they pay the fine.[114] Provision was often made to remove or change the tenants in case of default, and this may be dealt with in greater detail in discussing land tenure.

An undated Kumaranallūr inscription of the 11th century, which mentions Perumānaṭikaḷ in the text, gives interesting information about some judicial aspects of local government. The Ūr meeting in the temple laid down certain rules for the Ūrāḷar as well as others in the village. Any dispute or violence in the temple was prohibited. The residents were ordered to report on the harvest to the Patināṛumar (the sixteen Ūrāḷar). The Ūrāḷar were asked not to obstruct cultivation and not to exercise authority within the enclosures mentioned there. They were all asked to go and attend to all the individual grievances. Those who entered houses to molest people or obstruct lands unjustly and their supporters were to forfeit Tāṉam, Paraṭai, Iṭaiyīṭu and Aṛam, the last mentioned being most probably a seat in the judicial organisation.[115] If the Śūdras residing in the village used abusive language against the Brahmins, they had to pay 12 kāṇam as fine. If they caused injury the amount was double. All this amount went to the temple.[116] The agents of the governor of Veṇpolināṭu had full freedom to do good or evil inside the village and the Ūrāḷar were not to oppose them in collecting fine.[117] Those of the Ūrāḷar who violated this kaccam were to be denied piccai (bhikṣa) and were to suffer according to Mūḻikkaḷam regulations, besides paying a fine.[118] If those who were not Ūrāḷar acted against the kaccam their property shall be confiscated by the temple.[119]

Thus we get an idea of the constitution of Ūr or Sabha consisting of the proprietors of the village and the Paraṭai or executive committee chosen by rotation or nomination. The records also bring out the nature of the control exercised over village life in general, and the temples and their properties and revenues in particular, by these bodies. Their powers to undertake the protection of common village or to form unions of Brahmin villages have also been highlighted. The Cēra inscriptions illustrate how the Brahmin settlements, organised under the leadership of Nālu Taḷi, and following a common code of conduct called Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam in routine affairs, were enjoying high status and power in the set up of Cēra administration. The local kac-

cams reveal attempts by the Brahmin settlements to evolve new codes of conduct for new situations. It may be observed here that such a detailed picture of the functioning of Brahmin village assemblies, formulating new rules with the permission of royal officers and creating or accepting precedents, cannot be found in the records of any other contemporary state in South India.

The transactions between some of the Brahmin assemblies on the one hand and the Perumāḷ and Nālu Taḷi on the other suggest the prominent part that the Brahmin settlements played in the government of the land. The prescription of punishment for civil as well as criminal offences prove their competence in judicial administration.

The above survey reveals that Cēra kings followed the advice of ancient law-givers in granting partial autonomy and special powers and privileges to guilds, corporations etc. It brings out in particular the prosperous and politically dominant position of the Syrian Christian and Jewish merchants in harbour towns and Aryan Brahmin agriculturists in the countryside. The Perumāḷ and his governors, however, maintained their absolute power in the Cērikkal or ordinary village.

Notes and References

1. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 4- 6. "Innakaram kaṇṭu nīrēṟṟa maruvan sapīrīśo ceyviccu tarisāppaḷḷikku kuṭutta pūmiyāvatu".

   The term Nagara may be employed for the city or trading corporation. It is defined by *Mayamata* as a town situated in the centre of a Rāṣṭra or near a river and protected by stakes, mud, surrounding walls, battlements, and fire all round, See K. Rangachari, *I.H.O.*, III, 'Town Planning and House Building in Ancient India'. p. 831.

   "Rāṣṭrasśya madhyē nadyo vā/Samīpē nagaram smṛtaṃ
   Tadēva śaṅkuh paṅkādyaih /Prākārāṭṭālagōpuraih
   Śataghnyādyēṣu puratoh / Paristīrṇocchritāṭṭaka".

   The second meaning of trading corporation gradually attained popularity. This was derived from the first since towns were big trading centres. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri writes that "the nagara was in all probability a primary assembly of merchants which was organised as one of the local assemblies in important trade centres" See *The Cōḷas*, p. 503.

2. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 48-9. "Innakarattukku kārāḷarāka nīrēṟṟār añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum".

3. Index no. A. 2, Ll. 10 - 12. "vārakkōlum kappāṉum pañcakkaṇṭiyum muṉṉam peṟṟuṭaiyana nānum viṭupēṟāka aṭṭikkuṭuttēn".

4. *Ibid.*, Ll. 12 - 14. "Innālu kuṭi īḻavarum oru kuṭi vaṇṇārum evvakaippaṭṭa iṟaiyum tarisāppaḷḷiyārkku viṭupēṟāka cceppupattiram ceytaṭṭikkuṭuttēn".

5. *Ibid.*, Ll. 17 - 20. "Tīyamāḷvāṉum matināyakaṉum maṟṟumevvakaippaṭṭārum eppiḷai colliyum ivakaḷai taṭumāṟappeṟār". "Ivakaḷ eppiḷaiceyyilum paḷḷiyārey ārāyntu koḷḷappeṟuvar".
6. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 18-22. "Ippūmiyil kkuṭikaḷaiyum eppiḷai colliyum paḷḷiyārey... talaivilaiyum mulaivilaiyum paḷḷiyārey koḷḷappeṟuvar. Namatar ep(pērp)paṭṭārum eppiḷai colliyum pūmittalaiyum kuṭikaḷ... cellappeṟar. Aṟunūṟṟuvarum añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum irakṣikkakkaṭavar paḷḷiyaiyum pūmiyaiyum".
7. *Ibid.*, Ll. 27 - 32. See chapter on Police and Revenue.
8. *Ibid.*, Ll. 32-5. "Ulkku paṭuñcarakku ivakaḷaikkūṭa vaccu ulkku piṭuppatākavum. Carakku milaiyiṭumatum maṟṟumē svāmikāriyam ekkāriyamum ivakaḷaikkūṭṭiyē ceyvatākavum. Anṟānṟu paṭumulku añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum ilacciccu vaippatākavum".
9. The Zamorins of Calicut associated the Ceṭṭi and Muslim traders with similar work in the 15th century and appointed a Muslim trader as 'Shahbandar Koya' or the Commissioner of the Port. Ma Huan, the Chinese traveller, observed in 1409 AD. "When a ship arrives from China the king's observer with a Ceṭṭi go on board to make an invoice of the goods and a day is settled for valuing the cargo. On the day appointed the silk goods, more especially the khinkis are first inspected and valued which, when decided upon, all present join hands, whereupon the broker says: "The price of your goods is now fixed and cannot in any way be altered". *J.R.A.S., 1906,* quoted by K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, I, p. 231.

   The 'Shahbandar Koya', the Muslim trader appointed as farmer of customs, enjoyed all the privileges and dignities of a Nāyar chief, exercised jurisdiction over the Mohammadens residing in the bazaar, possessed the right to receive a present from the Īḻavar, Kammāḷar, and Mukkuvar, and the right to collect brokerage and poll tax at the harbour and the ferries. See Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 15, 103.
10. *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*, Book II. Chap. XXI.
11. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 35 - 38. "Nālu vātilakattum vilakkum pūmiyāka kārāṇmai koṭukkum iṭattum kōppatavāram kōyil koṇṭu patipatavāram añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum koḷvatāka".
12. *Ibid.*, Ll. 45 - 50. "Ivakaḷkku aṉṉiyāyam oṇṭāyil ulku tulākkūli taṭuttum taṅgaḷ aṉṉāyam tīrttu koḷḷakkaṭavar. Taṅgaḷ ceyyum piḻaiyoṇṭākil taṅgaḷekkoṇṭēyārāṉṉu koḷḷakkaṭavarākavum innakarattukku kārāḷarāka nīrēṟṟār ancuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum. Ivaril iraṇṭu talaiyārum kūṭicceyvatei karumamākavum".
13. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 358-59. "Anṟu koṭākkaḷavvūr taṭuttu vaiccu koḷḷakkaṭaviyar potuvāṇmār".
14. See Al Idrisi, Marco Polo, Barbosa, Varthema, and Hamilton on the administration of justice in Malabar quoted by K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, pp. 253-55.
15. There are some instances, in Canarese inscriptions of the Āḷupas, of Nāyakās ruling over the Nagara like the Nāyaka of Udayāvaranagara (102 of 1901; *E.I.*, IX, p. 21) and Karasi Nāyga of Kōlāla Nagara (99 of 1901; *S.I.I.*, VII, p. 144). See also Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 176 - 7.
16. Gopinatha Rao suggested the first meaning. See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 65. However, the word 'Tiyyar' is used for Īḻavar only in North Kerala. The word 'Īḻavar' is used several times in these copper plates to denote these people. It would be strange if 'Tiyya' was used instead of 'Īḻavar' here. Therefore, the second meaning suggested by Prof.

Eḷamkuḷam is more acceptable. He has pointed out that the word 'tiyyam' which ordinarily means evil, is also used in the sense of crime and punishment in records. Thus 'Tiyyamāḷvān' must be the 'Sāhasādhipati' of Śukṛanīti. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 120. Fn. 6.

17. Index no. A. 34, Ll. 6-20.
18. Even if St. Thomas legend which says that the apostle himself founded the Christian church at Koḍuṅgallūr is discredited, the early settlement of Syrian Christians in that place must be accepted. See chapter on Social System. The Vīrarāghava Copper Plates of 1225 AD describe the concession made to Iravi Kōrttan, the chief of the Maṇigrāmam in Koḍuṅgallūr or Makōtayar Paṭṭaṇam.
19. Index no. A. 74, Ll. 16-18. "Innālvarumuḷḷiṭṭu eṇmarkku ulkum tulākkūliyumillai. Kōyilmaṉiccarkku maṇikkirāmattār nālvarkku tōṉṛiya piḻaiyum taṇṭamum koḷḷakkaṭaviyar".
20. Index no. A. 57, Ll. 10-12. "Annālvarum cenṛu --- iṛaiyum tiṛaiyum koḷvitu. Ivakaḷ cenṛu vilaiyiṭṭa carakkellārum koḷvatu".
21. R.C. Majumdar quotes Bṛhaspati (I. 28, 30) to show that ancient lawgivers enjoined the kings to authorise guilds, assemblies, etc. to decide lawsuits among them except causes concerning violent crimes. He also gives a few examples. See *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 63, 146 - 7. The administration of towns like Talakkāḍ, Mankuṇḍa and Mānyapura, residential capitals of the Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ, was conducted by merchant guilds or Nigama sabha sometimes expanding into an assembly of citizens of which the Paṭṭaṇasvāmi was the head. See *E.C.*, IV. Gu. no. 34; *E.C.*, V. Ak. no. 22 and M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ*, p. 160. The guilds and corporations like Maṇigrāmam, Vaḷañciyar and Nāṉādēśikaḷ in the Cōḷa empire maintained regiments of foot soldiers and swordsmen and concerned themselves with details of local administration. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 595-8. In the Āḷupa kingdom also kings conferred the right to collect tolls on the city guilds of Paṭṭi, Udayapura and Pombuccha. See Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, p. 184.
22. The term 'Ūr' is used throughout the Dravidian South India to denote a village. The term "grāma' is treated as its equivalent in Sanskrit language. Both words were used in Kerala. For the use of 'grāma' for village in inscriptions, see *Index* no. C. 35, Ll. 4- 5. "Tiruvallavāḻ ūrum airāṇikkaḷattūrum iraṇṭu kirāmattir Potuvāḷum". Vāsu Bhaṭṭa, the author of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, a contemporary of Rājaśēkhara and Kulaśēkhara introduced his master as the resident of viprasattamagrāma. "Jñānasamagrāmēyam nivasantam viprasattamagrāmēyam".

    Graeme's glossary describes the Ūrāḷa as "the patron or founder of a pagoda". See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XIII. Gopinatha Rao commenting on the use of the term in epigraphy writes: "The word Ūrāḷar is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, magistrate de la villa or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first of the two meanings". See *E.I.*, IX, p. 236. K.V. Subramanya Aiyer takes the Ūrāḷa to be "a state official who realised the fee for governing the village". See *T.A.S.*, IV, I, p. 7. C. Achuta Menon rightly points out that in olden times, "the general control over the temples was vested in a body of Ūrāḷar or trustees who were generally Grāmaṇi Nambūdiris, a class of military Brahmins not privileged to read or recite the vedas". See *Cochin State Manual*, p. 323. K.P. Padmanabha Menon quotes the judgement of K.R. Krishna Menon, sub-judge of Malabar, to clarify the Ūrāḷa's position. Ūrāḷan answers to the parson of the English church. By virtue of this nomination to Ūrāyma, he has the entire freehold of the Dēvasvam and in this

character is regarded as its proprietor. The Ūrāḷans possess the right of appointing all the temple servants and they form a sort of corporation and manage the Dēvasvam". See *History of Kerala*, IV, p. 69.

23. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam ignores this point and thinks that the Ūrāḷar in the Cēra period were elected by the Ūrkūṭṭam, a meeting of all the residents in the villages, and that they included non-Brahmins also. See *Ēṭukaḷ*, p. 124; *Janmisampradāyam*, pp. 21, 55. There is no evidence to support this view regarding a purely democratic base which goes against all suggestions in contemporary epigraphy and literature.

24. Panniyūr Inscription. *Index* no. C. 16, Ll. 12- 14 "Ivai tiruppaṉṟiyūr ūrārkkūrāṇmaiy tāṉamum paraṭaiyum kuṭuttā(r)"; Cōkiram Inscriptions. *Index* no C. 18, Ll. 12– 14. "Cōkiranallūr irāyiravarkkum cōkirattu ūrāṇmaiy tāṉamum paraṭaiyum kuṭu(ttār)" ; *Index* no. C. 19, L. 14 "... avaraḷaiyum ūrāṇmaikaḷaicceytu viṭṭatu".

25. Index no. B. 16, (Unpublished), Ll. 1-12. "Vaikkattu pāṇṭikkaṟpaḷḷi kkumaran kaṇṭaṉum kaṇṭan kumaraṉum iḷantāḷaiccēri nārāyaṇan kōvintaṉum alavattu tuppan kaṇṭaṉum pukaḷamaṅkalattu caṅkara nārāyaṇaṉum paṟaiyūr ppulimāmpaḷḷi ttuppanārāyaṇaṉum maṅkalattu nārāyaṇan tāmōtaraṉum āvaṭṭipputtūr pperuṅkāvūr nārāyaṇan tattaṉum pīccappaḷḷi nārāyaṇan cāttaṉum kuḻippaḷḷi nārāyaṇa-mātavaṉum karpakaccēri nārāyaṇan paramēśvaraṉum kuḻippaḷḷi kkiriṭṭan tāmōtara-ṉum paramēśvaran śrīdharaṉum iruṅkāṭikkūṭar kāṟttipaḷḷi kkaṇṭan tēvaṉum pullāñcippaḷḷi ttuppan viṭṭuvum ulakkaiyūr mātavan kēcavaṉum kārimukkiṟ tēvan viṭṭuvum peruvanattu kurāyūr iraṇyagarbha nārāyaṇaṉum śrīdhara nārāyaṇaṉum cēlūruruttiran tuppaṉum uruttiram paramēśvaraṉum uruttira nārāyaṇaṉum (ka)ṭamman tattaṉum paḷḷimaṟṟattu tuppa nārāyaṇaṉum ipparam santatipṟavēśamāka paṇṇiccu koṇṭōrāvōr ivakaḷ irupattunālvarum".

26. Index no. B. 15.

27. Kiḻimāṉūr Record of 343 M.E. (1168 AD) *T.A.S.*, V, I, pp. 63-86. Ll. 4-8. "Mukkālvaṭṭattu ūrāḻmmakku koṇṭa pēr ... pēr pattiṉum pēr onniṉu nilam āṟu kalamum itiṉaṭutta parappunāṭṭil cemme oḷḷa kāṭum karayum karapurayiṭamum pēr onṟiṉu āṇāḷ onṟum peṇṇāḷ onṟum ākayil aṟupatin kalamum āḷ irupatum nīkki oḷḷa nilam eppērppaṭṭatum ...". Ll. 29-33. "Iccilavu ōrāṇṭil īriruvaru kūṭi celuttamāṟum kaṟppiccitu ... Immārkkamē celavu celutti ivar oruttaril mūtta puttirar atikāram celutti varuvitum". (The village names, family names and personal names of the nominated persons are given in the lines omitted here).

28. This term 'Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār' has caused a lot of confusion and misunderstanding among scholars in Kerala and the rest of South India. In editing the Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate, Gopinatha Rao interpreted the term as "the residents of the eighteen districts or nāḍus belonging to Tiruvāṟṟuvāye". See *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 9 and 14. T.K. Joseph interpreted it as "the eighteen classes of people". See *K.S.P.*, II, p. 83. In connection with a reference to the term "patineṭṭu nāṭṭu viḻaiyattār" occurring in no. 519 of 1922 and no. 169 of 1923 the Madras government epigraphist writes: "The Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen nāḍus are very often met in the inscriptions irrespective of their locality but the names of these nāḍus are nowhere mentioned. They seem to have been wielding great influence in Vaiṣṇava temples". See *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1923, pp. 104-5. Nilakanta Sastri is puzzled in the same way. referring to no. 640 of 1905 and no. 519 of 1922 he writes: "The pan- Mahēśvarar and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas whose protection is invoked at the end of almost every inscription recording a gift to the temples were the congregations of these sects (priestly groups), sometimes said to be spread over eighteen districts (viṣayam or nāḍu) which are nowhere named". See

The Cōḷas, p. 489. Most of the writers on Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil inscriptions are left wondering about the location of the 18 districts. However, the term 'Nāṭṭār' means only local citizens in Malayalam even today and Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār would, therefore, refer to 18 citizens. The same is applicable to 'viṣayattār' also.

29. Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plates, *Index* no. A1, Ll. 1-2 "Avvāṇṭu tiruvāṛṛuvāy patiṉeṭṭu nāṭṭārum vāḻāippaḷḷi ūrārum kūṭi rājaśēkhara dēvar tṛkkaikkīḻ vaittucceyta kaccam"; Tiruvāṛṛuvāy Copper Plates, *Index* no. A. 4, Ll. 1-2. "Ivvāṇṭu tiruvāṛṛuvāy sabhaiyum aṭikaḷmārum avirōtattāl kkūṭi cceyta kaccam".

30. Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi inscription of Indu Kōta, 17th year, *Index* no. A. 27, Ll. 2-3 and Bhāskara Ravi, 18th year, *Index* no. A. 43, Ll. 2-4. "Nityaviyārēśvarattu patiṉeṭṭu nāṭṭārum atikārikaḷum avirōtattāl".; Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, *Index* no. A.9, Ll. 2-4. "Nityaviyārēśvarattu taḷiyārum taḷi adhikārarum veṇpolināṭuṭaiya kōtai iravi ulpāṭṭil aruḷḷiruntu ceyta kaccamāvatu". Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi inscription of Rāma, 11th year, *Index* no. A. 70, Ll. 1-3. "Nityaviśālēcuvarattu taḷiyum taḷi atikārikaḷum kūṭi cētu".

31. Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 46th year, (A series), *Index* no. A. 36, Ll. 22-26. "Ippaṇṇiṉa caṅkētam aṭikaḷ puṛaikiḻārum niḻalum paṇiyum muṛṛāṛṛakkūṭi Tirunelli mukkālvaṭṭattu ninṛu taṉṉātikaḷu yōkikaḷum ūrāḷar kaiyyilum aṭṭikkoṭuttār".

32. Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year (B series), *Index* no. A. 46, Ll. 18-19. "Iccērikkāl taṉṉātikaḷkku yōkikaḷkku śrīvaiṣṇavarkku kīḻīṭāka koṭuttitu".

33. *Ibid.*, Ll. 11-12. "Ari munnānāḻiyānūṛṛu nāḻiyilum pāti pirāmmaṇar amitu ceyvitu".

34. Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 13th year, (A series), *Index* no. A 30. Ll 5-6 "Tēvar tirumaṭaippaḷḷi nāḻiyāl nūṛṛunāḻicceytari ucciyakattu pantīraṭiyin munnan koṇṭuvantu palakaittalai aḷakka kaṭaviyan tuppanārāyaṇaṉum tuppan kiriṭṭaṉum. Ivvariyāl pāti tiruvamirtu cēvitu. pātiyum cirivayiṉṉavarkkum kuṭuttu koḷvitu"; Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 42nd year, *Index* no. A. 35, Ll. 2-3. "Munnānāḻiyāl nūṛṛunāḻicceytariyum munnānāḻiyāl irunnāḻicceytu neyyumkoṇṭu akattu pantīraṭiyil mun vannu tiruvamirtu ceyviccu pātiyunkoṇṭu pirāmmaṇarum cirivaiṉṉavaraiyum amirtu ceyviccu---".

35. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 39-40. "Kōyilkkari āyirakkalattālum añconṛu mēloṭi koṇṭu irupattaiñcu pirāmmaṇa cirivayiṉṉavar amirtu ceyvitu".

36. Āvaṭṭiputtūr inscription of Kōta Ravi, 20th year, *Index* no. A. 10, Ll. 2-4. "Āvaṭṭiputtūr irāyiravarum irupatteḻuvarum iraṇṭu kuṭippotuvāḻum avirōtattāl kūṭittirukkaikkīḻ iruntu ceyta kaccamāvitu".

37. Kumaranallūr inscription, *Index* no. C. 43, Ll. 2-3. " Mukkālvaṭṭattu ppatiṉāṛumar vacattum ceṉṛu koyttāl oḷḷatu collikkoḷḷa kkaṭaviyar".

38. Inscriptions of Gujarat and Maharashtra use the term 'Mahattara' or 'Grāma Mahathara' for these people, A. S. Altekar, *A History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-1; *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, II, pp. 158, 205. Records of early medieval Karnataka refer to them as 'Mahājana', *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 198-9. The Tamil epigraphic term 'Perumakkaḷ', used as a synonym of 'Ūrāḷar' seems to be a translation of Mahājana, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 502.

39. The high praise given by Sir Charles Metcalfe to village communities of ancient India, calling them 'little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations' has been quoted with approval by several historians. See R.K. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 2. Many scholars have ignored the fact that the village assemblies of which we get

early records from the Deccan and South India are those of Brahmin settlements and that other communities were automatically ruled out of power and position by caste regulations especially in temple-oriented village organisation. See Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, part II, p. 198. "The absence of election or selection in Karnatak was due not to the village bodies being less but more democratic than was the case in Tamil country". See also Eḷamkuḷam, *Janmisampradāyam*, p. 55; K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, 3rd edition, p. 487.

40. K.K. Pillai, *Śucīndram Temple*, p. 145. See also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 489, 515 (fn. 5) and No. 82 and 85 of 1896; 214 of 1911. No such executive committee or council is noticed in the Deccan. See Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, II. p. 204.
41. Index no. A. 9, 27, 43, 70. The term 'Mahattara Adhikāriṇaḥ' is employed in early records from Gujarat and Maharashtra to denote the sabha's executives. See Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 204-206.
42. Index no. A. 24, 25, and B. 7, 9, 18. The Adhikārarm of the grāma is described as a privilege of the Ūrāḷan in an Airāṇikuḷam inscription. *Index* no. C. 35.
43. Index no. A. 7.
44. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 26, 27.
45. The Ulpāṭan and Perumuṭiyan are mentioned in *Index* no. A. 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 41, 44, 45, and B. 10, 18. Muttār and Iḷayār are mentioned in *Index* no. A. 19, C. 17, 20 and 25.
46. Index no. A. 16.
47. Index no. B. 11.
48. Index no. A. 47.
49. Index no. A. 42.
50. Index no A. 16.
51. Index no. C. 43, Ll 8-9. "Ūrakattukkūṭiyirukkum cūttirar".
52. Index no. A. 64. "Ūrārum paraṭaiyārum capaiyārum".
53. Index no. A. 36, Ll, 19-21. "Kōyilmanuḷccar vilakkil niḻalvvakaiyiṛ kōyilkku pōm āṭṭaittirai koṭātavakaḷ taṇṭappaṭakkaṭavar".
54. Index no. A. 31.
55. Index no. A. 49.
56. Index no A. 68.
57. Index no A. 71.
58. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 50-1. "Yōgamaṇḍapattil vaccu ūrāḷar tiruvaṭimār avirōtattāl kūṭi". The Government epigraphists deciphered this as yāgamaṇḍapam by mistake.
59. Index no. A. 27, Ll. 18. "Kuṛaivu tīrttu kūṭi patiṉeṭṭunāṭṭārum".This was the case in regard to similar assemblies in the Cōḷa country also, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 506.
60. This kind of agreement is mentioned in ancient Hindu text books. See Brihaspati, VIII, 9, quoted by R.K. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 129. "When (the people of) a village or province execute a deed of mutual agreement, the purpose of which is not opposed to the interest of the king, and in accordance with the sacred law, it is called an agreement".
61. This practice is found recorded in Cōḷa inscriptions also. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, 508.

62. Index no. A. 70, Ll. 2-4. "Pullūr kumaran kumarāticcaṉāṉa neṭumpuṟanāṭṭu paṭanāyaruḷḷiruntu tēvakāriyamum taḷikkāriyamum vēṇṭum kuṟavaṟa paṟaññotukki koṭuttu".

63. In this connection it is interesting to note that the principle of unanimity was observed in some African communities, though there is no organic relationship between the systems in India and Africa. A correspondent from West Africa writes in "Democracy and African Personality" in *The Hindu*, dated 31- 1- '61: "Now that the single-party system has virtually come into existence in those African states, it is hailed as a manifestation of the 'African personality'. They explain that it is in fact a development of the traditional form of democracy as practiced by Africans in former times. It is a modern form of the traditional palavers which were held by the elders in clans and tribes in bygone days. Under the palaver system all decisions taken by the traditional councils had to be unanimous. In the course of arriving at their unanimous decisions many conflicting points of view would be aired and it would sometimes take days before a decision acceptable to all could be arrived".

64. A resolution of Kōta Ravi, 20th year, from Āvaṭṭiputtūr, describes this procedure. *Index* no. A. 10, Ll. 19-20. "Ivvōlayir pṭṭavaṇṇam kallinmēl eḻutuviccu nāṭṭuvittān".

65. Index no. A. 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 39, 48, 53, 62, 63, 66, 71, 72, 75, 76, and 77; B. 3, 16 and 22; C. 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 32, 33, 35, 36, and 44.

66. Index no. A. 9, 13, 16, 21, 22, 23, 25 to 33, 35, 37, 38, 41 to 45, 47, 49, 58, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70 and 74; B. 5 to 10. 13, 14, 17, 19, 20 and 21; C. I, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 34, and 38 to 43.

67. Index no. A. 54, 71, 78 and C. 13, 15, 45.

68. Index no. B. 15, Ll. 3 - 5. Śrīvallavankōtavarmar vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ kālattu avariṭaya tāyār tēviyār piratiṭṭa paṇṇittanna kālattu tēvattuvam pirammattuvamattiṉṉum paṇṇittanna piracatti jīrṇiccu cēvatu aṟiyarutātē irukkiṉṟatu".

69. Index no. A. 1, 4, 36, 46 and 80; B. 2, 11, 12 and 15.

70. Index no. A. 25, L. 5; no. 26 L. 5; no. 28. L. 4; no. 30. L. 7; no. 44. Ll. 8-9; no. 45. L. 4. "Ippari aṟiyum cātukkaḷ".; *Index* no. B. 11. Ll. 20-21. "Aṭṭiyeṭuttaṟiyum cātukkaḷ".

71. Several temple inscriptions of village assemblies have mentioned the name of the scribes. Only one of them has mentioned the official designation of the writer as Potuvāḷ though it may be inferred that others too were occupying the same position. See *Index* no. A. 16, Ll. 12-13 "Evakkuṟiccēn pūṇittuṟaiccāttan kumaraṉen"; *Index* no. A. 26, L. 6 "Kayyeḻuti aṟivēn kummankōṭṭiravi kumaraṉen"; *Index* no. A. 45, L, 4. "Ikkarumam paṇṇitta vakai eḻuti aṟivēn vēṇāṭṭu iravi kumaraṉen". *Index* no. A. 47, Ll. 5-6 "Uvvaccakaḷ eḻutitu". In this case the Uvvaccakaḷ (drummers) were the petitioners and they caused the writing also; *Index* no. B. 7, Ll. 9-10 "Puḷḷippaḷḷi caṅkaran cirikaṇṭan eḻuttu"; *Index* no. B. 11, Ll. 25-26. "Ivai tirukkuṇṟūr pputuvāḷ cāttan caṭaiyan eḻuttu". In this case the writer is mentioned as the Potuvāḷ of the village. *Index* no. C. 16, Ll. 24-5. "Pūntōṭṭattu ciritaran kaṇṭan eḻuttu".

72. Index no. A. 46, LI. 24-25 "kaiyyeḻutiyaṟivēn vāliśērikkaṇapati nīlakaṇṭaṉāyiṉa kuṟumpuṟaipperuntaṭṭān eḻuttu"; *Index* no. B. 16, Ll. 29-31 "Ipparicu kaiyyeḻutiyaṟivēn ... pperuntaṭṭāṉumivaṉukkiḻaiya nārāyaṇan kēḷaṉum --- mūṣakēśvara suvarṇakārēṇa".

73. Index no. A. 8. Cōkkūr; no. A. 14. Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri; no. A.25, A. 44 and B. 9. Trikkākara; no. A. 36. Tirunelli; no. A. 37. Mūḻikkaḷam; no. A. 80 L. 390. Tiruvalla; no. B.3. Ēḻimalai; B. 5 and 6. Kaviyūr; No. B. 13, 14 and C. 41. Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr; no. C. 2. Maṇiyūr; no. C. 14.

Rāmanāṭṭukara; no. C. 23. Pukkōṭṭūr; no. C. 24 and 25. Alanallūr; no. C. 31. Triprayār; no. C. 43 Kumaranallūr; no. 44. Nāvaykkuḷam; no. C. 45. Tirunandikkara. See also no. A. 52. Tirumaṛṛakōḍe.

74. Eḷamkuḷam, *Janmisampradāyam*, p. 29.

75. Index no. A. 37, L. 2. "...mūḻikkaḷakkaccam".

76. Index no. A. 8, Ll. 48 - 51. "Ivai uḻuvārum paṛippōrum paṛippōrkku paṅku ceyvōrum mūḻikkaḷavyavastaiyār kēṭakkaṭavar".

77. Index no. A. 36. Ll. 27-28. "Iccaṅkētam aḻikkumavakaḷ mūḻikkaḷakaccam". This is superseded by the discovery of Tirumaṛṛakōḍe inscription of Ravi Kōta, 8th year, *Index* no. A. 52.

78 Narayankaṇṇūr inscription, *Index* no. B. 3. Ll. 25-27. "itu muṭṭippōr mūḻikkaḷattuccavatai aḻintōrāvitu". Tirunandikkara inscription, *Index* no. C. 45. Ll. 38-39. "Iccelavu vilakkuvar mūḻikkaḷaccavatai---".

79. See Note no. 76 above.

80. Index no. A. 14, Ll. 31-35. "Ippanpu piḻaiccavan mūḻikkaḷattu cavattaiyāl keṭṭu ūrkku puṛam".

81. Index no. A. 25, L. 7. "Veṭṭikkarikkāṭṭinmēluḷḷa celavu muṭṭikkumavan mūḻikkaḷakkaccam".

82. Index no. A. 44, L. 8 "Neyyanri koḷvōr mūḻikkaḷakkaccam"; *Index* no. B. 9, Ll. 4-5. "Ivvaṇṇam paṇṇātu...paṭṭuḷḷa tiruvārātinai muṭṭiccōrāmai mūḻikkaḷakkaccam piḻaiccār".

83. Index no. B. 6, L. 2. "Vilakkum ūrāḷar ... tāṉamum paraṭaiyum ūrāṇmaiykkumiṭaiyīṭumkeṭṭu mūḻikkaḷattoḻukkappaṭi kaccam piḻaiccārāvatu".

84. Index no. C. 31, Ll. 8-11. "Akanāḻikaiccelavu pukkuvilakkavum poruḷ nīkkavu ceyyum ūrāḷan tēvarkkiṭaiyīṭum keṭṭu kōyilkkirupattainkaḻaiñcu pon paṭṭu mūḻikkaḷaccavattaiyum piḻaittu ūrviṭakkaṭavar".

85. See chapter on Divisions of the Kingdom. Note no. 137.

86. Index no. A. 1, Ll. 3-4. "Tiruvāṛṛuvāy muṭṭāppali vilakkuvar perumān aṭikaṭku nūṛu tīṉāram taṇṭappaṭuvatu. Mātṛparigrahamum ceytārāvatu".

87. *Index* no. A. 3, Ll. 10-12. "Ivvūrāḷariccavattai piḻakku(vōrayil) tāyāraikkonṛa pātakaḷāvatu. Appaṭakarōṭu (paṅku ceyvōrkkum) ivvinaiyaṇaivatu".

88. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 28-30. "Ūrāḷar iccelavu kuṛavu colli vilakkapeṛār. Vilakkumavan tantaiyaikkonṛu tāḷḷaiyaikkaḷattiram vaiccārāvatu. Avanu paṅku paṛaiyumavanavaraikkaṇakkē. Avar pūmiyum puraiyiṭamum ūr kūṭiccāṭṭikkoṇṭu tiruvallavāḻappaṉu celaviṉu koḷka".

89. Index no. C. 36, Ll. 7-11. "Iccērikkāl cenṛu ataram ceyyumavakaḷ tannai upaniccōticca upāttiyāyanaiyum tantaiyaiyunkonṛu tāyaikkaḷattiram vaiccōrāvitu. Tāṉamum paraṭaiyum peṛār. Ūrkku puṛam".

90. Saletore points out that in some Āḷupa grants to temples those who violated the rules are treated as being guilty of the five great sins. See *E.C.*, VI, Kp. no.37. p. 82 and Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, p. 184. Sometimes the offenders are stated to have incurred the great sin of having destroyed Brahmapura of Śivaḷḷi in Tuḷuva (No. 100 of 1901) or Vārāṇasi and Śivaḷḷi (no.102 of 1901). See *E.I.*, IX, nos. 12, 23 and *Ancient Karnataka*, I, P. 184. Sastri has observed that in the Tamil country offenders against

the temple properties were often described as cow-killers on the banks of the Ganges or enemies of Lord Śiva. See Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 228, 233.

91. The five great sins according to Manu were 1) killing a Brahman 2) drinking liquors 3) stealing gold 4) committing adultery with the wife of the guru or incest with one's mother and 5) associating with anyone guilty of these crimes. See *Manusmriti*, XI. 55. The Dharmaśāstras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba who are largely followed by South Indian Brahmins have introduced a classification of sins distinguishing between a) Patanīya (major sins causing loss of caste) b) Upapātaka (minor sins causing loss of caste) and c) Aśucikara (sins causing impurity). Baudhāyana includes sexual intercourse with forbidden females among upapātakas. Āpastamba includes it among Patanīya. For details, see W. Gampert, 'Old Classification of Sins in South India', *R.V.R.I.B.*, I, pp. 9-11. The traditional chronicle of Tuḷu country to the north of Kerala known as *Grāmapaddhati*, speaks of ostracism, confiscation of property etc. The sinners are said to become sthānahīnah (deprived of Sthāna or seat in the assembly), parityaktāh (abandoned) and sarva karmabahiṣkṛtāh (outcastes from all rites). See Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 310-20.

92. Aviṭṭattūr inscription, *Index* no. A. 10; Tripṛaṅgōḍe inscription, *Index* no. A. .13, C. 17, and C. 20; Tiruvalla copper plates, *Index* no. A. 80, Ll. 329- 45; and Irāṇikuḷam inscription, *Index* no. C. 35.

93. The term 'cērikkal' occurring in some of the Cēra inscriptions has been misunderstood by epigraphists. Gopinatha Rao interpreted it as 'land on the slopes of hills'. See *T.A.S.*, II, p. 46. Graeme's Glossary explains 'Cērikkal' as private domains of the Rājas of Malabar possessed in proprietary right whether by purchases, lapses or escheats. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII. Cērikkal. K.P.P. Menon adopts the same view. See *History of Kerala*, II, p. 330. K.V. Krishna Ayyar called them royal estates corresponding to the crown lands of England. See *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 274, 328. This impression is created by the Cochin official records also. See *Regulations II of 1043 M.E. of the Cochin State*, p. 6. These explanations offered by scholars on the basis of later records appear to be valid for the Cēra period also. The cērikkals are ordinary villages possessed by kings, governors, queens, princes etc sometimes placed under the protection of Aryan villages.

The term 'cēri' means the hamlet inhabited by lower classes. Therefore, it is only natural that 'cērikkal' connoted a common village as distinct from an Aryan Brahmin village.

94. Index no. A.10, Ll. 4-7. "Cēramān mātēviyaruṭaiya cērikkāl āvaṭṭiputtūrkku kīḻiṭu ceytu itinukku ilakkāpōkamākakkuṭuppān amaiñcitāvitu. Āvaṭṭiputtūrpperuntirukkōyilir cānti aṭikaḷkku niyamappaṭi (iṭankaḻi)yāl irināḻicceytaricikku āṭṭāṇṭu koṭuppān amaiñca nel...".

95. *Ibid.*, Ll. 8-12. "Ivvūrkkoru vitaṉam vanta poḻutu kēṭṭa ūrāḷaṉum potuvāḷum oruttaroruttaraikku ponku viḷiccu kūṭiccenṛu avvūrkku uḷḷa vitaṉantīrttu koṭakkaṭaviyar. cānti aṭikaḷum avvūrkku aḻivu varukil vanta poḻutu niṛmmāliyammuṭṭiccu vaiccu tāmai cenṛu vitaṉantīrttu kuṭukkakkaṭaviyar".

96. *Ibid.*, Ll. 12-14. "Ivvūrikkūrāḷaṉum potuvāḷum pukkuvilakkavum poruḷ kavaravum kuṭi vaikkavum (pūminēṭavum) āṭakoḷavum kaṭṭilēṛavum ivvūrkkuṭikaḷai oru nanmai ttinmai ceyyavum pēṛān".

97. *Ibid.*, Ll. 14-17. "Ivvūruṭaiyavakaḷ tankaḷūrkkuṭikaḷai kkuṟaivitum kuṭimai koḷvitum taṇṭippatum taṇṭankoḷvitum koḷvitum ceykilum kuṭikaṭku yoru valayai paṟaiyavum ceyyavum peṟān ūrāḷaṉum potuvāḷum".

98. *Ibid.*, Ll. 17-19. "Ippāricaṉṟiye ceyyumūrāḷaṉum potuvāḷum uṇṭaiyir kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccamum piḷaiccu ūrkkumiṭaiyīṭu keṭṭu tāṉamum paraṭaiyum peṟān".

99. *Index* no. A. 13, Ll. 43-59. "Ippūmi ittaṉaiyilum pukku vilakkuvitum poruḷ kavaruvitum pukkuṉṟi ... vināceyyum ūrāḷarum potuvāḷum... perumāṉaṭikaṭkkirupattaiṅkaḷaiñcu poṉṉum paṭṭu āḷkōyiṟku pantiru kaḷaiñcē añcu kāṇam poṉṉum paṭṭu tavaraṉūrkkaccamum piḷaiccu ūrkkum puṟamāvitu".

100. Index no. C. 17, Ll. 4-12. "Iravi tēvi ammaṉuṭaikkīḻiṭēṟṟu perumpalāvum paḷḷikkaraiyālu mirunāḷi ariyum puḷaikkaraiyum atiniṭakūṭiṉa pūmiyil oru tirunantāviḷakkum taviraṉūrppāṭṭavāḷaṉ cenṟu vēṇṭikkoṇṭu celuttakkaṭavaṉ. Itu taviraṉūroṭokkum".

101. *Ibid.*, Ll. 12-17. "Pukkuvilakkavum poruḷ kavaravum aṭaiyuḷavuḷavum pāṭṭamāḷavum kuṭiyirukkavum kaṭṭilēṟavum pūmi nēṭavum kuṭikaḷkkuvvalayai ceyyavu peṟār ūrāḷar". For detailed annotation and discussion of the text, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 45-60.

102. It appears that in appointing a Brahmin assembly of the neighbouring village as protector, the original rights of the proprietor, normally a royal person, are not surrendered. The kings and Governors might not have extended to the cērikkal people the consideration which they showed to the Syrian nagara and the Aryan grāma.

103. Index no. C. 20. "Cōkirattu paraṭaiyārum iḷaiyārum kōyilāy irāya cēkararāyiṉa vaḷḷuvarunkūṭicceyta kaccamāvatu. Taviraṉūrun taviraṉūrōṭakkūṭi ttēvarkku niccal naṭaikku cellum pūmiyum nāḷpaṅku nantāviḷakkum vilakkapperār. Ivaiyiṟṟil uḷavu vilakkapperār. Nelvilakkapperār. Kāriyam koḷḷapperār. Ivai vilakkuvānāy tēyam pūkavum peṟār. Ivaiyiṟṟir paṭṭa palamum koḷḷapperār. Baliyum oḷukkaviyum cāntiyum vilakkapperār ūrāḷar. paṇṭū mūttār koḷḷuvitum celuttikoḷḷapperār. Ivaṇṇamaṉricceyvāruḷarāyil ūrāṇmaiyiḷappatu".

Though this text was published, it was published without commentary or notes. The fact that it contained the original Tavaraṉūr kaccam quoted in another Cōkiram inscription and a Tripṛaṅgōḍe inscription of Kōta Ravi was brought out and its implications were analysed by the present writer, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp.45-60.

104. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 331-33, 342, 43. "Veṇpolināṭuṭaiya kuṭavūrum kuṭavūrkkuppaṭum patiṉeṭṭu variyaiyum aṅgāṭiyumakappaṭattiruvallavāḷappaṉu kīḻiṭaṭṭikkuṭu-ttāniravi cirikaṇṭaṉ". "Araiya kōpamum cāmanta kōpamum nīkki rakṣiccu rakṣāpōkam koḷḷakkaṭaviyar ūrāḷar".

105. *Ibid.*, Ll. 343-45. "Pukkuvilakkavum poruḷkavaravum pērārikkīḻittinu irukūṟu paṟaiyum ūrāḷar ūrāṇmaiyum tāṉamum paraṭaiyum peṟār. Kuṭavūr kīḻiṭu caṇkaramaṅgalattu kaccamē ithiṉu Kaccam".

106. Index B. 11, Ll. 7-13. "Āticcan umayammai tāṉaṭṭirppēṟu koṇṭatu tiruccenkuṉṟūrppaṭārakaṟkku kīḻiṭāy ccirṟūṟnaṭaiyoṭu kūṭa nāṉāḻicceytari tiruvamutiṉukkum onpatināḻippaṟaiyāl irunūṟu paṟaicceytu nel antuvarai koṭuppitākappotuvāḷ kaiyyil nīrōṭaṭṭikkoṭuttāḷ. Ayirūr mukkālvaṭṭamum paṭṭārarkkoḷḷa iṭaiyiṭum rakṣiccu koṭuttu koḷḷakkaṭaviyar potuvāḷmār".

107. *Ibid.*, Ll. 13-17. "Ippāricuceyta kīḻiṭṭil ūrāḷarāka iṭaiyiṭarāka pukkuvilakkavum poruḷkavaravum peṟār. Itaṉai piṉoṉṟu ceyyumavan vevvēṟṟu vakai ccirṟūrnaṭai

ttaṇṭam irunūṟṟukkaḷaiñcu pon taṇṭappaṭakkaṭaviyan. Avaṉku pāṭutāṅkumavaṉum ipparicē taṇṭappaṭuvitu".

108. Index no. C. 35, 4-11. "Tiruvallavāḷ ūrum ayirāṇikkaḷattūrum iraṇṭu kirāmattir potuvāḷum avirōtattālkkūṭṭamkūṭi mukkālvaṭṭattiruntu ceyta kāriyamāvatu. Tiruvallavāḷ mukkālvaṭṭamum ayirāṇikkaḷattu mukkālvaṭṭamum cērakēśvaramum immūnṟu mukkālvaṭṭamum mukkālvaṭṭam mūṉṟiṉukkuḷḷa cērikkalum aṟuttamum vilakkum māṉamum avamāṉamum evvakaippaṭṭatum namakkākumenṟu ēkagrāmam ceytu onnoṉṟirkku vitaṉamuḷḷa poḻutu kēṭṭa ūrāḷaṉṟanmēr aṭṭaiyum paraṭey cenṟu cukatukkappaṭakkaṭavan".

109. *Ibid.*, Ll. 11-14. "Ipparicu ceyyātavan iṟaṇṭu kirāmattiṉum atikāramunkeṭṭu ūrakattu kuṭi irukkavum peṟān. Ivaṉu tuṇai ceyyum ūrāḷaṉum ivaṉoṭokkum. Itinukkamaiñca kaccamāvatu kaitavārattiṉukkum karaikkārkkum amaiñca kaccamē Kaccam".

110. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 507. See also *E.I.*, III, 145-147; *S.I.I.*, II, p. 370; R.C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 211.

111. Index no. A. 9, L. 36-40. "Ikkaccam piḻaikkuntaḷiyārumatikārarum vevvēṟu irupattain kaḻañcu cemponṟaṇṭappaṭuvatu. Ittaṇṭamiṭṭaṉṟittam atikārañceyyappeṟār".

112. Index no. A. 16, Ll. 10-12. "Kōyilkku paṭṭa ponniṭṭappoḻtanri maṟṟaiyavakaḷivaṉōṭu kūṭi karuman ceyappeṟār".

113. Index no. B. 9, L. 4. "Kaṭankoṭuttu koṇṭu cānti irukkappeṟār. Koṭuttu iruppāruḷarāyil paṭāraraiyum paṭāraratikāraraiyuntuṭappeṟār".

114. Index no. A. 46, Ll. 19-21. "Iccelaviṉukku irukūṟu paṟaiññu muṭṭikkumavan āṟaraikkāṇam poṉṟaṇṭam perumāl paṇṭārattil vaiccu muṭṭiraṭṭi tiruvamirtum nantāviḷakku vaippiccu mukkālvaṭṭattu cellakkaṭavan".

115. Index no. C.43, Ll. 2-8. "Mukkālvaṭṭattu vaiccu kūṭṭavum kalaikkavum ceyyavum peṟār. Mukkālvaṭṭattuppatiṉāṟumar vacattum cenṟu koyttāloḷḷatu collikkoḷḷakkaṭaviyar. Ūrār akanāḻikaiccelavu vilakkavum peṟār. Kayattanattaloṭu oṟṟaṟṟappaṭicceyitaiy mērpaṭiyūr cciṟaiyiṭay manai vēliyakattu cenṟu ataranceyyappeṟār. Vevvēṟṟuvakaiyāl varum vitaṉattiṉukku ellārum cellakkaṭaviyar. Puraiyiṭattuḷccenṟu ataranceyyumavakaḷum ñāyamillātu pūmi vilakkumavakaḷum avakaḷkku anupantan ceyyumavakaḷum tāṉamum paraṭaiyum aṟamum peṟār. Ūrkkiṭaiyīṭum keṭuvitu".

116. *Ibid.*, Ll. 8-12. "Ūrakattukkuṭiyirukkuñ cūttirar pirāmaṇaraiy turvvāyakam paṟaikil ppantiraṇṭu kāṇam pon koṭuppitu. Carattaṇṭam ceykil irupattunālu kāṇam pon koṭuppitu. Cūttiran cūttiraṉai kkuṟaikkil āṟu kaḻaiñcu pon koṭuppitu. Kolkil pantiru kaḻaiñcu pon koṭuppitu. Ippon paṭāriyar koḷvitu".

117. *Ibid.*, Ll. 12-13. "Veṇpolināṭu vāḻumavakaḷ māṉiṭam ūrakattu cenṟoru nanru tinku ceykil teṇṭam koḷḷumpoḻutu ūrāḷar irukūṟu paṟaiyappeṟār".

118. *Ibid.*, Ll. 13-17. "Ikkaccam piḻaippiccavar illattu piccai pūkappeṟār. Ikkaccam piḻaiccavar mūḻikkaḷattoḻukka viccānṟarai piḻaiccōruḷppaṭuvitu. Ikkaccam piḻaiccavarum piḻaiccavarkkaṉupantam ceyyumavakaḷum vevvēṟṟu vakaiyāl pperumāṉaṭikaḷkku nūṟṟukkaḻaiñcu ceytu pontaṇṭam kuṭukka kaṭaviyar".

119. *Ibid.* "Urāṇmaiyillāttavaruḷ ikkaccampiḻaippōrāyil tankaḷuṭaiya iṭaiyīṭu akanāḻiyaiccelaviṉoṭokkum".

IX. Police and Revenue

There are two functions of government which may be noticed everywhere - i.e., the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue. No government can dispense with them. The records of the Cēra period also provide some glimpses of these two aspects of administration. They refer to an organisation which acted as the executive arm of the government, undertaking the supervision and the protection of properties and also the collection of the king's or governor's share of revenue. They had fixed membership and hereditary office.

Police Force

There is no detailed account of a police force. However, it is possible to piece together hints from different sources and get a glimpse of the machinery and procedure by which the protection of property and the maintenance of law and order were accomplished in the state. The king as well as the governor of districts appears to have maintained groups of men who were bodyguards, trusted companions, and men of all work at the same time. They are found wherever the king or governor makes an appearance, and their members, counted in hundreds, give a clue to the comparative size and strength of the territory under each prince. No distinction is mentioned between civil and military service.

Āyiram

The Kollam-Rāmēśvarm inscription declares the presence of a body called Āyiram (the Thousand) in the royal assembly there.[1] This is mentioned immediately after 'Nālu Taḷi' which is the Perumāḷ's Council and before Aṟunūṟṟuvar, evidently the Aṟunūṟṟuvar of Vēṇāṭu. In view of the fact that the district governors had bodies of a few Hundreds attached to them, it may be inferred that the Āyiram was a similar body attached to the sovereign. The single reference in this record is unable to reveal its character. However,

it is possible that, like Nālu Taḷi, this organisation too had its headquarters in the capital city of Makōtai.

In this context, it is interesting to notice that an organisation called 'Onnu Kuṛe Āyiram' (The thousand without One) has been functioning in Koḍuṅgallūr, the old Cēra capital, for many centuries.[2] Its origin and history are obscure, and it has no ancient records, but only the traditional forms of organisation and rituals have been maintained. It is a predominantly Nāyar organisation led by a few old aristocratic families of the place. This body manages the Koḍuṅgallūr Bhagavati temple, which is an ancient and famous centre of Kāḷi worship in Kerala.[3] The fact that Kāḷi is a war Goddess and the fact that Nāyars belong to the traditional warrior class may have a special significance here. The annual pilgrimage to this Bhagavati shrine during the Bharaṇi festival in the month of Mīṉam (March-April) attracts toddy-drinking, cock-sacrificing, obscene-shouting rabbles in thousands even today. Traditionally this has remained a masculine affair though the female folk of certain families regularly attend to the service in the shrine. This festival could very well be a relic of the period when Koḍuṅgallūr was the capital of Kerala.[4]

Looking for a clue regarding the loss of 'the one' in Onnu Kuṛe Āyiram (the Thousand without One) it may be assumed that the lost one was the leader of the group and that somehow the loss occurred at such a time and in such a manner that it could not be compensated. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* relates an episode which suggests this possibility.[5] According to this a conflict ensued between the last Cēra king and the captain of his 'akampaṭippatiṉāyiram', i.e., the following of ten thousand men. The captain is called Paṭamēl Nāyar - supreme commander of the forces. The Perumāḷ decided to punish the Nāyar at the instigation of his queen; paid the complete salary at the man's request and ordered him to be drowned. On his part the Nāyar instructed his Patiṉāyiram to continue their 'akampaṭi sthāṉam' and departed for heaven. The king realised his mistake when it was too late. Since no atonement was prescribed for such a sin in Hindu scriptures, he embraced Islam and went to Mecca.

The fact that a body called 'Āyiram' (The Thousand) would really contain the strength of 'Patiṉāyiram' (the Ten Thousand) is demonstrated by the district records themselves. It is expressly stated that the body called 'Ainnūṟṟuvar' (the Five Hundred) was really a body of 'Aiyāyiravar' (the Five Thousand) and that the body called 'Munnūṟṟuvar' (The Three Hundred) was really a body of 'Muvāyiravar' (The Three Thousand).[6] This occurs when each person in the company is the commander of a unit of ten. Thus the *Kēraḷōlpatti* account of the conflict between the Perumāḷ and Paṭamēl Nāyar explains the transformation of 'Āyiram' into 'Onnu Kuṛe Āyiram' and also

brings out the fact that this body formed the 'akampaṭi' or personal entourage of the sovereign.

Some of the old customs and practices of the 'Onnu Kuṛe Āyiram' acquire significance in the light of this explanation. Its membership is hereditary and the head of the family represented the family house. Four important Nāyar houses - Vaḷḷōppiḷḷil, Tayyappaḷḷil, Kiḷikkōṭṭa, and Kāttoḷḷil - have a prominent place in the organisation. The local Kṣatriya chief, the rāja of Koḍuṅgallūr, is informed about the proceedings of this assembly but he has no membership and no veto there. The meetings are held in the morning of the first of every month in the Malayalam calendar in the precincts of the Bhagavati temple. The sitting is called 'Niḻal irikkal', i.e., Sitting as Niḻal, a term the meaning of which remained obscure. Till recently the members were expected to attend the meeting with their traditional weapons. They used to sit in two rows facing each other. The member from Vaḷḷōppiḷḷil known as Vaḷḷōppiḷḷil Paṭanāyar (military commander of Vaḷḷōppiḷḷil house) presided over the assembly. If anyone came late, he had to go round the gathering thrice holding the weapons upside down and then take the seat with the presiding officer's permission. The members addressed each other as 'caṅgāti' meaning comrade. While announcing decisions the president put the question "Sammatam allē?" (Does everybody agree?) The persons, who disagreed, if any, could indicate their disapproval by turning around and facing outward. If attempts at an agreed solution failed, they consulted the temple oracle.

The terms 'Niḻal Irikkal' and 'caṅgāti' are useful in revealing the character of this organisation more fully. 'Niḻal Irikkal' was not properly understood by the scholars who tried to change it into 'niḻalil irikkal' and explained it as 'sitting in the shade' in the literal sense. Sometimes it was explained after this change as meaning 'sitting in the protective shadow of the Bhagavati' in a symbolic sense.[7] Both explanations are inadequate. This phrase is to be interpreted in the light of 'niḻal' which occurs frequently in Cēra inscriptions and historical literature. Though 'niḻal' ordinarily means 'shade' or 'shadow' it is used here in a technical sense to connote the akampaṭi organisation. A Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi uses the word 'niḻal' for the Eḻunnūṛṛuvar (the Seven Hundred) of Kuṛumpuṛaināṭu.[8] *The Calicut Granthavari* refers to the Pōḷanāṭṭu Patiṉayiram (the Ten Thousand of Pōḷanāu) forming the akampaṭi of the Zamorin of Calicut as 'niḻal'.[9] The term niḻal must have come to be applied to such groups because the companions or body guards were expected to move along with the master like shadows inseparable from the object of origin.

The term 'caṅgāti' with which the members of 'Onnu Kuṛe Āyiram' addressed each other also brings out the military character of the association. This is now a common word in Malayalam indicating comrade or friend. It is

derived from 'caṅgātam' or 'sanghātam' applied to groups of soldiers in medieval Kerala.[10] Not only kings and chieftains but even corporations used to keep their own caṅgātam or bodyguard for self-protection and the protection of properties.[11] Every traveller used to hire a caṅgātam consisting of mercenaries.[12] Thus it is the sense of military brotherhood which this term of address conveyed to the members of the assembly of the Bhagavati temple of Cranganore.

Cēkkiḻār says that when the royal Śaivite saint called Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār disappeared suddenly and mysteriously following the report of the disappearance of his friend Sundaramūrti from Tiruvañcaikkaḷam temple, some of the captains of his large army committed suicide one after the other by turning their daggers on themselves.[13] These men are mentioned as 'Uṭan ninṟa paṭaivīrar', i.e., the military leaders who stood close to him, and as 'cēvakar', i.e., members of his retinue. These could be none other than the members of Āyiram or 'Niḻal' in Cranganore. Irrespective of the truth or falsehood of the particular event, this account in the 12th century work points to a particular convention of the age. It shows that members of the akampaṭi were bound to die with their master especially in the event of accidental or premature end to his life.

Nūṟṟuvar

The bodies of Nūṟṟuvar (the Hundred) of the districts, which corresponded to the Āyiram at the centre, and varied in strength from district to district, have already been cited earlier. Though the information is indirect and meagre, the evidence is capable of throwing light on some important aspects of their character.

These numbers known from inscriptions range from three hundred to seven hundred in the case of the districts. Thus there were Aiññūṟṟuvar or the Five Hundred of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu, Eḻunūṟṟuvar or the Seven Hundred of Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, Aṟunūṟṟuvar or the Six Hundred of Rāmavaḷanāṭu, Aṟunūṟṟuvar or the Six Hundred of Ēṟāḷanāṭu, Aṟunūṟṟuvar or the Six Hundred of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Aṟunūṟṟuvar or the Six Hundred of Kīḻmalaināṭu, Munnūṟṟuvar or the Three Hundred of Nanṟuḻaināṭu and Aṟunūṟṟuvar or the Six Hundred of Vēṇāṭu. Each of the junior princes of Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, Ēṟāḷanāṭu and Vēṇāṭu is known to have had a following of Munnūṟṟuvar or the Three Hundred also.[14]

The mention of the body of followers in this manner does not necessarily mean that the whole body including all members was present at the gatherings referred to in inscriptions. The name of the body, i.e., Munnūṟṟuvar, Aṟunūṟṟuvar, etc. was used for the leader or commander of the body so that it was often the leader and perhaps a few members of his team also who were

present on a particular occasion. This is clear from an undated and incomplete inscription of the 10th century from Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr. It is stated that the Munnūṟṟuvar of Naṉṟuḷaināṭu and three other persons whose names are mentioned, constituted a group of four persons.[15] That the term Aṟunūṟṟuvar might stand for the leader of the body is again revealed by the reference to Aṟunūṟṟuvar and Niḷalōr, i.e., the leader of the Six Hundred and the group constituting the Niḷal, in a Tirumaṇṇūr inscription.[16]

In the absence of detailed investigation based on original sources, different scholars had put forward speculative suggestions regarding these bodies. Logan propounded the view that "each Six Hundred seems to have had assigned to it the protection of all the people in a nāḍ or country" and felt that comparison between these Nāyar assemblies and the British Parliament was justified.[17] Padmanabha Menon surmised that "organisations such as those of the 'Five Hundred', 'Six Hundred' and 'Five Thousand' which must have been originally designed to act as checks on the despotic power of the ruling authority, and as means of preserving the rights and privileges of the people in fact, were in force all over the land from Gōkarṇam to Cape Comorin from very remote times".[18] R.C. Majumdar was emboldened by such views to assume that these could be "something like a state council, the remnant of the old samiti".[19] In fact, a basic error seems to have been committed in taking for granted that these bodies were independent of the kings and chieftains or placed above them so as to exercise control over them. This idea derived from later medieval history and developed at a time when there was no notion of the existence of Cēra monarchy, served to create a false impression of democratic traditions and privileges. The categorical statement to the effect that the Eḷunūṟṟuvar were attached to the person of the senior prince of Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, takes away the ground from beneath this assumption.[20]

To understand the correct role of these groups which formed part of the royal administration, the references to the functions assigned to them could be examined here. Some inscriptions mention the maintenance of various charitable endowments and the protection of property as their duties. This is signified by such words as 'rakṣa' and 'kāval' meaning protection. The Kollam Syrian copper plates nominate the Aṟunūṟṟuvar of Vēṇāṭu jointly with Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam as the guardians of Paḷḷi (Christian church of Tarsa) and its landed properties.[21] A Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr inscription entrusts the Munnūṟṟuvar of Naṉṟuḷaināṭu the task of maintaining the routine expenses of the temple.[22] A sentence in this record authorises them to die and kill to realise the stipulated amount in case of default or violation of rules.[23] Another inscription of the same period in the same place nominates the Munnūṟṟuvar of Naṉṟuḷaināṭu as the guardians of the endowment for the temple.[24] Still another undated inscription from the place also does the same.[25] In Tirunelli copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi, the governor's land gift

to the temple is placed under the protection of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu Aññūṟṟuvar.[26] The Irinjālakkuḍa inscription of Bhāskara Ravi clearly states that the Aṟunūṟṟuvar of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu are appointed for Kāval (protection) of the Cērikkal donated to the temple.[27] According to a Tirumaṇṇūr inscription of Rājarāja, the Dēvasvam and Brahmasvam of Tirumaṇṇūr had been placed under the protection of the Aṟunūṟṟuvar who are mentioned as part of the governor's retinue.[28] A Trikkaḍittāṉam inscription of Ravi Rāma says that if anything goes wrong with the endowment created and the workers and Ūrāḷar fail to solve the problem, the Nāṭuvāḻi, Munnūṟṟuvar, and Paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷ are to look into their grievance.[29] A record of Kaṇṭan Kumaran, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu, from the same place entrusts the Ūr (village assembly), Kīḻumalai Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Naṉṟuḻaināṭu Munnūṟṟuvar, Paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷ, and Potuvāḷmār jointly to enquire into all grievances and redress them.[30] A Kiṇālūr inscription states that the Munnūṟṟuvar have to guarantee regular payment after removing obstacles.[31]

The above analysis would make it clear that the Nūṟṟuvar organisation of the districts had, in addition to the service of their master, the duty of protecting the endowments and properties of institutions within the territory as and when they were called upon to do so. This kind of organisation continued in post-Cēra period also. Every chieftain in medieval Kerala had his quota of armed men. According to Graeme's glossary of terms, a nāṭuvāḻi of Kerala had at least 100 Nāyars, militia men, attached to his range.[32] This institution is not really new or peculiar to Kerala. Its origins may be traced to the early days of ancient Hindu civilization. The *Arthaśāstra* describes a group of men called 'Maula Puruṣar' and '*Maulabala*' who guard the headquarters of the king and his person.[33] They inspect his food and bed and vehicles and accompany him always when he attends festivals, processions or assemblies. They form the reliable inner core of his armies. The term 'Sambandhi' or associate is also used for them. They are described as 'daśavargika' or leaders of ten persons. This term explains why the Five Hundred of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu actually had five thousand men and the Three Hundred of the junior prince of Kuṟumpuṟaināṭu actually had three thousand men as pointed out earlier.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the terms 'Maula' and 'Mūlabhṛtya' are employed in some Canarese and Tamil inscriptions.[34] The term 'Cārnnavakaḷ' is also noticed in records of Kerala.[35] This would suggest that the concepts and institutions of the *Arthaśāstra* had some validity in South India during this period. Personal loyalty to the king or chieftain seems to have been developed into a cult with its own rituals and sacrifices in the whole of South India. Contemporary Arab accounts of this cult are significant and since Kerala was situated on the West coast open to Arab contact it is possible that the Arab ideas of Indian institutions were based largely on their experience of Kerala.

Abu Zaid, an Arab writer of the 9th century, makes interesting comments on the nature of hundred organisations in India. He observes:[36]

> When they mount on the throne some kings of India cause rice to be cooked which is then presented to them on leaves of the banana. The king musters (on this occasion) three or four hundred friends (who attach themselves to him) by deliberate design, freely, without anyone being forced to it. After eating of the rice himself, the king gives of it to his friends and each one of them in his turn, goes near (him), takes a little of the rice, and eats it. When the king dies or is killed, all those who have eaten the rice (with him in this sort of religious communion which binds them intimately) should burn themselves voluntarily on a pyre, to the last man, on the very day when the king ceases to live. (The king dead, his friends should disappear without delay.) This obligation is so imperative that there should remain nothing of these friends, neither body nor trace of themselves.

A similar account is found in the Arab work known as the *Book of Marvels of India*, of about the same period and the relevant passage may be reproduced here.[37]

> The kings of India have about their persons a company of men, which is more or less numerous according to their degree of magnificence and the consequence of the state. These men say to the king: 'we are your balaudjers'. He makes them eat rice with him and gives them betel from his own hand. Each hacks off his little finger and sets it before the king. And from that moment on they follow him about wherever he goes and overlook everything which has to do with him. No concubine is brought to his bed, whether it be girl or boy but they first of all examine them thoroughly, no carpet is spread for his feet till they have inspected it. The king is served with no drink or dish but they insist it should be first of all tasted by whoever brings it. And thus they do in every instance where, the king might be exposed to some danger. If he dies they commit suicide; if he burns they cast themselves into the flames; if he falls ill, they manhandle themselves in order to share his sufferings. When a battle is fought, in the attack they cluster around him and never leave his side. Only men of distinguished family who are themselves comely and valiant and of good understanding are admitted among the balaudjers. And that is how the word 'balaudjer' is explained.

There might be some exaggeration and distortion in these reports but it cannot be denied that they represent the essential truth about a living institution. The references to rice eating, betel chewing, and banana leaves do strongly suggest the atmosphere of Kerala. Moreover, the whole account fits into the background of *Arthaśāstra* prescription, and the known facts about the Cēra hundred organisation, like attachment to the master's person, the companionship, and the military-police character. Dying with the master appears to have been a familiar practice in ancient India.[38] With regard to Kerala we have already referred to the *Periyapurāṇam* account of 'Uṭan ninṟa paṭaivīrar' committing suicide at the death of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār.[39]

Veḷḷan Kumaran, the Mūlabhṛtya of Cōḷa-Cēra prince Rājāditya, was grieved that he did not have the pleasure of dying with his master in battle.[40] This practice was known to Kerala even during the Sangam age.[41] It continued in the Cāver of medieval Kerala.[42]

Further, the type of organisation described in the Arab accounts of the 9th -10th centuries quoted above has been described by Marco Polo in the 13th century in relation to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.[43] Barbosa gives a similar sketch in the 16th century while describing the customs of Malabar.[44] These facts would lead to the inference that the Āyiram of the Cēra capital and the Nūṟṟuvar bodies of the districts were institutions which developed from the ancient bodyguards into companions of honour and trusty lieges. The 'Uṭan niṉra paṭaivīrar' of Cēramān must have been the Cēra counterpart of the Cōḷa group called 'Uṭan kūṭṭam'. The latter has been described as "the group or assemblage (ever) at hand" and "a body of executive officials in immediate and constant attendance on the king". The historian of the Cōḷas would call them "the nearest approach to a council of ministers that we are able to trace" on the strength of the statement that Pallavaraiyar, the trusted minister, armed himself with the consent of the Uṭan kūṭṭam before he proceeded to install Rājādhirāja II on the Cōḷa throne.[45] However, in the light of the earlier discussion they seem to have had more of an executive than a deliberative character and function within the state.

This institution may be compared in certain respects to that of the knights of medieval Europe and the Turkish Legion. Their primary duty must have been protection of the chief's person and property. Nearness to the centre of power could have enhanced their power in course of time. They were specifically charged with the protection of certain institutions like churches and temples. This implied policing work undertaken by stationing agents and soldiers in the respective places. This aspect of the Niḻal's character is clarified by some epigraphic references. It is stated in a Tirunelli inscription, registering the district governor's land-gift to the temple, that if the governor's men obstructed the temple's enjoyment of the land, the governor should forgo the tax on behalf of Niḻal.[46] The statement reveals that the tax paid by the village assembly or temple committee to the governor was assumed to be a payment in lieu of the Niḻal's protection. The Kiḻimāṉur record of 1168 AD laid down that the annual tribute from the Kiṟṟaḍiśwaram temple to the king of Vēṇāṭu shall be handed over to the person who comes as the agent of Vēṇāṭu Niḻal, i. e., the Hundred Organisation of that region.[47] These instances clarify the position, pointing to the fact that the Niḻal protected the charities entrusted to them and also collected the taxes by way of rakṣābhōgam or protection fee.

In course of centuries, when the Niḻal grew big and strong and the later medieval chieftains declined in power, this institution might have occasio-

nally acted as a check on royal initiative. However, all evidence in the early period, both in Kerala and outside, according to indigenous as well as foreign sources, point to the conclusion that they acted as the strong executive arm of the kings and governors, chiefly attending to the maintenance of law and order. In the words of *Kēraḷōlpatti* they formed the 'eye, arm and command' (kaṇṇu, kai and kalpaṉa) of the sovereign. In other words they formed a sort of special police force.

System of Revenue

There are references in epigraphic records of this period to the sources of revenue though it is not possible at present to have at least an approximate idea of the gross income of the state. A combination of land ownership and administrative functions in the feudal system renders the difference between tax, rent and tenant's dues uncertain, but this difficulty is common to the history of all states before the modern age. The absence of any general manual or central collection of records makes it impossible to have a comprehensive list of the sources of revenue. Ancient Hindu text books are of limited use in this respect since it is necessary to take into account local variations and the possible cleavage between theory and practice.

Some new light is thrown by *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*, a 13th century Malayalam translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, on the meaning of archaic terms in the inscriptions.[48] The traditional practices of the rājas of Malabar in the later medieval period,which continued up to the advent of the British, are helpful in giving hints about the real nature of Cēra institutions and rules.[49] In this context it may be remembered that these kings claimed to have inherited their kingdoms as well as their laws from the Cēra Perumāḷ and jealously preserved them without serious change wherever possible.

Those taxes or dues which are specifically mentioned in contemporary epigraphic records may be listed and explained in the light of the later evidence quoted above. They are different in character for Nagara (trade centre), Grāma (Brahmin village) and Cērikkal (ordinary village) and these may be taken up separately. The towns and trading centres yielded customs dues, professional taxes and residential taxes of different types. The Aryan Village settlements paid the fixed annual tribute, emergency taxes and fine. Ordinary villages must have yielded the traditional taxes on property in lands and houses and new taxes from time to time. Whatever the category of settlement, the items of income must have been for the Perumāḷ and Nāṭuṭayavar though the Perumāḷ should have received kappam or tribute from his feudatories in addition to other forms of revenue.

Revenue from Trade Centres

The Syrian copper plates of Sthāṇu Ravi and the Jewish copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi granted to merchant princes of Kollam and Koḍuṅgallūr respectively and two other stone inscriptions – one from Irinjālakkuḍa and the other from Tāḻakkāḍ - reveal the nature of revenue from towns and trade centres. Following ancient practice the privileges and titles were granted to these foreign and native merchants in return for presents and offerings in cash or kind, or services, but no mention of such payment is made in the texts themselves.[50] As pointed out in previous chapters the time and context would clarify the immediate objectives of the king in such action. Such offerings are known as 'kāḻcca' or fee for interview, which is a form of tribute.[51] Joseph Rabban of Muyirikkōḍu (Muciri - Koḍuṅgallūr) was exempted from the payment of 'Ulku'.[52] Exemption from 'Ulku' is granted to certain merchants at Bhāskarapuram (Irinjālakkuḍa) also.[53] A passage in the Syrian copper plates contains the statement that the merchants need not pay 'aṟupatil onṟulku', 'aḻivulku', etc. The reading first suggested for the term 'ulku' was 'ulaku' so that scholars interpreted it as meaning 'lōka' or people.[54] It is now accepted that the term is really 'ulku', a corrupt from of the Sanskrit 'Śulka' meaning customs duty.[55] 'Varattil ulku' literally means 'ulku' on incoming articles and 'aḻivulku' means 'ulku' on outgoing articles. These may represent import duty and export duty respectively. The term 'aṟupatil onṟulku' indicates that both were collected at the rate of one-sixtieth of the price.[56]

The procedure for collecting 'ulku' is mentioned in one part of the Syrian copper plates. The governor of Vēṇāṭu orders his men to associate the Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam of Kollam city with the assessment of the value of commodities coming to the market and the collection of 'ulku' and everything connected with government work there. The two corporations are also asked to keep under seal the 'ulku' collected every day.[57] This practice has a special significance in the light of the statement of *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* that ilaccina (royal seal) must be put on the merchandise before handing it over to the tax farmer, by way of precaution against malpractice.[58] It shows that a well-planned system of tax-collection based on the ancient model prevailed in Kerala. The two corporations acted as the tax farmers or governor's agents in the matter of collecting revenue. If these two had any grievance they were permitted to withhold 'ulku' until they get a redressal of the grievance.[59]

Āḷkāśu: This is yet another source of royal income referred to in the Syrian plates. The ruler exempts the Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam from this payment also. It is specifically stated that 'āḷkāśu' was a payment made by the owners of 'aṭimai' (slave).[60] Perhaps a large number of slaves were employed as labourers in the market place. This payment called 'aṭimaikku āḷ-

kāśu' might be the same as 'atimappaṇam' which formed one of the sources of income for medieval kings of Kerala.[61]

Pākūṭam: The cess on vehicles, both on land and water, is another variety of tax mentioned in the Syrian copper plates. These merchants were to pay 8 kāśu on each vehicle on land both at the time of entrance and departure and 4 kāśu on each boat, small or big, both at the time of entrance and departure.[62] Though the technical term for this tax is not mentioned in the Syrian plates, the Jewish copper plates call it pākūṭam and mention separately the pākūṭam for the boat and the cart.[63] The word pākūṭam is used in *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit term 'aupāyanika'.[64]

Tulākkūli and Niṛaikkūli: These were yet other sources of revenue mentioned in the Syrian plats. The terms themselves indicate that the first was related to 'tulām' (weighing) and the second was related to 'niṛai' (measuring). They may be translated as weighing fee and measuring fee respectively. It must be the same as 'mānavyāji' mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* according to which the payment is one tenth of all commodities that are measured; one twentieth of all commodities that are weighed; and one eleventh of all that are counted.[65] Maruvan Sapīr Īśō was granted the vārakkōl (measuring rod) with kappān and paiñcakkaṇṭi (balance and weights) earlier and this grant is renewed in the first and the second sets of the copper plates. This would mean that he was appointed the custodian of weights and measures in Kollam town.[66] As such he must have been collecting tulākkūli and niṛaikkūli and he is instructed to pay niṛaikkūli to the paḷḷi. In case the Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam had any grievance, they are permitted to withhold the payment of ulku and tulākkūli until the matter is settled.[67] Joseph Rabban of Muyirikkōḍ (Koḍuṅgallūr) and the Maṇigrāmakkār of Bhāskarapura (Irinjālakkuḍa) were exempted from ulku and tulākkūli.[68]

Taḷaikkāṇam and Ēṇikkāṇam: In the first set of the Syrian plates the different iṛaikaḷ (taxes) previously realised by the governor from the Īḻavar and Vaṇṇār families, and now transferred to the church along with these families, are enumerated. The first two in this group are taḷaikkāṇam and ēṇikkāṇam, to be translated as fetter and ladder fee.[69] Even now 'taḷai' in Malayalam generally denotes a ring around the leg and it is used in a technical sense to denote "the ring made of palmyra fibre which is applied by the Īḻavar or tree climbers round the two ankle and with whose grip they are able to climb the trees".[70] The word 'ēṇi' generally means ladder and is used in the technical sense for the ladder traditionally used by Īḻavar for climbing coconut and palm trees.[71] Both taḷa and ēṇi are the tools of toddy tappers, and in this context it is clear that the Īḻavar handed over to the church were plying this trade. Thus the terms taḷaikkāṇam and ēṇikkāṇam suggest professional taxes. This kind of tax was well-known in ancient India. Kauṭalya deals with it under the title of 'simhanika'.[72] Cōḷa inscriptions refer to profes-

sional taxes realised from oilmongers.[73] A professional tax called 'valappaṇam' was collected from fishermen folk in medieval Kerala.[74]

Manai Mēyppān Koḷḷum Iṟai: This comes immediately after the two mentioned above. The first word in this phrase was translated as 'āṉai' and the whole phrase was explained as the tax for the elephant feeder – a strange thing in relation to the Īḻava and Vaṇṇār families.[75] It has rightly been corrected as 'manai' meaning house. 'Mēyppān' may indicate grazing or feeding as well as covering, especially thatching a house. Therefore, the whole phrase has been explained as suggesting a tax payable at the time renewing the thatches of houses.[76] This kind of house tax called manai iṟai is mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions too.[77]

Mēnippon and Polippon: The full term employed in the Syrian document is 'cāṉṟān māṭṭu mēnippoṉṉum polippoṉṉum'. The word 'mēnippon' was wrongly deciphered at first by Gundert and others as 'ēripon' and 'aripon' and translated as washgold which the Cāṉṟān or great man of the community received as his share.[78] In fact, the word is mēnippon literally meaning body-gold which may be taken to mean 'capital'. It may be gold collected as capitation fee from persons nominated as Cāṉṟān or head of the community among the Īḻavar at the time of conferring on them the headman's dignity and title. It was the practice of kings to receive gold from persons in return for nominating them as leaders of communities or tribes.[79]

The term polippon has been wrongly translated as harvestgold, gold of interest, shining gold, etc.[80] Though 'poli' has also the meaning of 'interest', it is not appropriate for the context here. The other meaning of collection or contribution is more suitable since voluntary contributions on special occasions are even now called 'poli' in the country-side. Therefore, mēnippon and polippon realised from the Cāṉṟāns must refer to primary and occasional gold payments by the accredited leaders of the low-class settlers for the position and title which they enjoyed. This view is confirmed by the description of 'poli' as 'utsanga' in the *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*.[81]

Iravucōr: This was originally understood as 'nightly meal of rice'.[82] However, it does not make sense in the context of the Īḻava and Vaṇṇār families made over to the church authorities. Since 'cōr' and 'ūṇ' have the same meaning of cooked rice this 'iravucōr' of epigraphy must be the same as 'irannūṇ' of *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* which is explained as the 'bali' of *Arthaśāstra*, denoting an additional tax collected over and above the traditional one-sixth or 'ṣaḍbhāga'.[83] This meaning of 'bali' is justified by other Indian inscriptions also.[84] Even then the exact nature of the tax is not clarified. As 'iravu' also means something given free, the whole term 'iravucōr' means 'free meal of rice'. It was probably the practice for lords to compel settlers on their soil to provide free meals to their soldiers or other servants, a practice comparable to that of the billeting of soldiers in Europe.[85]

Kuṭanāḻi: This term also was misinterpreted at first and explained as pot-measure.[86] It is true that 'kuṭam' literally means a pot and 'nāḻi' signifies a measure. But the compound word must be taken to mean 'a nāḻi per kuṭam' and it signifies the landlord's share of the toddy-tapper's produce. It is similar to an uḻakku of salt per kalam which formed the levy in a Kanyakumari inscription.[87] References to 'Vaṭṭināḻi' (nāḻi per vaṭṭi or basket) and 'puṭanāḻi' (nāḻi per puṭam - a measure containing four nāḻi) are found in Pallava inscriptions too.[88]

Talaivilai and Mulaivilai: These terms, appearing in the second set of the Syrian copper plates, have been translated as head-price and breast-price respectively.[89] It is stated that the church authorities who received the new settlers of Taccar (carpenters) and Veḷḷāḷar (peasants) on their land are to be the sole authority for punishing them for any offence. Then follows the statement that the church authorities are to get the talaivilai and mulaivilai also.[90] Therefore, it has been inferred from the context that these referred to the owner's right to sell male and female tenants into slavery for committing serious caste offences.[91] It is perhaps more proper to assume that head-price referred to the amount realised from a person as fine for killing one of these people, and breast-price referred to the amount realised when a girl among the settlers was given out in marriage. Talavila is mentioned in several records of the late medieval period concerning slaves in Kerala.[92]

Pantalkkāṇam and Taṭṭaṛakkūli: Besides the Syrian Christian and Jewish copper plates giving information about many of these payments, the Tāḻakkāḍ stone inscription mentions a few other taxes and dues. The Vāṇiyar (merchants) who settled down at the new township were exempted from Pantalkkāṇam and Taṭṭaṛakkūli.[93] These have not been explained properly.[94] The term 'pantal' means a temporary shed and the term 'taṭṭaṛa' means a strong room. Therefore, it may be inferred that these were usually the dues payable to the local chieftain or feudal master by merchants in return for permission to erect sheds and construct strong rooms for shops and stores. 'Taṭṭaṛa pāṭṭam', probably the same as 'taṭṭaṛakkūli', is mentioned in a Cōḷa record also.[95]

Ōṇanel and Paṭaiyaṇinel: These two payments are also mentioned in the Tāḻakkāḍ inscription quoted above. It is stated that the merchants who are exempted from the first two payments were to pay Ulku, Ōṇanel and Paṭaiyaṇinel.[96] The term Ōṇanel clearly means the paddy payable to the landlord on the occasion of the Ōṇam celebration. It has been the custom in Kerala that all tenants make such contributions to their lords on the eve of Ōṇam, Viṣu etc.[97] The second word, deciphered by the Government Epigraphists as 'paṭai viḻinel' is really paṭaiyaṇinel. Paṭaiyaṇi was a rural form of entertainment, a tournament in which the people divided themselves into two oppos-

ing groups and rehearsed a battle.[98] The local traders were probably expected to make a contribution on this occasion also.

Revenue from Aryan Villages

The Aryan villages which were established in different parts of the kingdom should have been a rich source of revenue thus fostering the belief that Brahmin settlements brought prosperity to the whole region. Their payments were, however, not so diversified as those of the trading centres. It appears to have been the practice for authorities to fix a lump sum payment realised annually and to add others only in emergencies. Very often there was keen competition between the ruler's devotion to Brahmins and their economic needs and whenever the former scored a victory over the latter the amount of revenue fixed for a particular grāma was considerably reduced or commuted into the expenses for items of worship in the local temple.

Āṭṭaikkōḷ and Arantai: The Perumāḷ or his nominee got a prescribed amount as his annual dues from a Brahmin village settlement in return for protection and supervision, exercised by him and his officers. This is mentioned in various records of the period. The Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ fixed 12 kalam of paddy as the āṭṭaikkōḷ payable by Trikkaḍittāṉam to the governor of Naṉṟuḷaināṭu and instituted akkiram (Brahmin feeding) with the remaining amount of 24 kalam.[99] From this it is clear that the original amount formerly paid to the Kōyil Adhikāri was 36 kalam of paddy and that he transferred part of the amount to the governor and gave up the balance for use in the temple.

There is another instance of the authorities of the Perunna Brahmin settlement coming to an agreement with Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ to pay 80 kalam of paddy every year as the annual tribute of Naṉṟuḷaināṭu.[100] Perhaps this was made when Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, governor of Vēṇāṭu who was concurrently appointed as governor of Naṉṟuḷaināṭu, was no more and the dues paid to the governor had reverted to the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ once again. It is found that the village authorities took this opportunity to clarify that they were bound to pay no other dues over and above this fixed annual rate. This agreement was ratified by the king and the royal order was carried to Perunna by Cōravaḷḷūr Ravi Kaṉṉi and Kuḷamaṅgalattu Śrīkumāra Nārāyaṇan who came with the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and caused the order to be inscribed on stone.[101]

The āṭṭaikkōḷ was also known as 'āṭṭaittiṟai' since the words 'kōḷ' and 'tiṟai' both meant revenue. A Tirunelli copper plate contains a passage to the effect that those who failed to pay the āṭṭaittiṟai due to the 'Niḻal' shall be fined if the king's agents happened to obstruct cultivation.[102] This clause

brings out certain important aspects of āṭṭaikkōḷ or āṭṭaittiṛai. First of all it shows that this is a protection fee in return for the service of Niḻal or king's police. Again it reveals that punishment for non-payment took the form of the king's men obstructing cultivation in the entire property of the village following the principle of collective responsibility. Finally, it is evident from the statement that although the responsibility to pay remained with the entire village assembly, this was further divided by the Ūrāḷar among themselves so that each one had his fixed share.

There is yet another example of the reign of Bhāskara Ravi which shows that the Perumāḷ fixed 3 kaḻañju of gold as the āṭṭaikkōḷ from Pullūr-Kuḍavalam temple.[103] This is the only instance of a reference to the annual tribute from a Brahmin settlement in terms of gold rather than paddy. This order was inscribed on stone by the Ūrāḷar of the village.

A short record of Pantalāyaṉi Kollam in the reign of the last Kulaśēkhara proclaims the fixation of the āṭṭaikkōḷ from that Ūr by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ who claims one-sixth of the produce.[104] It suggests the ancient rule that ṣaḍbhāga (one' sixth) shall form the share of the state.[105] The Perunna inscription of the same ruler states that he gave up 40 kalams of the āṭṭaikkōḷ and the whole of 'arantai' from that village and instituted namaskāram and māpāratam in the temple.[106] This amount of 40 kalam must be half of the total amount since it was fixed earlier as 80 kalam in Bhāskara Ravi's reign.[107] Thus it was with half the revenue from the settlement that the king instituted namaskāra and the recital of Mahābhārata in the temple. This gift was received by the Ūr and Potuvāḷ of the village. Two persons of the Perumāḷ's council of Nālu Taḷi named Karikkanpaḷḷi Rāman Tāyan and Kaṭampanāṭṭu Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa carried the tirumukam (royal order) addressed to the Kuṭipatis of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṛṛu. On getting information from them and the Ūrppotuvāḷ, the two Kuṭipatis came to Perunna temple and gave in writing on stone that they complied with the royal order not to collect arantai.[108] This term 'arantai' literally means misery and must represent an emergency payment or forced contribution against the background of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya invasion of Kerala.[109] Ancient Hindu laws justified such emergency taxes.[110] This incident proves that matters concerning the revenue from the Aryan settlements were decided by the Perumāḷ in consultation with the Nālu Taḷi and that members of Nālu Taḷi were often authorised to go to the spot and carry out his orders in the far off villages. It also lays bare the details of procedure and the stages of such implementation.

The amount which individual members of this type of village community had to pay seems to have been called 'kaṭamai'. The term literally means duty or obligation. This corresponded to land tax in the Aryan villages as each of the Ūrāḷar was proprietor of Brahmasvam lands in the village. It has already been shown that it was usually calculated and collected in kind though

sometimes the amount was given in terms of gold. Kaṭamai was a land tax collected in kind in other parts of the Dravidian country also.[111] A record of Tṛkkākara contains the statement that kaṭamai is included in kārāṇmai, i.e., that the tenant is to pay the kaṭamai.[112] Perhaps the mention of such an agreement in this particular case means that this was not always the case, that the owner usually paid the tax but occasionally transferred it to the tenant by adding such a condition.

This lump sum payment by the village reminds one of 'piṇḍakara' mentioned in *Arthaśāstra* and explained in *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīya* as the fixed amount prescribed by the king to be paid by the entire town or village.[113] However, it was also some kind of rakṣābhōga or protection fee. With increasing concessions in course of time these annual payments by the Brahmin villages must have become nominal and in many cases non-existent so that a general impression has been created among scholars that Brahmin villages were completely excluded from taxation.

Taṇṭam: It may be gathered from the prescriptions in several records that the imposition of fine was a common method of punishment for offences, big and small, including homicide. A list of these punitive clauses in temple inscriptions prescribing fine for various offences will be able to provide a general idea of the popularity of this mode of punishment.

Index No.	Place	Amount	Recipient
A.1.	Tiruvāṟṟuvāye	100 Dinara	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
A.8.	Cōkkūr	40 Kaḻañju	Perumān
		20 "	Āḷkoyil
		12 "	2 Sabhaiyār
		16 "	Tēvar
		12 "	Reporter
A.9.	Neḍumpuṟam	25 kaḻañju	Temple Authorities
A.13.	Tripṟaṅgōḍe	25 "	Perumānaṭikaḷ
		12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Āḷkoyil
A.14.	Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri	100 kaḻañju	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
		50 "	Āḷkoyil
		50 "	Tēvar
A.16.	Trippūṇittura	12 "	Kōyil
A. 24.	Tṛkkākara	0 kaḻañju 2½ kāṇam (per day of absence)	Temple
A. 25.	Trikkakara	100 kaḻañju	Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ

A. 27. Neḍumpuṟam	25 "	Kōyil
A. 31. Trikkaḍittāṉam	25 "	Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ
	12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Nāṭuvāḻi
	6 kaḻañju 2½ kāṇam	Vāḻkaivāḻi
A. 42. Trikkaḍittāṉam	12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Paṭṭāraka
	12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Kōyil
	0 kaḻañju 10 kāṇam	Kōyil
A. 43. Neḍumpuṟam	25 kaḻañju	Temple Authorities
A. 46. Tirunelli	0 kaḻañju 6 kāṇam	Temple Authorities
A. 47. Trikkaḍittāṉam	24 kaḻañju	Nāṭuvāḻi
	12 "	Vāḻkai Uṭayōr
A. 48	6 "	Nāṭuvāḻi
A. 58. Tiruvañcikkaḷam	52 "	Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ
A. 62. Tiruvaṇṇūr	25 kaḻañju	Aṟunūṟṟuvar
A.64. Trikkaḍittāṉam	100 "	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
	50 "	Nāṭuvāḻi
	25 "	Vāḻkaivāḻi
A.70. Neḍumpuṟam	24 "	Nāṭuvāḻi ?
A.74. Tṟkkākara	12 "	Paṭārar
A.75. Talakkuḷattūr	12 "	Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ
A. 80		
LI. 23-24 Tiruvalla	0 kaḻañju ¼ kāṇam	Kīḻśānti
LI. 388-90 "	50 kaḻañju	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
	25 "	Kōyil
	25 "	Sabha
B.3. Narayan Kaṇṇūr	0 kaḻañju 100 kāṇam	Kōyil
B.6. Kaviyūr	50 kaḻañju	Perumāḷ
	25 "	Nāṭuvāḻi
B.13. Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr	100 "	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
	25 "	Kōyil
	12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Ūrāḷar
B.14. Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr	100 kaḻañju	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
	25 "	Kōyil
	12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Ūrāḷar

C.8. Karikkāṭ	25 kaḻañju	Tēvar
	25 "	Kōyil
C.12. Karikkāṭ	12 "	Tēvar?
C.13. Pulpaṟṟa	12 kaḻañju 5 kāṇam	Kōyil
C.23. Pūkkōṭṭūr	25 kaḻañju	Kōyil
C.24. Alanallūr	25 "	Adhikārikaḷ
C.32. Tripṟayūr	21 "	Kōyil
C.36 Airāṇikuḷam	50 "	Swāmi
C.38. Uḻiyannūr	0 kaḻañju 12½ kāṇam	Temple?
C.41. Tiruvaṇṇaṇḍūr	50 kaḻañju	Perumān Aṭikaḷ
	25 "	Nāṭuvāḻi
A.42. Peruṇṇa	100 "	Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ
	50 "	Nāṭuvāḻi
	12 "	Vāḻkaivāḻi
	12 "	Sabha
C.43. Kumaranallūr	100 "	Perumān Aṭikaḷ

This list is not by any means exhaustive but only representative. It includes mostly fine prescribed for Ūrāḷar for violating the agreement and appropriating or obstructing cultivation in temple lands meant for the conduct of temple services. As pointed out earlier, the usual formula for accidental failure to turn up for work or delay for a day or two in payment is 'muṭṭukil muṭṭiraṭṭi', i.e., double payment for default. Crimes like violent disputes in the precincts of the temple were also punished with fine.[114] However, a good part of the fine must have gone back to the temple by way of donation. For example when Maṇalmaṉṟattu Yakkan Śrīkaṇṭan confiscated the property of Teñcēri Cēnnan Tāyan for theft from temple treasury, the whole of it was utilised for instituting 'pañcamaśabda' in the temple.[115] Perhaps there was a belief in those days as in recent times that a Brahmin's property brings calamity to those who possess it at any time.

Revenue from Ordinary Villages

The present knowledge of conditions in Cērikkal during this period is indirect, scanty and vague, as has been pointed out before. It is clear from the agreement regarding a Cērikkal presented by Cēramān Mādēviyar (Cēra queen) to Āvaṭṭiputtūr temple that the Uṭayavakaḷ (owners) had the right to extract kuṭimai (house tax), taṇṭam (fine) etc. from Cērikkal villages.[116] The statement of Ravi Cirikaṇṭan while handing over Kuṭavūr to Tiruvalla temple

incidentally reveals that there were 18 kinds of traditional dues besides the income from the bazaar in the place.[117] It is not possible to get the names of the eighteen taxes or their character though it is amply clear from the term 'putuvariyai' found in other passages of Tiruvalla Copper plates that new taxes were added to them from time to time.[118] It seems that in ancient India there was a concept of 18 taxes from villages, but their nature is not mentioned anywhere.[119] Some lists of traditional sources of income for the medieval kings of Kerala have been collected by scholars and it is likely that some of them formed the group of 18 taxes in ancient times.[120]

Rakṣābhōga

The speedy growth of feudal tendencies in this period is clear from the practice of attaching an institution or a village to an officer or Brahmin assembly. However, it is only where the concerned institution is a temple or church or the recipient a Brahmin assembly that such acts are preserved in inscriptions. A fee was realised in return for protection. This must have been a portion of the total revenue from that institution or village which is to be protected.

When Cēra Mādēviyar placed a Cērikkal as 'kīḻīṭu' it is stated that she paid 2 nāḻi of rice per day throughout the year as rakṣābhōga.[121] The lands donated by the district governor and others to Tṛkkākara for 'nandāviḷakku', akkiram etc. were to be protected by Kālkkaraināṭṭu Ūrāḷar and they were to be feasted on Makam day in the month of Karkkaṭaka with 100 nāḻi of rice by way of rakṣābhōga.[122] The Ūrāḷar or Tirucceṅgannūr received 200 paṛa of paddy per year in return for accepting Ayirūr temple and its properties as kīḻīṭu.[123] The Potuvāḷmār of Tṛkkākara were to receive 2 nāḻi of rice per day for tiruvamirtu as rakṣābhōga for protecting Uḷkkuṭi (settlers) of Tuḻuval kunṛam donated by Dāmōdaran Eḻuvaraṭiyār to the temple.[124] Ravi Cirikaṇṭan, Governor of Veṇpolināṭu, placed Kuṭavūr village with its 18 dues and market income as kīḻīṭu of Tiruvalla temple and in return for protecting it from the wrath of the king and feudatories he offered to pay 18 kaḻañcu of gold or 360 paṛa of paddy as rakṣābhōga.[125] The rakṣābhōga due to Tiruvalla temple from the property of Amirtamaṅgalattavan came to 100 nāḻi of rice and 1 nāḻi of ghee.[126] Rāman Kōta Varman, Governor of Muññināṭu, offered to pay for oil expenses in Tiruvalla temple as rakṣābhōgam on his Vāḻakamuṭṭam compound and field.[127] There is one instance of the Dēvasvam and Brahmasvam of Tirumaṇṇūr being placed as kīḻīṭu under Aṛunūṛṛuvar and the Ūrāḷar being asked to offer kīḻīṭṭukāṇam by burning a nandāviḷakku in the temple in their name.[128] These instances go to prove that although protection in the normal course was left to the king's or governor's officers, the status and influence of the Brahmin assemblies prompted land owners, even queens and governors, to surrender lands to them and ask for their protec-

tion by undertaking to pay a particular amount as protection fee. The rakṣābhōga from Cērikkals must have been a good source of revenue for the village assemblies of Brahmin settlements, eventually promoting great concentration of wealth and opulence. It is also likely that the traditional taxes and other income from the Cērikkals formed the staple revenue of the state.

Notes and References

1. Index no. A. 71, Ll. 43-47. "Nānku taḷiyum Āyiram aṟunūṟṟuvarum". The Government Epigraphist explains Nālu Taḷi but leaves out Āyiram, See *T.A.S.*, V, pp. 40-60. Eḷamkuḷam dismisses it as a meaningless adjective. See *Paścāttalattil*, pp. 142-3.
2. The present writer is indebted to Sri. V.M. Achuta Menon, Advocate, Cranganore, and a member of the 'Onnu kuṟai Āyiram' for information regarding its traditional constitution.
3. See *Dēvi Bhāgavatam*, Skandha VII, chapters 30 and 38. Makōtai is mentioned as a Centre of Goddess worship; See also *R.V.R.I.B.*, VIII, II, p. 105, F.n. 18.
4. Some scholars have imagined that the Bhagavati temple is the same as the ancient Kaṇṇaki temple built by Cēra Cenkuṭṭavan in his capital Vañci as described in *Cilappatikāram*. On the basis of this hypothesis they have inferred that the Bharaṇi festival in which vulgarities are shouted and bloody sacrifices are made represents the commemoration of an attempt to drive away the Jain or Buddhist monks and nuns from the place. The identification of Koḍuṅgallūr as the ancient Vañci has not been supported by evidence.
5. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 74-76.
6. Index no. A. 36, Ll. 26-27 "Puṟaikiḻānāṭṭu aññūṟṟuvarkkum āiyyāyiravarkkum kiḻīṭu"; Index no. B. 23, Ll. 51- 53. "Munnūṟṟuvarum kārāḷaṉu muvvāyiravarum tiruttuceluttikoḷḷa kkaṭaviyar".
7. T.K. Krishna Menon, 'Dravidian Culture', *R.V.R.I.B*, III, p. 51. "Even now the meeting of the Nāyar community of Koḍuṅgallūr (callerd Onnu kuṟai āyiram yōgam) is called 'niḻal irikkal', a sitting in the shade even though it is convened under the convenient roofs of tiled buildings". The same author in a published lecture, *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, p. 115, explains the term by suggesting that Niḻal may mean the protection of the deity of the temple.
8. Index no. A. 46. Ll. 6-11. See chapter on Divisions of the Kingdom.
9. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 44, 117 and 272.
10. See Gundert, *Malayalam Dictionary*, Caṅgātam, "1. Convoy, guard; responsible Nāyar guide through foreign territories".
11. The *Payyanūr Paṭṭōla* (15th century), one of the earliest known songs in Malayalam, has a passage where a wealthy merchant tells his son that while going away, he must have a big caṅgātam, i.e. company of soldiers, and advises him to collect them from the four nagarams, (trading corporations) of the place.

    "Cavaḷareppōla nīyakaleppōvu

Caṅgātam vēṇam perikeyippōḷ
Kōvatalacceṭṭi añcuvaṇṇam
Kūṭṭām maṇikkirāmattār makkaḷ
Nammaḷāl nālu nakarattilum
Nālarekkoḷka kuṭikku cērnnōr".

See Gundert, *M.J.L S.*, XIII, II, pp. 14-17.

12. For an account of the practice of travellers in South India from Hieun Tsang to the Portuguese and Dutch visitors, like Pyrard de Laval, Vincenzo Maria, Correa and Visscher hiring caṅgātam (Portuguese; Giancadas), see, K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, II, pp. 334-37. These are often groups of Nāyar guides procured on payment of a small amount, who enabled strangers to undertake "the safest of all journeys in India". They ventured "their own lives and the lives of their kinsfolk for small remuneration to guarantee the safety of travellers." The Portuguese took advantage of this custom in Malabar employing such men as guides on journeys and as guards of property. They had a 'Jangada' for each of their forts in Malabar. It was serious matter to kill a 'Jangada' 'for it involved a blood-feud with all his relatives. The Portuguese discovered that the native temples, (like the temple of Tēvalakkara, near Quilon, against which their governor Martin Alfonso de Sousa (1542-45) launched an expedition) were protected by Caṅgātams who were in charge of their revenues also.

13. Cēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, Kaḻariṟṟarivarpurāṇam, Verses 703-4.
"Utirar maṉṉavar tamperum cēnayin uṭan niṉṟa paṭaivīrar
Kuṭi koḷ vāciyilccelvavar tammai tam kaṭ pulappeṭumallai
Etirvicumpinil kaṇṭu pin kaṇṭilar āṭalil ellōrum
Mutirum ampiṉil uruviya curikaiyāl muṟai muṟai uṭal vīḻttār
Vīrayakkayē mēr koṇṭu cenṟu pōy
Villavar perumāṉai ccāramun cenṟu cēvakam ēṟṟār".

14. See chapter VII, Divisions of the Kingdom.

15. Index no. A. 22, L. 2. "Naṉṟuḻaināṭṭu munnūṟṟuvarum --- can cēntaṉum mankalattu kumaran kunṟappōḻaṉu nanṟuḻaināṭṭu--- yanum inālvarum".

16. Index no. A. 62, L. 3. "Aṟunūṟṟuvarum niḻalōrum pāṭṭār ceyta kāriyamāvatu".

17. Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII, no.1, p. CCXI.

18. K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, I, p. 252. This view is expressed by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam also. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 41-2.

19. R.C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India* p. 132. "An inscription of Travancore (*I.A.* XXIV, pp. 284-5) of the 12th century AD refers to the subordination of the temple authorities to the 'Six Hundred of Vēṇāḍ and the district officers and guilds'. Vēṇāḍ, it would appear, had for the whole state an important public body under the name of the Six Hundred to supervise, for one thing, the working of temples and character connected therewith. What other powers and privileges this remarkable corporation of Six Hundred was in possession of, future investigation alone can determine. But a number so large, nearly as large as the British House of Commons, could not have been meant, in so small a state as Vēṇāḍ was in the 12th century, for the single function of temple supervision'. May not this be something like a state council, the remnant of the old samiti?"

20. Index no. A. 46, Ll. 5-11. The group described as 'Mūtta kūṟṟil eḻunūṟṟuvar' in one sentence is denoted as 'Mūtta kūṟṟinukkamaiñca niḻal' in the next sentence.

21. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 9, 21-22, 42. The Aṟunūṟṟuvar are mentioned along with the king's representative, the governor of Vēṇāṭu, the heir apparent of Vēṇāṭu, the officers, and chieftains. See Ll. 9, 42. For the nomination as guardians, see Ll. 21-22. "Aṟunūṟṟuvarun Añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum irakṣikkakkaṭavar paḷḷiyēyum pūmuyēyum".

22. Index no. B. 13, Ll. 10-11. "Iccelavu nanṟuḻaināṭu munnūṟṟuvarum kaṇṭu celuttakkaṭaviyar".

23. *Ibid.*, L. 12. "Cattum koṉṟum nīkki (pon) celuttakkaṭaviyar".

24. Index no. B. 14, L. 6. "...munnūṟṟuvarum kaṇṭu celuttakkaṭaviyar".

25. Index no. C. 41, L. 6. "Nanṟuḻaināṭṭu munnūṟṟuvarum kaṇṭu celuttakkaṭaviyar".

26. Index no. A. 36, Ll. 26-27. "Puṟaikiḻānaṭṭu aññūṟṟuvarkku aiyāyiravarkkum kīḻīṭu".

27. Index no. A. 74, L. 19. "Iccērikkāl vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu aṟunūṟṟuvarkkum kāval".

28. Index no. A. 62, Ll. 6-7. "Tirumunnūrppaṭāraruṭaiya tēvattuvamum pirammattuvamum aṟunūṟṟuvarkkum kīḻīṭu".

29. Index no. A. 64, L. 3. "Oyāyil ūrāḷarē tīrttu koṭuppitu. Ivakaḷāḷ ākātavaṇṇam irukkil nāṭuvāḻum avaraiyum munnūṟṟuvarum paṇi uṭaiyavakaḷaiyum uruvaticcu avakaḷāl vīṭṭiccu koḷvitu".

30. Index no. B. 20, L. 3. "Iccērikkāl ūrum kiḻumalai aṟunūṟṟuvaru nanṟuḻaināṭṭu munnūṟṟuvaru paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷum poṭuvāḷmārum itinukku varum kuṟaivu kuṟṟamuṇṭākil vīṭṭicceluttikkakkaṭaviyar".

31. Index no. B. 23, Ll. 51-53. "Munūṟṟuvarum kārāḷaṉu muvvāyiravarum tiruttu celuttikkoḷḷakkaṭaviyar".

32. Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XIII, p. CCXI. It is likely that the 'Sahasṟavar' (the Thousand), and the 'Munnūṟṟuvar' (the Three Hundred) mentioned in Karnataka records of the 13th century belonged to the same type of organisation. See Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 178-79.

33. Kautalya, *Arthaśāstra*, Prakaraṇa, 18, 50, 137-39. See also *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*, the anonymous Malayalam translation and commentary of 13th century from Kerala. The correct meaning of several technical terms are explained here. See also *Śukṛanīti* IV. 7, 8 to 10 and *Kāmaṇḍaka Nītisāra*, XVIII, 4 ff.

34. Bankēya, the Banavasi governor of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha, is referred to as fighting at the head of Moula forces. See Konnūr Inscription of Amōghavarṣa. I, *E. I.*, VI, 29; Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp, 174-5, 250. Similarly, Veḷḷan Kumaran, a Keralite, who took up service under the Cōḷa-Cēra prince Rājāditya, calls himself the Mūlabhṛtya of the Cōḷa, see no. 181 of 1912; *E. I.*, XX, p. 9.

35. The term 'Cārnnavakaḷ' is found in a record of our period from Tṛkkākara in the sense of persons attached to the governor. See *Index* no. A. 25, Ll, 4-5. "Ippūmi nāṭuvāḻumavakaḷāka avakaḷkku cārnnavaraḷāka pāṭṭamāḷappeṟār". This could be a reference to 'niḻal' though it may also mean relatives. The term 'cārcca' in Malayalam is now generally employed to show kinship, but in medieval Kerala terms like 'Cārnnanāyanmār' or 'Cērnnōr' were used to denote personal adherents. See F. Faw-

cett, *Nayars of Malabar*, (Madras, 1915) p. 188. "In the old days every Nāyar chief had his Cārnnavar or adherents. The puṟattu cārnna are the outside adherents or fighters and so on and akattu cārnna are inside adherents, clerks and domestics".

36. See K.A.N. Sastri, (Ed), *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 128.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29.

38. This custom is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, chap. V. Verses 206-7; chap VII. Verses 481, 86, 90; chap. VIII. Verse 1547. It is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ. See *E.C.*, III, Tri. 91; V Ag. 5, 27; M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ*, p. 170. The people known as Garudas in the Hoysala kingdom took a vow to die with their master, and actually died together with their servants and wives. See *E.C.*, V. Ag 5, 27; VI. KI 9, 10.

39. *Periyapurāṇam*, Kalaṟiṟṟarivar purāṇam, Verses. 703-4. See Note no. 13 above.

40. *E.I.*, XXVII, pp. 293 ff. See Chapter IV Early Wars and Alliances, Note no. 96. "Rājādityasya rājñāh prakaṭataragurusnēhasāmantabhāvam
Yārāptō saṉṉidhāṉāt sahamaraṇa sukham samyugē tēṉa nāpatah".

41. *Akanāṉūṟu*, 25. The poet Māmūlaṉār says that the 'Cāṉṟōr' preferred to accompany their master to heaven when the Cēra king Cēral Ātan starved himself to death after being defeated and humiliated by the Cōḷa king Karikālan. The term 'Cāṉṟōr' is generally interpreted as meaning a great or respectable man. Perhaps the Malayalam word 'Cāṟnnavar' is derived from 'Cānrōr' of the Sangam age.

42. The earliest use of the term 'Cāver' meaning suicide squads may be found in the Cōḷa-puram inscription of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa. He claims that he settled soldiers at Kōṭṭāṟu after all the Cāver of Kuṭamalaināṭu (Western Hill Country) ascended the soldiers' heaven. See Chapter V Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase, Note no. 92. The appearance of Cāver symbolically fighting and dying for the lost rights of their master Vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu rāja, became a regular feature of the twelve-yearly festival called Māmāka. For details, See Eḷamkuḷam, 'Suicide Squads of Ancient Kerala', *Proceedings of I.H.C.*, 1947.

43. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 165. "There are about the king a number of barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him and have great authority in the kingdom; they are called the King's Trusty lieges. And you must know that when the king dies and they put him on the fire to burn him, these lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world and they aught also to keep company in the other world".

44. M L. Dames (Translation), *The Book of Dwarte Barbosa*, pp. 37-8 "You are to know then that in this land of Malabar there is another caste of people called Nāyres, and many among them are noblemen who have no other duty than to serve in war, and they always carry their own arms whethersoever they go, some swords and shields, others bows and arrows, and yet others spears. They all live with the king and other great lords. Nevertheless all receive stipends from the king or form the great lords with whom they dwell. None may become a Nāyre save only he who is of a Nāyre lineage. They are very free from stain in their nobility. They will not touch anyone of lowcaste, not eat or drink , save in the house of a Nāyre. They are bound to the service of the king or their lords, and guard them well bearing their arms before them

day and night. They give little head to what they eat and drink but only serve and do their duty".

45. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp.472-3. See also 182 of 1915; 429 of 1916; 433 of 1924; 113 of 1930. See Note no. 13 above.

46. Index no. A. 36, Ll. 19-21. "Kōyil maṉuḷccar vilakkil niḻalvakaiyiṟai kōyilkku pōm".

47. *T.A.S.*, V, I, pp. 63-86. Ll. 12-13. "Kiṟṟaṭiccuvarattiṉṉu koṭukkum nel nūṟu paṟayum āṇṭu varayum mēṭa ñāyaṟu tiruppārkkaṭal paṭṭārakar tirunāḷ nāḷ piṟṟenāḷ vēṇāṭṭu niḻal maṇiccamāy variṉṟa āḷvaḷi koṭuttu kuṟiyum koṇṭu varuvitākavum----".

48. The first three adhikaranas of *Bhāṣa Kauṭalīya* were published from Trivandrum. See Sambasiva Sastri, (Ed.) *Śrī Vancisēthulakshmi Series*, no. 12, Trivandrum (1930); Sambasiva Sastri (Ed.) *Śrī Citrōdayamañjari Series*, no. 19, Trivandrum, (1938); and V. A. Ramasvami Sastri (Ed.) *Tiruvitānkūr Sarvakalāśāla Bhāṣāgrantha Series*, no. 67, Trivandrum, (1945). The next four adhikaranas are published in one volume from Madras. See K.N. Ezhuthachan (Ed.), *Madras University Malayalam Series*, no. 15, Madras (1960).

49. For the sources of revenue of medieval kings of Malabar, see 'Graeme's Glossary' in Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix XIII. Section on Revenue; K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, pp. 324-49; K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 274-6.

50. Kauṭalya instructs the king to demand and accept gold from the rich and propitiate them with titles, umbrella, turban and decorations. See *Arthaśāstra*, Book V, Chapter III.

51. See *Regulations II of 1043 M.E. Cochin State*, 1868, pp. 11-12; K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, II, pp. 357-68; Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins*, pp. 262-3.

52. Index no. A. 34, Ll. 12-13. "Ulkum tulākkūliyum viṭṭōm".

53. Index no. A. 74, Ll. 16-17. "Innālvarumuḷḷiṭṭu ulkkum tulākkūliyumillai".

54. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 28-29. "Aṟupatilonṟulkunkaḷ varattilulkkillaiyākavum aḻivulkkillaiyākavum". For the reading of 'Ulaku' and translation as 'Lōka' (People), see Gundert, *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 130 and Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII, p. CXXI, F n. 1.

55. For the interpretation as Ulku meaning customs duty, see Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.* II, I, pp, 81, 84. The word 'Ulku' is actually used in *B.K.* in place of 'śulka', Book II, chapter XVI.

56. Abdur Razaak, the Persian Ambassador to Calicut in 1442 AD, states that the Zamorin's officers collected one fortieth of the price at the time of the sale. See K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, I, pp. 232-3. Kauṭalya mentions two forms of śulka named 'Prāvēśya' and 'Niṣkṛamya' which correspond to 'Varattil ulku' and Aḻivulku respectively. See *Arthaśāstra*, Adhikaraṇa II. Adhyaya XXI. Śulkavyavahāra. He prescribed one-fifth as the customs dues in general but suggests different rates for different commodities, countries and castes. Viṣṇusēna's charter from medieval Bengal employs the term 'Prāvēśya' for import duty or entry tax but uses the term 'Nairgamika' in the place of 'Niṣkṛamya'. See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 427.

57. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 32-35. "Ulku paṭum carakku ivakaḷaikkūṭa vaccu ulku piṭuppatākavum. Carakkumilaiyiṭumiṭattum maṟṟumē svāmikāriyam ekkāriyamum ivakaḷaikkūṭṭiyē ceyvatākavum. Anṟanṟu paṭumulku Añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum ilacciccu vaippatākavum".

58. The Travancore Government epigraphist has taken 'ilacciccu' as a corrupt form of 'irakṣiccu' and interpreted it as meaning protection. See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p 70. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has rightly pointed out that 'ilacciccu' signifies the procedure of putting the royal seal. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgal*, p. 128. The word 'ilaccina' is the Dravidian form of 'lakṣaṇa' in Sanskrit meaning seal or stamp. It is used in that sense in *B.K.*, Book II, chap. XXI "Anṟanṟu paṭum ulku ilaccana iṭṭu sūkṣippitu. Ulkupāṭṭam uṭayavan rājāviṉe catikkumatoḻippāṉāvitu".

59. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 45-47. "Ivakaḷkku aṉṉiyāyamoṇṭāyil ulkuntulākkūli taṭuttum taṅgaḷ aññāyam tīrttu koḷḷakkaṭavar".

60. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 29-30. "Ivakaḷ koḷḷum aṭimaikku āḷkkācu koḷḷappeṟārākavum".

61. The term 'atimappaṇam' is explained as the yearly payment of one or two paṇams which every 'aṭiyān' was obliged to pay to his patron. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII, p. CCXXXIV and K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, II, p. 330. Perhaps it is meant that those who were sold into slavery to the settlers need not pay such an amount to the governor's officers.

62. Index no. A. 6, Ll. 30-32. "Vāyiṉam varumatil varattilum pōkkilum eṭṭu kācu koḷḷakkaṭavarākavum. Veṭiyilum paṭakilum pōkkilum varattilum nālu kācu koḷḷakkaṭavarākavum" .

    The term 'vāyiṉam' is correctly understood by Gundert as the Dravidian form of 'vāhanam' in Sanskrit, meaning transport vehicle. See *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 130. The Travancore epigraphist's suggestion that it may be a term referring to merchandise cannot be accepted. See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 84. Gundert deciphered 'piṭi' in the place of 'veṭi' and translated it as female elephant. The Travancore epigraphist read it as 'peṭi' and left it unexplained. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has rightly pointed out that 'veṭi' and 'paṭaku' are different types of water transport, one small and the other big in size.

63. Index no A. 34, Ll. 7-8. "Veṭiyālum vāyiṉattālum pākuṭamum".

64. *B. K.*, Book II, chapter XV.

65. *B. K.*, Book II, chapter XVI.

66. Index no. A. 2, Ll. 10-12 "Vārakkōlum kappāṉum paiñcakkaṇṭiyum munnam peṟṟuṭaiyaṉa nānum viṭupēṟāka aṭṭikkuṭuttēn"; *Index* no. A. 6. Ll. 50-52. "Innakaram kaṇṭu nīrēṟṟa maruvan sapīrīśō muṉṉam paḷḷiyār peṟṟuṭaiya vārakkōlum pañcakaṇṭiyum maruvan sapīrīśō neruttu niṟaikkūli paḷḷikku kuṭukkakkaṭavar". The exact meaning of terms like vārakkōl, kappān, and paiñcakkaṇṭi remains obscure. However, since they occur along with the reference to 'niṟaikkūli' (measuring fee) in the second passage they may be taken to denote the measuring rod, balance and weights employed in olden times. A certain Variśaikkōl, probably the same as Vāraikkōl has been mentioned in a Gaṅga record of the same period and explained as a measuring instrument, see *E. C.*, X, KI, p. 44 and M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ*. p. 144.

    Even as late as 1348 AD John de Marignole who came to India on his return journey from China and stayed at Kollam (Quilon) has recorded that the Christians of St. Thomas, i.e., the Syrian Christians, were the masters of the public weighing office. See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, p. 66. By the time of Alfonso D' Albuquerque (1504 AD) they had lost the privileges of "keeping the seal and the standard weight of the city". See Birch (Trans.), *Commentaries of Albuquerque, Second Voyage of India*, I,

p. 15 quoted by T.K. Joseph, 'The Malabar Christian Copper-plates', *K.S.P.*, no. IV, p. 203. fn. 13.

67. See Note no. 59 above.

68. See Note nos. 52 and No. 53 above.

69. Index no, A. 1, Ll. 8–10. "Ivvanaivarkkuntaḷaikkāṇamum mēṇikkāṇamum maṉai mēyppān koḷḷumiṟaiyum cānṟān māṭṭū mēṉippoṉṉum polippoṉṉum iravucōṟum kuṭanāḻiyum ivvaṉaittum koḷḷapperār". Gundert translates the first two of these terms as fetter right and ladder right respectively. The term 'kāṇam' does not signify a right but a fee. This is more appropriate to the context since the payments and dues are listed here.

70. *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 63.

71. As Gopinatha Rao pointed out, Gundert was wrong in thinking that the 'ēṇi' stood for the ladder used for harvesting pepper since it is associated with men of the Īḻava caste.

72. *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, chap. XV. The author includes under 'simhanika' taxes on work such as pounding, dividing, frying, manufacture of beverages or flour, oil extraction etc. *B.K.* says in the commentary on this passage that such work was done by labourers in lieu of tax due from them. These hereditary professions were followed by certain communities or sub castes in Kerala.

73. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 532; no. 57 of 1919.

74. K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, II, p. 334.

75. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII, p. CXIX.

76. *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 64; Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, p. 122. This is actually a tax in lieu of granting permission to own a house, i.e., a house tax.

77. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 532. No. 12 of 1896.

78. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, *Op. Cit.* This misunderstanding was perhaps created by trying to equate the word with 'pon arippu' a traditional source of income supposedly coming from sifting the sandbanks of certain rivers in search of gold ore. However, the first part of the word is 'mēṉi' meaning body or person. See *T.A.S.*, II, 1, *Op. Cit.*

79. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam takes 'Cāṉṟān' only to mean 'great man' forgetting its particular significance in the light of the fact that the 'Cāṉṟān' is a title of distinction awarded till recently by the kings of Travancore. *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, *Op. Cit.* See also *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 64. For dignities conferred by medieval Kerala kings on Īḻavar or Tiyar, Kaṇakkar etc, see K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, II, pp. 357 - 8.

80. Logan, *Malabar*, II, *Op. Cit.*

81. *B.K.*, Book II, chap. XV. Earlier scholars like Gopinatha Rao and Eḷamkuḷam were puzzled by this word which they left unexplained.

82. Logan, *Malabar*, II, *Op. Cit*; *T.A.S.*, II, I, *Op. Cit*; Eḷamkuḷam leaves it unexplained.

83. *B.K.*, Book II, Chap. XV.

84. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 389.

85. Nilakanta Sastri points out the use of the term 'iravu' in relation to some kind of additional land tax. See *The Cōḷas*, p. 522; *S.I.I.*, III, no. 142.

86. Logan, *Malabar*, II, *Op. Cit.*

87. *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 64.

88. C. Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, p. 78.

89. Gundert reconstructed the first word as 'talaivilai' and translated both 'talaivilai' and 'mulaivilai' in the literal manner as head-price and breast-price.

90. Index no. A. 6. Ll. "Ippūmiyil kuṭikaḷaiyum eppiḻai colliyum paḷḷiyārai eppiḻaiyum---(talai)vilaiyum mulaivilaiyum paḷḷiyāre koḷḷappeṟuvār".

91. Logan, *Malabar*, II, *Op. Cit.* Gopinatha Rao disagreed with Gundert and Logan but only stated that their "exact significance is not easy to determine". See *T.A.S.*, II, I, p. 75. Eḷamkuḷam assumes that 'talaivilai' is a tax on slaves and 'mulaivilai' a tax on prostitutes. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, (First Edition), p. 20.

92. A Kollam record of 697 M.E. (1522 AD) says: "Nammuṭe torūvattēkkuḷḷa cenkōmayum talavelaiyum ancimūlamum muppaṟa munnāḻiyum mettukkuttum aṅkam cuṅkam taraku aṭakki". See *T.A.S.*, III, II, no. 59, p. 216.

A slave-sale deed of 985 M.E. from central Travancore says: "Vikkil vilekka āmmāṟum kollukil kulekka āmmāṟum talavila aṭakki vileyāke eḻuticcu koṇṭān nārāyaṇen rāmen". See *K.S.P.*, no. 5, p. 280.

93. Index no. A. 54, L. 20. "Vāṇiyarkku pantalkkāṇamum taṭṭaṟakkūliyumillai".

94. *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1927. p. 101. Para 63.

95. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 531. See no. 113 of 1896.

96. Index no. A. 54, L. 22. "Ulkku ōṇanellu paṭaiyaṇinellum koṭukkaṭaviyar".

97. See Gundert, *Malayalam Dictionary*, Ōṇam, Viṣu etc. It is stated that the tenants often found these payments so burdensome that for them the festivals were unwelcome.

98. See K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, IV.

99. Index no. A. 31, Ll. 1-2. "Tirukkaṭittāṉattāl nāṭṭinukku āttum koḷḷum uṭampāṭṭāl vāḻkai āka pāṭṭa iṭankaḻiyāl pantirukalannel āṭṭaikkōḷāka amaiccumikkatu aṭṭikkoṭuttu atu koṇṭu irupattunālu kalam akkiram amaccaruḷiṉār kōyilatikārikaḷ".

100. Index no. A. 49, Ll. 2-4. "Perunneytal ūrum paraṭaiyārum potuvāḻum kūṭi iṭapattil viyāḻanninṟa yāṇṭu iṭankaḻiyāl eṇpatinkalannel nanṟuḻaināṭṭiṉu āṭṭaikkōḷāka koṭuppān amaiññār amaiccuḷḷuṟutti kōyilatikārikaḷkku. Itu koṭuttu maṟṟeppērpaṭṭatum koṭukkakkaṭamaiyillai".

101. *Ibid.*, Ll. 4-5. "Itu tirumukam kāṭṭikkoḷḷakkaṭaviyanenṟu aruḷicceykaiyāl kkōyilatikārikaḷāy vannirunnu kallinmēlkkotti ccoravellūr iravi kaṉṉiyum kuḷamaṅgalattu śrīkumāra nārāyaṇaṉum".

102. Index no. A. 36, Ll. 19-22. "Kōyil manuḻccar vilakkil niḻalvvakaiyir kōyilkku pōm āṭṭaittiṟai koṭāttavakaḷ taṇṭappaṭakkaṭavar". A clearer stipulation on similar lines may be found in the Kiḻimāṉūr record of 343 M.E. (1168 AD) in the immediate post-Cēra period. It says that each of the 10 Ūrāḷar who were allotted 6 kalam land per head (total 60 kalam or 600 paṟa of seed capacity) were to pay 40 paṟa of paddy (total

40 kalam or 400 paṛa of paddy) to the agent of Vēṇāṭṭu niḻal on the day after the birth anniversary of the deity and obtain a receipt for the same. See *T.A.S.*,V, I, pp 63-68. Ll. 11-14.

103. Index no. A. 39, Ll. 8-14. "Ūrāḷar kaiyyāl āṭṭaikkōḷ ponmukkaḻaññu amaññukoṇṭār kōyilatikārikaḷ. Aruḷicceykaiyāl kal eḻuti nāṭṭikoṇṭār kuṭavalattu ūrāḷar".

104. Index no. A. 72, Ll. 2-11. "Kōlattu pantalāyaṉi ūril koḷḷumāṭṭaikkōḷ aṛunāḻi(yku) aññāḻi ūrk (kāvitu, Ta)ttamaṅgala mēlpāti amaññukoṇṭār kōyilatikārikaḷ".

105. *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, chap. XV. There is reference to 'āṛonṛu' (one-sixth) in a passage of Tiruvalla plates. When leasing out land of 1200 kalam, the tenant's dues are calculated only for 1000 kalam after removing one-sixth which is probably the share of the state. See *Index* no. A. 80, Ll. 286 - 7. "Perumpanturutti kkari kannirakkonāṭṭu vāḻkkai āyirattirunnūṛṛukkalattilum āṛonṛu pōy āyirakkalattiṉum pāṭṭam".

106. Index no. A. 68, Ll, 19-29. "Perunneytal āṭṭaikkōḷāl nālppatin kalannellum perunneytal arantaiyum aṭṭilppēṛāy tirukkai naṉaiccaruḷiyār. Āṭṭaikkōḷ namakkāramum māpāratamum tiruvuḷḷam paṇṇiyaruḷiyār amaiccuḷḷuṛuttiya kulacēkara kōyilatikārikaḷ".

107. See Note no. 100 above.

108. Index no. 68. Ll. 31-70. "Āṭṭaikkōḷ nārppatin kalamum arantaiyum perunneytal ūrum potuvāḷum aṭṭilppēṛāy koṇṭār. Kōyilatikārikaḷ kāpālimaṅgalattum muttūṛṛum oḷḷa kuṭipatikku tirumukam tiruvuḷḷam paṇṇikkāmakkānpaḷḷi irāman tāyaṉum kaṭamannāṭṭu nārāyaṇa nārāyaṇaṉum ūrppotuvāḷum kūṭi tirumukam peruneytal mukkālvaṭṭattu vannu kūṭi arantai aṭikkumatoḻiññomenṛu kalleḻuti nāṭṭikkoṭuttār tiruvuḷḷam paṇṇiyaruḷiya mārkkamē".

109. It has been pointed out that the word 'arantai' has been used in the sense of misery in *Cilappatikāram*. Uraipperukattirai, 3. "Arantai keṭuttu varantarumivanne āṭittiṅgaḷ kavaiyinankōr".

110. *Arthaśāstra*, Book V, chap. II; *Mahābhārata*, XII. 87, 26-40; *Śukṛanīti* IV. 2, 10.

111. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 522; Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 175. In a later inscription from Maṇalikkara in Kerala an officer who is collector of kaṭamai in the Ūr is mentioned. *T.A.S.*, III, pp. 61-2. L. 10. B. "Ūrum ūr kaṭamai taṇṭiṉṛa marutakaccēri kaṇṭan tiruvikkiramaṉum".

112. Index no. B. 10, L. 5. "Kaṭamai kūṭa kārāṇmai kāṇpitu".

113. *B.K.*, Book V, chap. XV. "Piṇḍakaramāvatu ippurāl ittiṉai tarakkaṭavarenṛu kalppiccirippatu".

114. See chapter VIII, Local Bodies. Note nos. 115 and 116.

115. See chapter VIII, Local Bodies. Note no. 85.

116. Index No. A. 10. Ll. 14-16. "Ivvūruṭaiyuvakaḷ tankaḷūr kkuṭikaḷaikkuṛaivituṅkuṭimai koḷvitum taṇṭippatum taṇṭaṅkoḷvitum---".

117. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 331 - 33. "Veṇpolināṭuṭaiya iravi cirikaṇṭan tannuṭaiya kuṭavūrum kuṭavūrkkuppaṭum patiṉeṭṭu variyaiyum aṅgāṭiyumakappaṭa Tiruvallavāḻappaṉu kīḻiṭaṭṭikkuṭuttān". Gopinatha Rao translates 'patiṉeṭṭu variyai' as 18 taxes but puts a question mark there. *T.A.S.*, II, III, P. 146. T.K. Joseph reads 'patineṭṭu pariśai' and translates as 18 classes of artisans. See *K.S.P.*, Series 2, p. 281.

118. *Ibid.*, L. 247. "Mūlōrpaṭṭaṇattu putuvariyaiyāl ccelluntiruvamirtu". Ll. 328-9. "Iḷaṅkuṉṟanāṭṭu nampiyāramaicca neyyamirtiṉu putuvariyaiyāluḷakku neycelvitu".

119. Prof. R.K. Mukherji quotes a passage from *Uttaradhyāna sūtra*, XXX, 15-18, where a nagara is defined as a scot- free town which does not pay any of the 18 taxes levied on a village; See *Hindu Civilization*, II, pp. 384-50. The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates of Śivaskandavarma (4th century AD) mentions the grant of land with the following eighteen kinds of exemptions: a-kura-cullaka-vinasi-khaṭva-samvāsa, a dugdha-dadhi-gṛahaṇa, a-rāṣṭṛa-samvināyika, a-lavaṇa-guḍa-kṣōbha, a- kāraviṣṭikonjalla, a-paramparā-balivarda gṛahaṇa, a- tṛṇa kāṣṭha-grahaṇa and a-haritaka-śaka-puṣpa-grahana. D.C. Sircar explains that the word eighteen in the expression 'aṣṭādaśa-jāti-parihāra' really means exemption from all taxes. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 391. The so-called eighteen taxes might really have differed from time to time and place to place.

120. Graeme's glossary gives a list of traditional sources of revenue for the later kings of Kerala. 1.Aṅkam. 2. Cuṅkam 3. Ēḷa. 4. Kōḷa. 5. Tappu. 6. Piḷa. 7. Puruṣāṅtaram. 8. Pulayāṭṭupeṇṇu. 9. poṉṉarippu. 10. Aṟṟālaṭakkam. 11. Aṭimappaṇam or Talappaṇam. 12. Caṅgātam. 13. Rakṣābhōgam. 14. Kāḷcca. 15. Aṭiñja Urukkaḷ and Uṭañja Urukkaḷ. 16. Cērikkal. 17. Aimmula and Mummula. 18. Cenkompu. 19. Kaṇṇaṭappuḷḷi. 20. Āṉappiṭi. 21. Pūvāl. 22. Kompu. 23. Kuṛaku. 24. Vālu. 25. Tōlu. 26. Kiṇaṟṟil panni. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App, XII. Revenue. Prof. K.V. Krishna Ayyar adds four items. See *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 274-6. It may be noticed that item no. 16 (Cerikkal) may be deleted since all these items are from cerikkal revenue. Items from 17 to 26 including the perquisites from nāyāṭṭu (hunting), may be placed under a single heading of Nāyāṭṭu. Thus the number of sources in the first list is actually sixteen. To these may be added 'aṛa' and 'tuṛa' (items 3 and 4) from the second list so that the number is now brought up to eighteen. No. 1 of the second list is irrelevant for the Cēras as no minted coin is referred to in contemporary epigraphy or literature. No. 4 is also superfluous as it applied to payments by kings defeated in battle and the Cēras had no conquests outside Kerala.

121. Index no. A. 10, Ll. 4-7. "Cēramān mātēviyaruṭaiya cērikkal āvaṭṭipputtūrkku kīḻīṭu ceytu itiṉukku ilakkāpōkamakakkuṭuppāṉamaiñcitāvitu. Āvaṭṭiputtūr pperuntirukkōyilir cānti aṭikaṭkku niyamappaṭi (iṭanka)ḻiyāl irunāḻicceytaricikku āṭṭāṇṭu koṭuppān amaiñca nel".

122. Index no. A. 25, Ll. 6-7. "Ippūmi kālkkaraināṭṭūrāḷar iraḻccikkakkaṭavar. Irakkāpōkam aṭṭu karkaṭaka ñāyiṟṟu makattināḷ iṭankaḻiyāl nūṟṟunāḻi ari koṇṭu ūṭṭakkaṭaviyar ulpāṭaṉum perumutiyaṉum".

123. Index no. B. 11, Ll. 7-13. "Āticcan umaiyammai tāṉaṭṭirpēṛu koṇṭatu tirucceṅkunnūr ppaṭṭārakarkku kīḻiṭāyeciṟṟūr naṭaiyoṭu kūṭa nāṉāḻicceytari tiruvamutiṉukkum onpatināḻippaṛaiyāl irunūṛu paṛaicceytu nel āṇṭuvarai koṭuppitākappotuvāḷ kayyil nīrōṭaṭṭikkoṭuttāḷ. Ayirūr mukkālvaṭṭamum paṭṭārakarkkoḷḷa iṭaiyīṭum rakṣiccu rakṣāpōkam koḷḷakkaṭaviyar potuvāḷmār".

124. Index no. B. 19, Ll. 1-2. "Tāmōtaraneḻuvaraṭiyāḷ taḻuvaṅkuṉṟattiṉu yirakkāpōkamāy tirukkārkaraittēvarkkirunāḻiyari ttiruvamirtamaiccāḷ. Yivvūru uḷkkuṭi rakkiccu kkuṭuttu koḷḷakkaṭaviyar tēvar potuvāḷmār".

125. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 331-36. "Veṇpolināṭuṭaiya iravi cirikaṇṭan taṉṉuṭaiya kuṭavūrum kuṭavūrkkuppaṭum patiṉeṭṭu variyaiyum aṅgāṭiyumakappaṭa tiruvallavāḻappaṉu

kīḻiṭaṭṭikkuṭuttān iravi cirikaṇṭan. itinu kīḻiṭṭiṉu koṭuppāṉamaiñña rakṣāpōkam poncūṭumuraiyum varuvitu patinainkaḻaiññu poṉṉāka okkum patnāḻippaṛaiyāl munnūṟṟaṛupatu paṛai nellāka koṭukkakkaṭaviyaṉiravi cirikaṇṭan".

126. *Ibid.*, Ll. 451-53. "Amirtamaṅgalattavan taṉṉiṭaiyiṭṭinmēl rakṣāpōkam tiruppaḷḷikkuṛuppiṉu nūṟṟunāḻiyari iṭankaḻiyāl nāḻi neyyamaiccān eḻuniṟṟūrākinṛa cērikkal mēlkkoḷvitu".

127. *Ibid.*, Ll. 533-35. "Muññināṭuṭaiya irāman kōtavarman taṉakkoḷḷa vāḻakamuṭṭam karaiyum vayalum kūṭattiruveṇṇaiccelavāka rakṣābhōgam patināḻippaṛaiyāl irunūṛu paṛai nel rakṣiccu koḷḷavum koṭukkavum kaṭaviyar".

128. Index no. A. 62, Ll. 6-8. "Tirumunnūrppaṭāraruṭaiya tēvattuvamum piramattuvamum aṛunūṟṟuvarkkum kīḻīṭu. ītiṉukku kīḻiṭṭu kāṇam oru nantāviḷakkerikkakkaṭavar ūrāḷarippaṭārarkkey".

Book Four

Society and Culture

X. Social System

In this chapter an effort is made to understand the structure of society as revealed in the records of the age. The nature of the Aryan Brahmin settlements which dominated the socio-political set-up in the country, the evolving pattern of caste system, and the character of the West Asian colonies may be taken up for analysis here. The epigraphic records, being mostly records of the Brahmin village settlements and West Asian or native trade centres, throw more light on social and economic conditions than on political history or even administration. The chief defect of this material is that it deals mainly with the Brahmin settlements and trade centres and only indirectly and infrequently refers to conditions outside them, thus keeping the native Dravidian part of society practically out of the picture.

A. Brahmin Settlers

The most important factor in social organisation appears to have been the rise and growth of a large number of Aryan Brahmin settlements known as Ūr and Grāma in the inscriptions. They must have sprung up during the post-Sangam period since none of them is mentioned by name in the vast portions of Sangam literature dealing with the kings and people Kerala. The Brahmin chronicle called *Kēraḷōlpatti* mentions Paraśurāma as their patron deity and Ahichchatra as their ancestral abode.[1] It describes the 32 Brahmin settlements of Tuḷunāḍ, and the 32 of Kerala proper, as forming one unit in the beginning.[2] It recollects the fact that all of them originally had house and property in Veḷḷappanāḍ which may be identified with the Vallabha or Cālukya kingdom of the Deccan.[3]

The following are the first 32 Brahmin settlements to the south of river Perumpuḻa (Chandragiri) according to the traditional chronicle.[4]

a) Between river Perumpuḻa and river Karumānpuḻa:

1. Payyannūr. 2. Perumcellūr. 3. Karikkāḍu 4. Īśaṉamaṅgalam. 5. Ālattūr. 6. Kārantaḷa. 7. Tṛśśivapērūr. 8. Perumaṉam. 9. Panniyūr. 10. Cōkiram.

b) Between river Karumanpuḻa and river Cūṛṇi:

1. Paṛavūr. 2. Airāṇikuḷam. 3. Mūḻikkaḷam. 4. Iriññālakkuḍa. 5. Aḍavūr. 6. Ceṅganāṭu. 7. Uḷiyannūr. 8. Kaḻutanāṭu. 9. Kuḻayūr. 10. Iḷibhyam. 11. Cāmuṇḍa. 12. Āvaṭṭiputtūr.

c) Between river Cūṛṇi and Kanyākumāri:

1. Kiḍaṅgūr. 2. Kāḍurmaṛuku. 3. Kumāranallūr. 4. Kaviyūr. 5. Ēṛṛumāṉūr.6. Niṛamaṇṇa. 7. Veṇmaṇi. 8. Āṛanmuḷa. 9. Ceṅgannūr. 10. Tiruvalla.

These Brahmins are stated to have been allowed the enjoyment of the land as 'Brahmakṣatra', i.e., the land where Brahmins ruled instead of the Kṣatriya.[5] They received lands and some of them took to arms also. They are said to have received 'śastrabhikṣa' (gift of arms) from Paraśurāma.[6] Some of them specialised in Purāṇavṛtti, others in Tantravṛtti, still others in Mantra.[7] Some of them, like those of Payyannūr, even accepted 'mātṛpāramparya' (matriliny) at the behest of Paraśurāma while others refused to do so.[8] The Śūdras who were brought with them were made to follow matriliny and serve the Brahmins of the grāmas. In each grāma temples were constructed and Nāyars (leaders) were appointed in each Taṛa (ward) to supervise, i.e., to serve as the eye, hand, and command.[9]

The Brahmins were organised into four Kaḻakams (ghaṭaka) under the leadership of Perumcellūr, Payyannūr, Paṛavūr and Ceṅgannūr respectively. One from each of these four grāmas was appointed as Rakṣāpuruṣa (protector) for three-year periods. When the protectors became corrupt and this arrangement broke down, the Brahmins assembled at Tirunāvāy, decided that they must have a king, and entrusted the work to the four Kaḻakams.[10] They brought a Kṣatriya prince and princess from outside. They made the prince the Perumāḷ (king) of Malanāṭu and married the princess to a Brahmin and decided that the offspring shall be a Kṣatriya. An oath was administered to the Kṣatriya to govern the kingdom according to the wishes of the Brahmins and the capital at Koḍuṅgallūr was established.[11]

This is followed by a confused story of several Perumāḷs brought from outside for fixed twelve-year periods - a story which is most probably an interpolation at some later stage. However, there is an account of four new Kaḻakams (ghaṭaka) to replace the old group of four Kaḻakams which were at a distance from each other and from the capital. The four new Kaḻakams of the Perumāḷ period were led by Mūḻikkaḷam, Airāṇikuḷam, Paṛavūr, and Iriññālakkuḍa. These four Kaḻakams had their seats in the capital in Mēltaḷi, Kīḻtaḷi, Neṭiyataḷi, and Ciṅgapuramtaḷi respectively.[12] This is again followed by a confused account of the different Perumāḷs ending with the last Cēramān Perumāḷ who embraced Islam and left for Mecca.[13]

There is no reason why the early history of the Brahmin settlements of Kerala given in the chronicle should not be taken as genuine. The

Paraśurāma story is evidently part of a common myth which the Aryan Brahmin settlers all over the West Coast of India from Gujarat to Kerala cherished. It is difficult to assess its historical value except to infer in a general way that these groups represented a common course of migration of a set of Brahmins who considered Bhārgava Rāma (Paraśurāma) as their guardian deity and guide.[14] For the rest the affiliation with Ahichchatra, Vallabha kingdom, and Tuḷu region, and the Brahmin tradition of military and agricultural operations are in agreement with the known history of Brahmin migrations in the period of Cālukya ascendancy in South India.[15] The existence of many of the original 32 settlements in the Cēra period and the leadership of Nālu Taḷi are proved by epigraphic and other evidence.

It is found that as many as 16 out of the 32 settlements mentioned in *Kēraḷōlpatti* figure prominently in the inscriptions of the Cēra period or its literature.[16] All the four leading settlements collectively known as Nālu Taḷi are mentioned in contemporary records and their position of leadership is implied in the references.[17] Moreover, in the case of Tiruvalla, the southernmost of these settlements which must be one among the latest in the series as they moved from north to south, it is found that Vāḻappaḷḷi, an upagrāma of this grāma, was well established even during the period of the first known Cēra king of Makōtai, namely, Rājaśēkara.[18] Therefore, all the 32 settlements must have been existing even before this kingdom was founded and their claim about their part in the foundation of the kingdom could be largely genuine. The important role that they played in administration and the position of Nālu Taḷi have been pointed out before.[19] Some of the salient features of the temples which formed the centre of life in these settlements and the pattern of the cultural institutions attached to the temple shall be taken up for discussion elsewhere.

There were, besides the original settlements, a number of other settlements around temples which were established from time to time. It is found from the example of Tiruvaḍūr in the Cēra period and Kiḻimāṉūr in the immediate post-Cēra period that when new temples and Brahmin settlements were being constituted the proprietorship of the village was given to selected Brahmins from the families of the earlier settlements.[20] A number of new settlements outside the original list are indicated by the reference to temples and temple committees in the inscriptions.[21] The unity and disciplined character of the settlements could be inferred from the observance of Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam, (the agreement of Mūḻikkaḷam - one of the four leading settlements) used as precedent everywhere.[22]

A glance at the map of Kerala will reveal the fact that the Brahmin settlements of this period were scattered along the many fertile river-valleys between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea and that they occupied lands most suitable for rice cultivation. They seem to have left out the sea-

coast as well as the high mountains which supplied the famous and coveted hill products of Kerala for which foreigners across the sea used to come from very early times. It shows that the Brahmin settlers were largely interested in cultivation in the fields and plantations of the plains with assured water supply round the year.[23] It is no wonder that before the modern period almost all cultivable land in Kerala was Brahmasvam (Brahmin property) except the forests in the high ranges.[24] Their methods of co-operative farming and their unity under their own leaders and the Perumāḷ must have contributed to their prosperity and wealth. The temples played an important part in the process of accumulating landed property for the Brahmin settlements. A typical example of this will be found in Tiruvalla where the copper plates collected and arranged sometime in the 11th century contain the list of donations made from the beginning up to that time - during a period of about three centuries or more. They give an idea of the large extent of property owned by the Brahmin assembly of a single village on behalf of the temple. Land of 12634 kalam seed capacity and the attached puraiyiṭams (compounds) were set apart for Tiruvakkiram (Brahmin feeding) alone. Land of about 2000 kalam seed capacity was allotted for Nandāviḷakku and 5600 kalam seed capacity for the expenses of Tēviyār naṭai in the same temple.[25] This grāma supported a large number of employees like priests, musicians, dancers, accountants, cleaners etc. and the Paṭṭar (Bhaṭṭar - professors) and Caṭṭtar (Chātra-pupils) of the Śālai. Besides these a large number of tenants must have been dependent on the temple lands which were leased out for cultivation.

The original endowments and a few other major donations pertaining to other temples are known from epigraphic records but there is no way of knowing the total amount of the landed properties. It might not have been far different from that of Tiruvalla in the case of some of the more important ones. The total area of Tiruvalla Sankēta comes to about 30 square miles and the upagrāmas of Vāḻappaḷḷi, Niraṇam and Mannār layout side the Sankēta but still within the more extensive grāma.[26]

The names of the royal donors to Tiruvalla form an impressive list including the Perumāḷ, Nāṭuṭaiyavakaḷ and even a Cōḷa sovereign.

Name and Status	Nature of Donation	Line No. in Tiruvalla Plates
1. Ravi Cirikaṇṭan (Governor of	Tiruviḷakku	LI. 48-54
2. Perumāḷ	Kuṭavūr and Taxes Veṇpolināṭu)	" 329-45, 469-79
	Tiruviḷakku etc.	" 69-70

Manukulāditya	?		285-91
Manukulāditya ?	?		302-03
3. Nambirāṭṭiyār (Perumāḷs Queen)	Viḷakku	”	74-75.
4. Vīra Cōḷa (Parāntaka Cōḷa)	Tiruviḷakku	”	99-100.
5. Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ (Queen of Vīra Cōḷa)	Tiruviḷakku	”	109-11.
6. Rāmakuṭa Mūvar (Governor of Kōlattunāṭu)	Tiruviḷakku	”	140-141.
7. Ēṛān Caṅkaran (Governor of Puṛakiḻānāṭu)	Tiruviḷakku	”	150-1.
8. Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ (Governor of Vēṇāṭu)	Sandal wood	”	200-1.
9. Kumaran Yakkan (Governor of Veṇpala nāṭu -South Division)	Tiruviḷakku Veḷḷittaḷiyai Tiruvamirtu Manikkakkiṇḍi	”	345-9.
10. Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn (Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu)	Pañcamaśabda	”	349-60.
11. Rāman Kōtavarrna (Governor of Muññināṭu)	Oil expenses	”	532-7.
12. Rāman Mādēvi (Queen of Muññināṭu)	Tiruvamirtu	”	537-42.
13. Muññimarāyār (Governor of Muññināṭu)	Tiruvamirtu	”	542-4.

The list of common people from different walks of life donating to Tiruvalla is much longer and reflects clearly the trend of thought among the people.

Name/ Designation	Nature of Donation	Line no. in Tiruvalla Plates.
I. Māṇikkamaṅgalattu Vikṛama Nārāyaṇan	Tiruvakkiram	LL. 43-44

2.	Vilakkilimaṅgalam	Tiruviḷakku	"	62-65
3.	Kuṉṟamuṭaiyār	Tiruviḷakku	"	97-99
4.	Cennittalai Atikaḷ Rājaśēkhara	Tiruviḷakku	"	102-03
5.	Muttūṟṟumūlai Kumarāti	Tiruviḷakku	"	103-05
6.	Mūlaiyil Nampu Nāraṇan	Tiruviḷakku	"	107-8
7.	Tiruvallavāḻ Uvāccan Rāyan Kēśavan	Tiruviḷakku	"	121-4
8.	Uttara Cāraṇikaḷ	Tiruviḷakku	"	125-6
9.	Kōṃakāṭṭu Nampi Rāman	Tiruviḷakku	"	137-8
10.	Kōyirpurattu Nāyittiyār	Tiruviḷakku	"	148-50
11.	Nampu Kāḷiyār	Tiruviḷakku	"	151-2
12.	Peruvayalūr Yakkan Kōta	Tiruviḷakku	"	154-5
13.	Uttama Ceṭṭi	Tiruviḷakku	"	155-7
14.	Vāṇiyar	Tiruviḷakku	"	157
I5.	Komākāṭṭu Nāyar	Tiruviḷakku	"	162-3
16.	Vakaittān	Tiruviḷakku	"	172-3
17.	Paruttikkāṭṭu Muḷamaṉa	Tiruviḷakku	"	174-5
18.	Makiḻañcēri Hiraṇya-garbhan Trivikṛarnan	Tiruviḷakku	"	176-8
19.	Vilakkilimaṅgalattavan	Tiruvamirtu	"	222-4
20.	Uttiracāraṇikaḷ	Tiruvamirtu	"	228-9
21.	Paḷḷam Uṭaiyār	Tiruvamirtu	"	242-3
22.	Pokkaṇṭanār	Tiruvamirtu	"	244-5
23.	Vāṇiyan from Iḻam	Tiruvamirtu	"	250-4
24.	Iḷakaikāṭṭil Paramēśvara maṅgalattavan	Tiruvamirtu	"	258-9
25.	Kiṭaṅgu Parāl Ponniyakka Nāyan	Akkāraṭalai & Kūttu	"	266-7
26.	Kuḷakkāṭṭacciyār	Tiruvamirtu	"	276-7
27.	Nārāyaṇamaṅgalattu Achutan Sēthuppirān	Tiruvamirtu	"	278-83
28.	Iḷankunṟanāṭṭu Naṅgaiyār	Tiruvamirtu	"	305-6
29.	Paṭaitalai turutti Piḷḷaimār	Tiruvamirtu	"	306-7

30.	Vēḷakkāṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Cēnnan	Tiruviḷakku & Tiruvimirtu	"	315-21
31.	Iḷankunṛanāṭṭu Nampiyār	Nayyamirtu	"	328-9
32.	Ālañcēri Aṭikaḷ	Nayyamirtu	"	395-6
33.	Mānnāmaṅgalattu Neytarcēri Śārṅgapāṇi Kēśavan Tāyan	Nayyamirtu	"	398-9
34.	Iṭaccēriyavan	Nayyamirtu	"	400-3
35.	Paḷḷattu Kunṛan Ravi and Yakki Amma (wife)	Gold	"	458-61
36.	Paḷḷattu Kunṛan Gōvindan	Gold	"	461-2
37.	Marutañcēri Nīlakaṇṭan	Gold	"	462-3
38.	Cennankari Uḻuvār	Gold	"	463-4
39.	Cirukaṭaitturutti Paṭanāyar	Gold	"	464-6
40.	Māṇikkamaṅgalattavan	Tiruvakkiram	"	511-2
41.	Mātamaṇ Tēvan Cēnan	Tiruvakkiram	"	513
42.	Puḷikal Nampu Nārāṇan	Tiruvakkiram	"	515-6
43.	Mūlaiyil Nāyittiyār	Cattirar	"	517-8
44.	Vaṭaicēri Nīlakaṇṭan	Tiruvamirtu	"	520-2
45.	Vilakkilimaṅgalattu Kṛṣṇan Dēvan	Tiruvamirtu	"	529-31
46.	Kōyirpuṛattu Cēnnan Kumaran & Marumakkaḷ	Akkaratalai	"	544-5
47.	Paṭaivirutti Kumaran Yakkan	Akkaratalai	"	545-7
48.	Poṇikkari Ayyan Kōtavarman	Akkaratalai	"	547-9
49.	Puñcaippaṭakārattu Nārāyaṇan Ṛṣikēśan	Tiruvakhiram	"	549-51
50.	Paṇiccavirutti Gōvindan Achutan & Marumakkaḷ	Tiruvakhiram	"	551-2
51.	Paḷḷivirutti Dāmōdaran Kōta	Tiruvakkiram	"	552-4
52.	Vanralaicēri Kōta Ravi	Tiruviḷakku & Tiruvamirtu	"	555-9
53.	Maṛṛattil Paramēśvaran Sōman	Tiruppaḷḷittāman	"	562-7

These donations illustrate, apart from the people's faith in religion, the trust they had in the Brahmin Ūrāḷar to whom these properties were entrusted in the name of the temple. Here we have the secret of the prosperity and influence of the Brahmin settlers of Kerala.[27]

The Brahmin settlements often converted the gold they received into land with the permission of the rulers in a place. For example the Uḷpāḍan and Perumutiyan (sanctum keeper and chief supervisor) of Trikkākara paid gold (donated to the temple by several persons for different purposes) to Kaṇṇan Poṛayan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu, and received from him certain lands. They were free to lease out these lands and use the income for the expenses of the items prescribed. They were to give the landlord's share to Kaṇṇan Poṛayan, but he voluntarily instituted some offerings in the temple with that amount also.[28] A few other fragmentary documents from Trikkākara also illustrate this procedure of accumulating landed property for the temple.[29] These bring out the enormous land hunger of the Aryan Brahmins who came to Kerala. Their share in local administration, the taxes they paid to the state, and the place they had in the king's council have been discussed elsewhere.

These Brahmins are designated as 'Arya' and 'Arya Brahmana' in one inscription.[30] They also follow the custom of mentioning the family name and village name as in Kerala today. The suffix 'Śarma' is also rarely employed.[31] But the caste suffix 'Nambūdiri' which their descendents employ in present day Kerala is not found in the records probably because it was not meant for formal or official usage. The continuation of the village names of the ancient temple records among the Nambūdiris of modern Kerala is enough to prove that the Aryan Brahmins of the Cēra period and Nambūdiris of the present day are one and the same people.[32]

The Brahmins are patrilineal everywhere and they were so in Kerala also. In some records the succession from father to the eldest son and the transfer of rights and duties has been specifically mentioned. Thus a record of Cōkkūr in the 15th year of Kōta Ravi states that the management of all the temple property shall pass on to the eldest sons of the two Taḷinampis put in charge of the temple.[33] A Kaviyūr inscription of Kali 4052 (952 AD) says that two brothers from the Maṅgalam family, Nārāyaṇan Kēśavan and Nārāyaṇan Kṛṣṇan, donated lands to the temple and stipulates that it shall be cultivated jointly by the two eldest members of the family in association with the eldest member of Ciṛakkara.[34] A Trikkākara inscription shows how four brothers - Tēva Nārāyaṇan, Tēvan Subrahmaṇyan, Tēvan Cuvākaran and Tēvan Cēntan - received gold and mortgaged their common property to the temple.[35] Their family name is not clear from the record but it ends with 'maṉai' a term usually employed for Nambūdiri house. This procedure may be taken to mean that though the eldest member administered the family property,

alienation or mortgage required the consent of all brothers. The endowment of Tiruvaḍūr in c. 1020 AD clearly states that the 24 Ūrāḷar were appointed on a hereditary basis, and that after the lifetime of the incumbent the position went to the eldest son and that only in the case of failure of male issues would it be transferred to dāyādar, ie., relatives.[36] From the Kiḻimāṉūr record of 1168 AD, about half a century after the Cēra kingdom, it is known that the Ūrāḷar appointed in a new Brahmin settlement were to be followed by their eldest sons in office.[37] The Brahmins of Payyanūr grāma are matrilineal and they form an exception to the general rule. The tradition that they adopted the system at the instance of Paraśurāma has already been quoted.[38] However it is difficult to explain how and why and when they started the practice.

The reference to the law of primogeniture brings us to another peculiar custom among the Brahmin families of Kerala. Only the eldest son used to marry from the community while other male members carried on 'sambandam' (concubinage) with Nāyar or Kṣatriya ladies. This law, of which the period of origin remains unknown, must be related to the law of primogeniture and the anxiety to keep Brahmin family property undivided. It would have been evolved only in a society where it is possible for these younger sons of Brahmin families to contract alliances without entailing financial or other responsibilities. Thus it may be seen as a product of the matrilineal society in the midst of which the Brahmins lived here. It could very well have been developed gradually as convention born of convenience. The tendency to practise the sambandam could have been prevalent even during the Cēra times even though it is condemned outright in all the law codes.[39] This is inferred from the explicit prohibition of concubinage when the Brahmin Ūrāḷar of a grāma are granted guardianship over a Cērikkal or non-Brahmin village. Thus a record from Aviṭṭattūr belonging to the 20th year of Kōta Ravi (903 AD) which quotes Kaṭaṅgāṭṭu kaccam, and another undated Cōkiram inscription which quotes Tavaraṉūr kaccam, refer to 'kaṭṭil eṛutal' (concubinage) among the prohibited activities.[40]

Apart from the political and economic predominance which these Brahmins enjoyed and which has been brought out earlier and in the discussion above, it is necessary to mention the high standard of culture which they had already achieved even before the Cēra kingdom was revived.[41] An examination of their intellectual and artistic pursuits and literary output will be taken up in another chapter. It may, however, be noted here that Daṇḍin, the 7th century poet and scholar who adorned the Pallava court at Kāñci, bestowed high praise on his excellent Brahmin friends, Mātṛdatta and others, from Kerala. Mātṛdatta's father Bhavarāta is represented as a great scholar, the author of *Kalpasūtraṭīka*, the performer of 33 sacrifices, and a man endowed with power to bless or curse. His son is described as equal to the father in all these respects and unique in poetic ability, loyal to his teacher and

friends, learned in the four Vedas and expert in interpreting tantra.[42] The position that Śankarācārya, another Brahmin from Kerala, achieved in the scholarly world of India by the beginning of the 9th century also speaks well of the cultural background and competitive training of the Brahmins of Kerala. Though numerically small in relation to the vast majority of non-Aryan non-Brahmin population of Kerala this Brahmin community is found to have captured, in the short period of two or three centuries, an enviable status in the land of their adoption through their unity, hard work, ability, resources and dedication to the cause of Aryan culture.

B. Other Castes and Communities

The position and influence of the Aryan Brahmin settlements were also responsible for the emergence of traditional type of caste system in Kerala. This was noticeable in embryonic form during the Sangam period which saw society in terms of broad geographical and tribal divisions. Even during that early period the advent of the Brahmins and their projection of the Aryan concepts had started.[43] With the new wave of Paraśurāma Brahmins of the West coast which 'conquered' Kerala and littered it with numerous Aryan settlements, a new impetus was given to caste formation. When power, leadership and initiative passed into the hands of these Brahmins with the foundation of the new Cēra kingdom it must have arrested the further development of those communities or sections of communities which were not useful to them and which remained outside their sphere of influence. These were naturally relegated to poverty and virtual slavery in the countryside or a nomadic or semi-nomadic life in the forest in course of time. At the same time those who were useful to the Brahmins as rulers and officers, commanders and soldiers of the army, and skilled workers, were absorbed into the new society on which the Aryan pattern of caste system was imposed. This new society of which the Brahmin settlements remained the core was forced to adapt the caste system to the new environment of a semi-tribal matrilineal society and permit a number of deviations from orthodox rules. These must have resulted in the localisation of the Brahmins themselves as 'Kerala Brahmins' with their 'Pūrvaśikha' (frontal knot of hair) and sambandam (concubinage) which prevented their free mixture with outside Brahmins and forced more and more intimacy with the local people.[44] In Kerala there was the unique example of a land outside Āryāvarta where such powerful Brahmin settlements enjoyed near-complete political control and interracial conjugal rights and consequently the opportunity to shape a Bhārgavakṣētra according to their hearts' desire.[45] Thus in an important sense the social set up of the new Cēra kingdom was the result of a novel experiment in racial and social synthesis on a large scale.

The readiness to recognise the old indigenous Dravidian ruling chieftains as Kṣatriyas was exhibited by the Brahmin even during the Sangam age. Thus the Cēra kings of that period are stated to have performed Vedic sacrifices like the Kṣatriyas of North India.[46] The peruñcōṛu (great feast) of the first Cēra king Udiyan Cēraḷ is described as the feeding of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava soldiers of the battle of Mahābhārata.[47] It has already been pointed out that the Cēra kings of Makōtai in our period are represented as Kṣatriyas of the solar race in contemporary literature.[48] It is also noticed that some of their feudatories employed the Kṣatriya caste suffix Varma in their inscriptions. At the same time other feudatories were designated only as Sāmanta. The families of ancient (pre-Makōtai) chieftains like those of Kōlattunāṭu, Puṛaikiḻānāṭu and Kuṛumpoṛaināṭu, who acknowledged the Cēra supremacy, were treated as Kṣatriyas and the families of the new chieftains like the governors of Ēṛānāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Vempalanāṭu, Kīḻmalaināṭu and Vēṇāṭu were treated as Sāmantas during this age.[49] In course of time, the Sāmantas who were not admitted into the Kṣatriya fold for purposes of interdining and intermarriage, and who considered themselves higher than the Nāyars on account of their kingship, formed a sub-caste, in between the two, though there was no sanction for it in the old scriptures.[50]

In the same way those who were employed in temple service under the Brahmins like the Potuvāḷ, Vāriyar, Paṭārar, Cākyār, Nambiyār and Naṅgaiyār and Uvaccar or Koṭṭikaḷ are met with in Cēra inscriptions of the age.[51] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* calls them the antarāḷa (intermediary) castes and says that they are either Brahmins who were degraded or Śūdras who were upgraded on account of their conduct.[52] This must be true. Just as the Sāmantas were in between the Kṣatriyas and Śūdras, the Antarāḷas took their place in between the Brahmins and Śūdras. As in the former case they also must have looked up to the caste immediately superior to them for leadership and tried to approximate their conduct to those in matters of vegetarian diet and Sanskrit culture - a fact which explains their Brahmanical customs, contribution to medicine, astronomy and literature.[53] They also must have received Brahmin masters for their maids – a fact which explains the fair complexion which many of their families have developed. That the Cēra kings originally belonging to the dark Dravidian race had also transformed their complexion in a similar way is clear from the royal dramatist Kulaśēkhara's reference to himself as having a golden complexion.[54] A certain friend of king Kulaśēkhara is described as a Pāraśava in the colophon to *Mukundamāla*.[55]

The details of the temple organisation may be discussed in another chapter. However, there is a striking difference between the temple organisation in the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya countries on the one hand and Kerala on the other. There the temple administration was primarily of the Brahmins, for the Brahmins, and by the Brahmins. The Brahmin Sabha or village assembly formed itself

into annual or permanent Vāriyams (committees) for different purposes.[56] These Vāriyams (committees) are not noticed in Kerala. There are only the Pariṭa (Pariṣad or executive) and the Kaṇam (Gaṇa or trust) and the tasks assigned to the different Vāriyams in the other Tamil kingdoms are assigned to non-Brahmin officers called Potuvāḷ, Vāriyar, Paṭārar etc.[57] This kind of prominent association of non-Brahmins as under-officers could be seen as the result of a unique Brahmin-Śūdra alliance which took place in the pre-Makōtai period in Kerala.

The Vaiśyas proper, included in the group of Traivarṇikas or three upper castes, wearing the sacred thread and performing the samskaras, are absent in Kerala. It is likely that even during the Cēra period the local trading classes were not considered as possessing the status of Vaiśya. Some of them at least might have followed or supported the Buddhist and Jain faiths like their counterparts elsewhere.[58] The term Ceṭṭi is rarely mentioned in the epigraphic records and that too not as a caste-name but as a title.[59] The caste status of the 'Vaṇikar' mentioned in some places remains uncertain but judged from the context it may not be as high as that of the Vaiśya.[60]

Perhaps the most important of the newly emergent caste groups in Kerala consequent on the establishment of the Brahmin settlements and the Cēra kingdom was that of the Nāyar. Unfortunately historians and social anthropologists have tended to take for granted that Nāyar was a clan or tribe migrating to Kerala with its own tradition of worship, warlike training, and system of inheritance, and this has resulted in fantastic theories about the period of migration, the association with Indus Valley civilization, the relation to Nāga tribes, and the conflict and compromise with the Aryan Brahmins.[61] However, it may be pointed out that anthropometrical measurements of Nāyars exhibit nothing new but a combination of Aryan Nambūdiri and native Dravidian features.[62] The community of Nāyar is never mentioned in the entire range of Sangam literature. It is absent in the other two Dravidian countries outside Kerala. It became prominent in Kerala in this period after the settlement of the West Coast Brahmins. It continued to be so in later periods also. Therefore, the proper assumption would be that it was a by-product of Brahmin settlement, that it was formed of persons recruited from the aboriginal tribes for military service in the Cēra period, and that, like other hereditary offices, this too gave birth to a new sub-caste.[63] The nature of the office, related to political power and rewarded with land ownership, must have made this community very strong in the post-Cēra period of feudal anarchy, and Brahmin matrimonial alliance must have gradually changed or improved their complexion, habits of worship, and culture.[64] Almost all the so-called special attributes or characteristic marks of Nāyars in the medieval period like Nāga worship, bath mania, and preference for white, all except Matriliny, are shared by the Nambūdiri-Brahmins and sometimes by

the Brahmins of South Canara too.[65] The military system of Kaḷarippayaṛṛu (fencing) was common practice of Nambūdiri, Nāyar, Tiyyar, Muslim and Christian warriors in Kerala and even according to tradition its highest training grounds were in Tuḷunāḍu or Canara.[66] Therefore, it is logical to conclude that the Nāyar community was not a separate tribe or race but a section of the native Dravidian people which was made what it was by a combination of two factors, i.e., military profession and Nambūdiri matrimonial alliance facilitated by the matrilineal system of inheritance.[67]

The earliest appearance of the title Nāyaka in the historical records of Kerala as a whole occurs in the Syrian Copper plates in the compound word 'Matināyakan'.[68] Here it refers to the Commander of the Matil (fort) and the office itself has parallels in the Āḷupa and Gaṅga kingdoms of Mysore.[69] It is definitely a military office. The term 'Paṇiyuṭaiya Nāyan' appears in a Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi Varma.[70] From the context in which the Paṇi is mentioned along with the governor and his bodyguard force it is clear that it stands for the governor's servants. Therefore, the Nāyan was evidently a military-political officer in the governor's service. The Paṇi or Paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷ mentioned in similar context in several other inscriptions might also refer to Nāyars in such a high position.[71] There are also some references to Paṭai Nāyar (military commander) in other inscriptions. Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāḍityan and Kāññirappaḷḷi Ravi Kaṇṇapiran are named as Neḍumpuṛayūrnāṭṭu Paṭanāyars in a Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi inscription.[72] A certain Ciṛukaṭaitturutti Paṭai Nāyar is mentioned in Tiruvalla copper plates also.[73] These instances again point to the military office and the use of the term Nāyar as a title. Some other references to Ponniyakka Nāyan who instituted Akkāraṭalai and Kūttu in the temple and Mūlaiyil Nāyattiyār (this is the feminine gender) who created an endowment for meals for Cāttirar, do not throw any further light on the Nāyar question.[74] There is another passage in the same plates which reveals that Nāyars in this period were following the matrilineal system of inheritance. Kōyirpuṛattu Cēnnan Kumaran and 'marumakkaḷ' (nephews) jointly gave part of the produce of their common landed property for Akkāraṭalai in the temple.[75] That Kōyirpuṛam is the name of a Nāyar family is clear from the fact that a certain Kōyirpuṛattu Nāyattiyār figures as donor in another passage.[76] Gōvinnan Atchutan and marumakkaḷ (nephews) jointly gave one fourth of Paṇiccavirutti 4000 kalam of land to the same temple.[77] They too might have belonged to the military class of Nāyars because the term Paṇiccavirutti means land enjoyed by Paṇikkar (military instructors) in lieu of service.[78]

Before taking up lower caste groups it is necessary to mention some title holders like Perum Taccan, Perum Taṭṭān, Ācāri etc. who are mentioned in connection with temples. Taccan, Taṭṭān, Ācāri are terms usually employed in Kerala for the Kammāḷar or artisan classes.[79] The first two - Taccan and

Taṭṭān - are derived from the Sanskirt word 'Takṣa' meaning architect and used for holders and smiths of different types in Kerala. The term Ācāri is probably derived from the title 'Ācārya' enjoyed by the leading architects and this too denotes the same profession. In the normal course, these people were not admitted into Brahmanical Hindu temples but in view of their services to the temple they were given special privileges. The rulers nominated some of them as the royal architects with the title of Perum Taccan or Perum Taṭṭān, meaning 'the great architect' with the right to use the king's name. Thus we have 'Rājasimha Perum Taccan' who received a 'Puraiyiṭam' (house and compound) from the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ, probably as reward for some work in the temple.[80] This custom of the chief architect using the royal name is found in other Tamil kingdoms also.[81] In the case of the districts they seem to have been using the nāṭu's name as part of their title. Thus we have Vāliccēri Gaṇapati Nīlakaṇṭan alias 'Kuṟumpuṟai Perumtaṭṭān', 'Mūṣakēśvara Suvaṟṇakāra' etc. in some inscriptions of the age.[82] There are also other Cēra inscriptions which simply mention a Perum Taccan or Ācāri among the donors or witnesses.[83]

Several other groups which are known as sub-castes in Kerala today are mentioned in the capacity of skilled workers with hereditary occupations.[84] Thus the Syrian copper plates of Kollam refer to the transfer of families to the church of Tarsa built by Mār Sāpir Īśō in that place. Four families of Īḻavar, with four females and eight males making a total of twelve persons, and one family of Vaṇṇār, were made over to the church in the 5th year of Sthāṇu Ravi. The governor gave up the right to collect all sorts of professional taxes, house tax and special impositions from these people. They were settled on church land as tenants and subjects of the church authorities. However, the Īḻavar were permitted to bring their vehicles to the bazar and ply their business and the Vaṇṇān was also permitted to do his work in the bazar and the fort. The Tiyyamāḷvān and Matināyakan and others – the officers of the governor – were not authorised to punish them on account of any offence. The church alone was to enquire into their offences.[85] These clauses bring out certain facts about the two groups of people. It may be suspected in the case of the four Īḻava families, with four females and eight males, that they followed a polyandrous system under which a single woman was married to two or more men, usually brothers – a system which existed till recently among Īḻavas and some other communities.[86] The reference to professional taxes called taḷaikkāṇam and ēṇikkāṇam (fetter dues and ladder dues) prove that the Īḻavar were toddy-tappers as many of them were until recent times.[87] The reference to 'Vaṇṭi' (carts) shows that it was their custom to take the toddy for sale in the town. The Vaṇṇār were hereditary washermen.[88] That might have been the work of the Vaṇṇār in the Syrian copper plates also. Thus it is clear that the hereditary occupations of such groups of people had already evolved. It probably took place even without the agency

or inspiration of the Brahmins and this type of hereditary occupation provided a powerful impetus to the evolution of sub-castes within the general framework of caste.

The second set of the Syrian plates refers to more families, two families probably of Vāṇiyar (the exact word is lost but the reference to oil supplied to the church in the succeeding passage suggests these people), one family of Taccar, and four families of Veḷḷāḷar who were transferred to the church. It is mentioned that the Veḷḷāḷar were to be the Kārāḷar (tenants) of the land and that these families were to supply oil and other things needed for the church, and later on it is stated that all the families were settled on the land of the church. The Paḷḷiyār (church authorities) were given full powers to enquire into their offences and they were also authorised to receive Talaivilai and Mulaivilai (head-price and breast-price) – the usual payment when the children of slaves were sold or the female slaves were given out in marriage.[89] All these, especially the last clause, prove that the groups of Vāṇiyar (oil pressers), Taccar (carpenters or smiths) and Veḷḷāḷar (agriculturists) had taken to hereditary occupations. They were treated as bondsmen while they were settled in the land of a particular person or institution.[90] Land ownership and governmental power over the settlers on land went together. The Ūruṭaiyavakaḷ (proprietors of the village) in the case of a Cērikkal are clearly mentioned in another record to have the right in the case of the Kuṭikaḷ (settlers) to injure, extract taxes, punish, impose fine, or kill as they pleased.[91] Thus all the lower classes of people who did not have proprietorship of land and who settled on somebody's land had to be their bondsmen. The exercise of authority by the Brahmin Ūrāḷar over the Śūdras who settled down within the Ūr is explicitly brought out in a record of Kumaranallūr.[92] It appears from the Kollūr Maḍham plates claiming to re-issue a charter of the time of Śrīvallavan Kōta that four families of Vāṇiyar and four families of Veḷḷainākār were settled within the limits of Brahmin grāmas in order to ensure the supply of oil and ghee necessary for burning lamps in temples.[93]

The lowest section of the people were the Pulaiyar who were agrestic serfs as many of them continued to be until recent times.[94] There are several medieval records which show that Pulayar, Ceṟumar, etc. were bought and sold as slaves and often transferred with or without land from one owner to another as part of a transaction.[95] Even during the Cēra period these aboriginals, who must have been the masters of the soil at one time, seem to have already been reduced to serfdom. Thus we find the Peruvayal bhūmi and Pulaiyar, Veṭṭikkarikkāṭṭu bhūmi and Pulaiyar, and Kaṇṇamaṅgalattu Vayal Karai and Pulaiyar being donated for the conduct of certain routine expenses in Trikkākara temple.[96] Similarly, a piece of Bhūmi (land) and Āḷ (slaves) were surrendered to Uḷiyaṉūr temple.[97] The plot of Kaṭaippaṉaṅgāṭu and Āḷ were surrendered for Tiruvakkiram and the Kuḷikkāṭṭu Bhūmi and Āḷ were

placed as Kīḻiṭu at Tiruvalla temple.[98] In these cases the 'Āḷ' ((slaves) mentioned along with the land must have been the Pulaiyar or similar tribes settled there. The system of assigning pairs of slaves along with land to each one of the Ūrāḷar in Brahmin settlements is illustrated by the Kiḻimāṉūr record of 1168 AD.[99] This must have been the practice in other earlier settlements also.

The process of evolution and consolidation of the caste system that we come across in Kerala during this period was directed by the well-organised Aryan Brahmins who were the political, economic and religious leaders in the country. They created certain upper castes like the Kṣatriyar, Sāmantar, Antarāḷar and Nāyar out of the aboriginals according to status and profession. The Brahmins practised concubinage among these people. The rest of the vast Dravidian society consisting of Īḻavar, Vāṇiyar, Vaṇṇār, Taccar, Taṭṭār, Veḷḷāḷar, Pulayar and others not mentioned in the records, must have gradually sunk further and further into the bottom of the social organisation. Their divisions were based on hereditary professions sometimes reinforced by place of origin as in the case of the Īḻavar from Ceylon. Caste formation and rigidity were promoted among them also by their dependence on the Aryan Brahmin settlements and the other Dravidian groups who took the former's guidance.

C. West Asian Colonists

A rough sketch of the West Asian colonies in the chief port-cities like Kollam and Koḍuṅgallūr has already been provided in the previous chapters.[100] It has been found that Mār Sāpir Īśō founded the nakaran (trading corporation) of Kollam, and recruited Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam as the tenants of the nakaram. He also built the Tarisāppaḷḷi (church of Tarisa) at Kollam and received three charters from the governor Vēṇāṭu granting rights and privileges, lands and serfs to the church and the trading corporations.[101] Similarly Joseph Rabban of Muyirikkōḍe (Koḍuṅgallūr) received a charter from Bhāskara Ravi recognising him and his descendants as the captains of Añcuvaṇṇam, granting them exemption from taxes and conferring on them aristocratic privileges.[102]

There has been some controversy regarding the character of Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam corporations, though it is agreed that they were associations of merchants or artisan classes. The presence of certain Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew signatures and the names found in them prove that the associates of Mār Sāpir Īśō included Syrian Christians, Arabs and Jews too.[103] These must have been the officers of the church and the members of the Maṇikkirāmam and Añcuvaṇṇam corporations. This would naturally suggest that the said corporations were Christian and Jewish organisations. The term

Añcuvaṇṇam could be explained as the native form of 'Añjumān', the term for corporations in the Persian language. In fact, the term Hanjama or Hanjamāna is found in some Telugu and Kannada records also.[104]

Dr. Gundert at first took the word Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam to mean the immigrant merchant tribes. He and Burnell thought Añcuvaṇṇam to be a colony of Jews and Maṇigrāmam to be a colony of Christians.[105] The fact that the Syrian copper plates of Mār Sāpir Īśō were found in the possession of the Christian Church at Kottayam and the copper plates of Joseph Rabban were found in the custody of the ancient Jewish community of Cochin led them to this conclusion. Mār Sāpir Īśō founded the church of Tarisa at Kollam which is evidently a Christian church and he is described as a Christian missionary in old Syrian records. Similarly the presence of old Jewish community songs in praise of Joseph Rabban, the Añcuvaṇṇam leader and beneficiary of the Cochin plates, also justified this identification.

This view has been challenged by several scholars who put forward objections based on evidence and offered some alternative explanations too. It has been pointed out by Gopinatha Rao that Maṇigrāmam is not confined to Malabar Coast alone, but it is found in the interior and in other countries where no trace of Christian settlement is discovered. Moreover, the members of Maṇigrāmam are found to possess typical Hindu names, and more than that, they occasionally make offerings and undertake to protect Hindu temples.[106] A certain Maṇigrāmattu Nārāyaṇan Accan made a gift of gold for feeding a Vedic Brahmin at Tiruveḷḷarai near Uṟaiyūr in the period of Rājakēsarivarman.[107] A stone inscription of Siam states that the tank Śrīnāraṇam was placed under the supervision of the Maṇigrāmattār and Sēnāmukhattār.[108] Therefore, Gopinatha Rao concluded: "We thus see that there is no ground for taking Maṇigrāmattār to be exclusively the merchants of South India. They were found wherever trade flourished. Nor were they Christian, since Hindu institutions were placed under their protection".[109] However, as the Government Epigraphist pointed out, there is weakness in the argument that since Maṇigrāmattār protects a Hindu temple they must be Hindus. By the same argument they must be Christians as they undertake the protection of the Christian church at Kollam in Kerala.

The discovery of a record of 1269 AD from Tīttāṇḍadānapuram in the Rāmnāḍ district referring to Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam in connection with a Hindu temple induced the Madras Government Epigraphist also to review the ideas once again on the basis of all inscriptional references discovered so far.[110] He found many other rural non-Christian Maṇigrāmam references in addition to those already mentioned. A Salem temple inscription of Rājakēsarivarman records a gift of gold by Maṇigrāmattu Vyāpāri Maṇiyamārttāṇḍan of Koḍumbāḷūr.[111] A Kuṟṟālam temple inscription of Parakēsari mentions a lamp gift by Maṇigrāmattu Dharma Ceṭṭi alias Caṭaiyan Ga-

vaiyan.[112] There is an instance at Pantalāyaṉi Kollam where Maṇigrāmam is mentioned but the context is not clear.[113] A record of 929 AD from Rāmantaḷi in Ēḻimala also registers the responsibility of Maṇigrāmattār in protecting a Hindu temple.[114] At the same time the Cochin copper plates of Vīrarāghava Cakṛavarti in 1225 AD shows the name of the donee as Ravi Kōrttan, resembling other Hindu names, though its possession by the Kottayam Christian Church suggests that the Maṇigrāmam under his leadership could have been a Christian corporation.[115] A Tāḻakkāḍ inscription of the reign of Rājasimhapperumān Aṭikaḷ also gives two names of Vāṇiyar (merchants) called Maṇigrāmattār Cāttan Vaṭukan and Iravi Cāttan.[116] Though the payment to the Hindu temple is described as rent in this case, and two Paḷḷis (Ciṛupaḷḷi and Karaipaḷḷi) of the locality are mentioned in the text, these two are apparently Hindu names.[117] Having examined all this the Government Epigraphist came to the conclusion that "there is nothing in the records themselves to indicate that the word Maṇigrāmattār has been used with special reference to Christians or that its use is confined only to the West coast as suggested by some scholars".[118] He also suggested that 'Vaṇika Grāmam', the form used by Nachinārkkiniyar, the first commentator of *Cilappatikāram*, and explained as the proper name of a community (Kuḻuvin peyar), was not necessarily a mislection.[119] Thus, according to him, the membership could have been open to all merchants irrespective of religion. The existence of a number of Nāyar families bearing the name Maṇigrāmattār at Kollam (Quilon) and suburbs and at Kāvēripūmpaṭṭaṇam was taken by him as evidence of its mixed character since he rejected the view that they were originally Christians apostatised to the Hindu religion. At the same time he was prepared to accept the possibility of Añcuvaṇṇam, found in Kerala records and at Tīttāṇḍadānapuram on the East Coast, being a foreign merchant guild deriving its name from 'Añcumān'. Several other writers on the medieval guilds of South India came to more or less the same inference.[120] T.V. Mahalingam has also suggested that Añcuvaṇṇam could be a variant of the Tamil word Pāñcālattār meaning the five classes of artisans, i.e., blacksmiths, goldsmiths, brass smiths, carpenters and idolmakers.[121] This view, however, is clearly disproved by the reference to the exemption from customs dues for water and land transport, taxes and weighing fee for the leader of Añcuvaṇṇam referred to in the Cochin Jewish Plates. These are payments prescribed for merchants and not for artisan classes.[122]

These conclusions drawn from existing sources regarding the non-sectarian character of the Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam deserve fresh examination. It may be remembered that the records of Kollam (Sthāṇu Ravi), Tāḻakkāḍ (Rājasimha) and Cochin (Vīrarāghava) referring to Maṇigrāmam are found to be associated with Paḷḷis (churches) or at least, as in the case of the last mentioned, possessed by Christian churches. Similarly the Jewish copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi unequivocally registers the grant of

Añcuvaṇṇam to Joseph Rabban whose memory is cherished in the old community songs of Jews in Cochin and the grant itself has been preserved by these people.[123] In these circumstances it is only proper to consider that the Maṇigrāmam and Añcuvaṇṇam were the organisations Christians and Jews respectively. However, the Syrian copper plates of Kollam reveal that these rich merchants who set up colonies in the port-cities of Kerala welcomed local families of different castes to settle down on land allotted to them. Therefore, it is clear that they employed the local Hindus in large numbers in their service. Even if some of these servants gradually became converts to the creeds of their masters, or intermarried with the foreigners, they could have retained their old religious ideas and faith and names too. Before the Udayampērur Sūnahadōs (1599 AD) the Christians of Kerala were having Hindu names and customs and they even followed Hindu forms of worship in common temples while at the same time adopting separate Christian worship in their own churches.[124] It is also not surprising if the foreign merchants employed local Hindus in large numbers as their agents in the rural trade centres and even in Burma, Siam and other countries which were familiar to the Hindu merchants of this age. Therefore, it would not be unnatural to find Hindu names among the residents of Maṇigrāmam settlements or meet pious Hindus among the converts themselves. In early days a Hindu ruler often did not find it against his principles or interest to donate to Jain, Buddhist Christian or Muslim shrines and this feeling could have been prevalent among the common people also.[125] There is nothing inherently impossible in a Christian or a Jew, especially a Hindu who adopted these religions for one reason or other, continuing to pay respect to his ancestral deities and to patronise the local temple.

These facts would suffice to show that Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were West Asian trade settlements of Jews and Christians from Syria or Persia. They flourished mostly in Kerala and occasionally on the East coast and rarely in the interior also. They received the patronage of local rulers and kept good relations with the local population. The Syrian Christian copper plates and the Jewish copper plates prove that the Christians and Jews from West Asia were able to gain the confidence and support of the Cēra kings and their governors who admitted them into the exclusive ranks of the highest aristocracy by conferring on them certain privileges. It is true that these rulers might have had their own financial and political motives and self-interest in patronising the foreigners of alien races, creeds and languages.[126] In this respect they were like the Zamorins of Calicut and the kings of Cochin who, in spite of their Hindu orthodoxy, patronised the Arab Muslims and Portuguese, Dutch and English merchants in later times. However, the fact remains that the foreign colonists were treated with tolerance and respect and accorded high status in social life.

The Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam had their own 'Talaiyār' (headmen) who decided things for the respective corporations and represented them in the ruler's assembly whenever they were invited.[127] They also sat in judgement over complaints regarding offences committed by their own people. Their share in local administration and revenue and their exemption from taxes have been discussed before. The recognition of the chief of the community as the ruler of the semi-autonomous local units of the community was a regular practice in Kerala in the later period also.[128] Such was the power and status of these community leaders that in later times it was believed in the West that a Jewish prince ruled in a part of Kerala.[129] The Christians of the West also imagined that their community leaders in Kerala functioned as independent princes.[130]

The Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam leaders of Kollam were granted the 'seventy-two privileges' beginning with 'āṉaimēl maṇṇu nīr'.[131] Joseph Rabban of Muyirikkōḍe (Koḍuṅgallūr) was also granted the 'seventy-two privileges' of which some like Añcuvaṇṇam, Pākuṭam, Veṭi and Vāyaṉam, Añcuvaṇṇappēṛu, Pakalviḷakku, Pāvāṭai, Āntōḷakam, Kuṭai, Vaṭukappaṛai, Kākaḷam, Iṭupaṭi, Tōraṇam, Tōraṇavitāṉam, and Caram are mentioned by name.[132] There is no list of all the seventy-two privileges anywhere. However, some of the privileges named in the Kollam and Koḍuṅgallūr inscriptions have parallels in the neighbouring kingdoms during the same period and in Kerala during the later period also. A brief examination of their character would help to throw light on the position granted to the foreigners here.

Mangalyattukku Ānai Mēl Maṇṇu Nīr: This is not satisfactorily explained. Gundert took it to mean "elephant's back, the earth and water or earth and water on elephant - at all events marks of nobility". Gopinatha Rao rejected it and quoted a passage from Periyāḷvār's *Tiruppallāṇḍu* (Verse 3, Line I) and its commentary to suggest that it is related to the ritual of carrying earth and water on elephant-back for muḷaippāliyai or ankurārpaṇa which formed a part of Hindu marriage.[133] However, its relevance for the Christian or Jew is not clear. Perhaps it may refer to the right to take the bride-groom to go on elephant back in a procession for marriage with auspicious symbols of earth and water in pots carried before him. According to late medieval practice in Cochin State the marriage procession on elephant-back was one of the privileges to be purchased from the king with payment of a prescribed fee.[134] According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* the right to use an elephant is one of the 18 privilege of aristocratic men.[135]

Añcuvannappēru: This must be the right of the leader of Añcuvaṇṇam.[136]

Pakalviḷakku: This means the right to have people carrying lighted lamps of the traditional type in front of a person while moving in a ceremonial procession. It is still observed in the processions of deities in the temple. It is the same as 'hagalu dīvaṭigē' (torch light by day), one of the 16 maryādegaḷu

(usages) mentioned in *Grāmapaddhati*, in connection with Kōṭa Brahmin village.[137] It is often mentioned as an aristocratic symbol in royal charters and medieval songs.[138] It is one of the privileges granted to the Maṇikkirāmam leader of Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇam in the Vīra Rāghava plates.[139]

Pāvātai: This refers to the right to spread the 'red carpet' though in Kerala it was the black colour that was preferred for aristocratic persons to walk or sit on. It goes along with pakalviḷakku in medieval songs and proclamations of Kerala.[140] It must be the same as the 'ratnakambaḷa' (jewelled carpet) included in the 16 privileges of Karnataka tradition.[141] It is mentioned as karimpaṭam (black cloth) in *Kēraḷōlpatti*. It is identical with 'veḷḷayum karimpaṭavum' (white and black cloth) mentioned in connection with kings and chieftains in late medieval Kerala.[142]

Antōḷakam: This is the right to use a palanquin, as the word antōḷakam denotes a palanquin. It is the same as 'aintōḷam', one of the rights conferred on Ravi Kōrtan of Koḍuṅgallūr in the 13th century.[143] It is mentioned as dōḷamañca in Canarese tradition.[144] It is called 'taṇṭu' also in medieval Kerala.[145]

Kuṭai: This is the ceremonial umbrella. It is mentioned as 'koṛṛakkuṭai' in the Vīra Rāghava Copper-plates.[146] The term Beḷu-koḍe (white umbrella) and the Sanskrit word 'chatra' were employed in Karnataka.[147] It is described as 'neṭumkuṭa' or neṭiyakuṭa (big umbrella since it is an umbrella with a long handle) and paṭṭukuṭa (silk umbrella) in certain medieval charters of Kerala.[148] Some guilds in Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire had received charters permitting them to use their own umbrellas and chauris also.[149]

Vaṭukapparai: This word literally means northern drum and stands for the Perumpaṛa or big drum. The same term is employed in Vīra Rāghava Copper-plates.[150] In its place we have 'naṭeveṭi' or naṭevādya (fireworks or instruments) and gamaṇaśriṅgavādya (processional instruments) in Karnataka tradition.[151] It is described as the instruments of ceṇḍa (drum) takil (flute) and muraśu (kettle drum) in songs.[152] The *Kēraḷōlpatti* list mentions 'virutuvādyam' (instruments of skill) and 'niyamaveṭi' (routine fireworks) in this place.[153] Contemporary inscriptions from Karuvūr and Pērūr have referred to the right of the guild of Kammāḷar (artisans) to blow double conches and beat drums in procession.[154]

Kākaḷam: This is the colloquial form of Kāhaḷam (bugle) which usually accompanied the drum. Different instruments added to the pomp of the aristocratic procession as mentioned in the previous para.

Iṭupaṭi: This is a colloquial word which means a gate with a simple shuttle device. The old taṛavāḍ houses in Kerala had such gates. It is mentioned as a privilege in Vīra Rāghava plates also.[155] Various forms of pillars, walls and roof were permitted only for aristocrats in ancient times. The *Grāmapaddhati* mentions pakṣakavāṭa (winged gates) and bhāvige jōḍu-

kambha (double pillars) among such privileges.[156] The Kammāḷar were sometimes allowed to plaster their houses with chunam.[157] Some records mention two-storeyed houses and double doors in this category.[158] The Zamorins used to permit some chieftains to cover the roof with tiles as a special privilege.[159] Some other medieval charters mention Paṭippura (gate house) and Kuḷappura (tank house) as the privileges given to Īḻava chieftains.[160] The rights to erect closed pandals as the extension of the dwelling house was granted in return for a fixed payment in medieval Cochin.[161]

Tōranam and Tōraṇavitānam: The first word means arch and the second word suggests an arch with decorative design. Tōraṇam is mentioned in Vīra Rāghava plates also.[162] Doors decorated with the makara face design are mentioned in medieval Malayalam poem called *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśa*.[163] Tōraṇa and dīpamālastambha (pillars decorated with a garland of lamps) are mentioned in *Grāmapadhati* also.[164] The special right to create Vitāṉam (decoration) is mentioned in the records of medieval Cochin.[165]

Caram: This word was left out as meaningless in early studies. It literally means arrow and stands for the privilege of bearing arms especially on the occasion of public functions.[166] This right corresponds to the later medieval privilege of wearing a piccātti (big knife) mentioned in the records of Cochin.[167]

The rest of the privileges are not listed. These rights and privileges would show that the West Asian settlers with different creeds really accepted the customs and manners of the land and to that extent they were accepted by the rulers and people of Kerala to be on a par with native lords and chieftains. The titles and privileges granted to Mār Sāpir Īśō at Kollam are said to last 'as long as world, the sun and moon endure'.[168] Those of Joseph Rabban of Koḍuṅgallūr are specially stated to pass on to their sons daughters, and nephews and sons-in-law and their descendants and last as long as the world and moon endure.[169] These provisions also prove that the merchant settlers were not mere birds of prey and passage but intended to become part and parcel of this land and her population.

The origins of the Jewish and Christian communities in Kerala are not clear. Their own traditions assert the antiquity of their settlements but apart from them there is no supporting evidence. It has been pointed out that the West Coast of India, especially South India, was known to the Hebrews even during the days of Solomon.[170] The Jews and probably Syrian Christians too must have had a considerable share in the East- West sea trade of the Roman empire in the Arabian sea in which Kerala was involved since the discovery of the trade winds by Hippalus in 78 AD. [171] This trade is mentioned in contemporary Greeko-Roman works and Sangam literature.[172] It was responsible for the deposits of Roman gold coins discovered in Kerala.[173] However, Jews or Christians are not directly mentioned in any of the sources. There are

strong possibilities but in the place of evidence we have only certain unconfirmed traditions of doubtful value.

The Jews of Cochin used to claim that their ancestors came to Koḍuṅgallūr soon after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD.[174] Writers have suggested various other dates like 136 AD, 370 AD and 490 AD for the earlier settlements of Jews in Kerala.[175] The traditions of the Jews themselves in regard to date are unreliable since they are mixed up with the date of the copper plate grant of Bhāskara Ravi to Joseph Rabban which tradition assigned to 379 AD - a date which is more than six centuries before the real date.[176] In the circumstances the only thing that can be asserted is that the Añcuvaṇṇam organisation of the Jews must have been well-established in centres like Kollam and Koḍuṅgallūr even during the early period of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.

The Syrian Christian community of Kerala also has its legends about St. Thomas, the Apostle, being the founder of their colonies. Apart from the possibility suggested by circumstantial evidence and the strong faith of the followers there is no contemporary or near-contemporary evidence in support of the legend.[177] Moreover, like the Paraśurāma legend of the Brahmins it may be classified almost as a myth as it is used for promoting faith and providing inspiration. Like the Paraśurāma legend again, it seems to represent the case of a transfer of the myth from one region to another, from Syria to Malabar, by a group of immigrant people who shifted their own residence.[178] Further, there is anachronism in the story that St. Thomas converted a few prominent Brahmins of Koḍuṅgallūr and other places into Christianity at a time when Brahmanism itself had not taken roots in Kerala.[179] The evidence regarding the presence of Christians in Kerala may be traced to 535 AD.[180] Then comes the comparatively reliable report about a missing set of copper plates granted to Thomas of Cana who settled down at Koḍuṅgallūr. As far as can be gathered from imperfect translation preserved by scholars it also belongs to the period of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.[181] Scholars have suggested the possibility of Thomas of Cana being confused with St. Thomas, the Apostle, and this too must be taken into consideration. The next landmarks are the copper plates of the 5th year of Sthāṇu Ravi (849 AD). It is abundantly clear that by this time the Christians were well-settled in Kerala and well integrated in the socio-political set up here.

Notes and Reference

1. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 3-4, 20. For the administrative functions of the Brahmin villages see chapter on Local Bodies.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 28.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
6. *Ibid.*, pp, 5-8, 11-12, 14-15, 40. The members of ten 'royal' grāmas received arms. The arms-bearing Brahmins are called '*Cāttirar*' or '*Chatṛa*'. While assuming the right to govern the country they lost the privilege of studying the Veda but it was decided that they would receive a share of the benefit from those who performed the sacrifice.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 26- 27.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-87.
14. The Paraśurāma legend is found in slightly different versions in *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* like *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Padma*, *Skanda* and *Bhāgavata* besides the Canarese *Grāmapadhati* and the Malayalee *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicles. The puranic legend of Bhārgava-Kārtavīrya conflict and the recovery of new land from the sea does not find mention Karnataka or Kerala. This modification of the legend, or addition to it, is found only in the last two works of later medieval origin mentioned above. However, the legend in relation to the land between Gōkarṇa and Kanyākumāri on the West-coast had already achieved popularity by the 10th century. It is mentioned by the Maharastrian poet Rājaśēkhara, see *T.A.S.*, II, p. 11. It is found in the Cōḷa inscriptions of Rājēndra. See Chapter V, Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase.

    For a detailed discussion of Paraśurāma legend in relation to the West Coast, see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 106 ff; Sukhtankar, 'The Bhrigus and the Bhārata', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, XVIII, pp. 1-76; 9. Karve, 'The Paraśurāma Myth', *Journal of Bombay University*, I, pp. 115-39. Charpentier, 'Parasu Rama', *Kuppusami Sastri Commemoration Volume*; B.A. Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, pp 9-30; A.D. Pusalkar, 'Paraśurāma *and the Koṅkaṇ*', *Kerala Studies*, pp. 1-13; M.R. Balakrishna Varier, 'Kerala and Paraśurāma Tradition', *Kerala Studies*, pp. 14-27; P. Anujan Achan, 'Paraśurāma Tradition and its Significance', *A.R.A.D.C.*, 1934, pp. 1-11; 1.C. Chacko, 'The Scientific Basis of the Tradition', *R.V.R.I.B.*, XII, pp. 1-11; 'The Historical Value of The Paraśurāma Tradition', *I.A.* (New Series), VI, no.I; D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction to Indian History*, pp. 98, 113, 124.
15. The original home of Southern Brahmins is referred to as Ahichatra in *Grāmapaddhati* and *Kēraḷōlpatti* as well as in some inscriptions. A record of 904 AD says that from Ahichatra, the abode of Yatis in which stood the temple of Padmōdbhava (Brahma), there came originally to the south, in order to make it pure, free from sin,

and filled with merit, companies of learned Brahmins, to the honoured district named Vanavāsi, see *E.C.*, XII, Nj. 269, pp. 135-6. Similarly the Brahmins of Tanaguṇḍūr (Taḷguṇḍa) are described in a record of 1092 AD as having come from Ahichatra. See *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 178, p. 115. The previous Gaṅga kings are stated in a record of 1162 AD to have gone to the agrahāra of Ahichatra, the ornament of the world, and brought 50 chief Brahmins for the increase of their own fortune. See *E.C.*, IV, Hs. 137, p. 97.

This Ahichatra has been identified with different places. It is suggested that it might have been the modern Ahicchatur, 18 miles West of Bareilly. See Cunningham, *A.S.I.*, I, pp. 255 - 7. The early home of the Southern Brahmins could have been Ayyāvōḷe in the Cālukya kingdom of the Deccan. This new identification is based on the fact that the five hundred Nāṉādēśis of Ayyāvoḷēpura (Aihōḷē) are also described in a record of 1267 AD as the lords of Ahicchatrapura. See *E.C.*, IX, DB. 31, p. 67. Therefore, the term 'Ahichatra' or 'Ahikṣētra' may be taken to be the Sanskritised from of Ayyāpula or Aihōḷē. This agrees with the Cālukya interest in promoting Brahmin colonies in conquered lands like Āḷupadēśa. See Sohrab copper plate and Harihara copper plate of Cālukya king Vinayāditya Satyāśṛaya (680-696 AD) granting territory to Vedic Brahmins in the land of Āḷupa king Citṛavāhana. *E.C.*, VIII, SI. 571, p. 92 and *E.C.*, XI Dg. 66, pp. 62-3, 144. The Cālukya king also claims here to have brought Kerala and other kingdoms into vassalage like the Āḷupa and Gaṅga countries before.

16. Some of them have yielded inscriptions: I. Karikkāḍ (Index nos. C. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11). 2. Panniyūr (C. 16). 3. Cōkiram (C. 17, 18, 19, 20). 4. Airāṇikuḷam (C. 35, 36) 5. Mūḻikkaḷam (A. 37). 6. Iriññālakkuḍa (A. 3, 74). 7. Uḷiyannūr (C. 37). 8. Āvaṭṭiputtūr (A. 10, 11, 12). 9. Kumāranallūr (C.43). 10. Kaviyūr (B. 5, 6) and 11. Tiruvalla (A. 80) have yielded inscriptions. Among others 1. Perumaṇam (B. 16), 2. Paṛavūr C. 34) and 3. Ceṅgannūr (B. 11, 12) find mention in records from other places. The Perumcellūr Brahmin settlement is described by Atula in *Mūṣakavamśakāvya* (11th century) Sarga. 13 Slokas 51-72. The Āṛanmuḷa settlement is one among the 13 divyadēśas of Malaināṭu praised by Nammāḷvar (10th century) in Tiruvāymoḻi, 7-10. Besides this the same author has written about other old settlements like Tirucceṅgunṛūr (*Tiru* 8-4) Tiruvallavāḻ (*Tiru* 5-9) and Tirumūḻikkaḷam (*Tiru* 9-7) also.

17. See chapter VI 'Nature of Monarchy', Note nos. 38-45 and 115 to 125.

18. Index no. A. I, L. 2. "Tiruvāṛṛuvāy Patiṉeṭṭu nāṭṭārum vāḻaippaḷḷi ūrārum kūṭi rājaśēkharadēvar tṛkkaykkīḻ irunnu ceyta kaccam".For the identity of Vāḻappaḷḷi upagrāma within Tiruvalla grāma, see V.R. Nambiyar, 'Annals and Antiquities of Tiruvalla' *K.S.P.*, Series 2, p. 57. A person called Talaimanai Nāgaśarman of Tiruvallavāḻ grāma is mentioned as the beneficiary of a land-gift in Tripparappu copper plate of the period of Āy king Karunantaṭakkan (857-883 A D). See *T.A.S.*, I, pp. 188-200, L. 4.

19. See chapter VI Nature of Monarchy and chapter IX Police and Revenue.

20. The fragmentary Tiruvaḍūr inscription of 1020 AD (Index no B. 16) gives the names of 24 Brahmin proprietors recruited from different families belonging to the grāmas of Vaikkam, Paṛaiyūr, Āvaṭṭiputtūr, Iruṅgāṭikkūṭal, and Peruvaṇam. Four of these five grāmas, with the sole exception of Vaikkam, are from the original 32 colonies. See chapter VII, Local Bodies, Note no. 25.

The Kiḻimāṉūr record of 1168 AD (*T.A.S.*, V, I, no. 24. pp. 63-86) states that ten persons were selected for Ūrāṇmai from the eight gramas of Paṛavūr, Mūḻikkaḷam, Airāṇikkuḷam, Iruṅgāṭikkūṭal, Peruvaṇam, Cheṅgannūr, Tiruvallavāḻ and Āṛanmuḷa. All these are from the original 32 colonies.

21. See *Index to Cēra Inscriptions* and Map of Kerala with location of Inscriptions. These include Tiruvāṟṟuvāy, Tirunandikkara, Cōkkūr, Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi, Tripṟaṅgōḍe, Poraṅgōṭṭūr, Indianūr, Trippūṇittuṟa, Panniyankara, Kāvuntaṟa, Mānipuram, Pudukkōḍe, Tiruvanvaṇḍūr, Trikkākara, Pantalāyaṉikkollam, Trikkaḍittāṉam, Perunna, Tirunelli, Pullūr, Eramam, Tiruvangūr, Tāḻakkāḍ, Tiruvañcikkaḷam, Trichambaram, Tiruvaṇṇūr, Paṟamban Taḷi, Nallūr, Tiruvālūr, Kollam, Talakkuḷattūr, Cēlannūr, Muduvallūr, Tirunellāi, Rāmantaḷi, Parumala, Tiruvaḍūr, Vellūr, Trikkaṇḍiyūr, Trikkulaśēkharapuram, Kiṇālūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Maṇiyūr, Kuttiyāṭṭūr, Vēḷam, Pulpatta, Rāmaṉāṭṭukara, Tirumaṟṟakōḍe, Rāyiranallūr, Painkaṇṇūr, Pūkkōṭṭūr, Alanallūr, Polpuḷḷy, Karipōḍe, Peruvamba, Tripṟayar, Kīḻtaḷi, Cēnnamaṅgalam, Nāvāykuḷam and Kamapuram where the records are found and other places mentioned there.

22. See chapter VIII, Local Bodies, Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam.

23. Oldenberg rightly observed that "the Brahmin might, as necessity often made him, carry on other than priestly profession; he might become a cultivator, a butcher or a thief; then he was perhaps treated with contempt, but he remained a Brahmin". See *I.A.*, XLIX. pp. 224-6. When Brahmins were settled in Agrahāras in large numbers in the southern kingdoms, in the midst of a non-Aryan population, they certainly had problems of economic management, temple administration and temple service forcing them to formulate new division of labour according to which a few were set apart for Vedic and Śāstraic studies and worship and the rest followed mundane professions. In spite of the known piety of these Brahmins and the royal patrons who invited and settled them in the new lands, an economic motive certainly activated both sides. The Brahmins were eager to have new lands to be opened up for cultivation and the kings realised that their well-organised grāma system contributed to the prosperity of agriculture as well as the development of inland trade with the northern provinces. In this case religion provided a strong tonic for economic development, a powerful cementing force in politics, and an agent for the spread of Aryan culture.

24. K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, p. 295-302. This fact was formerly explained by traditionalists by reference to the 'gift of Paraśurāma'. However, as Prof. Eḷamkuḷam pointed out, there were actually a thousand such 'Paraśurāmas' who made small gifts which accumulated over the centuries. See also Eḷamkuḷam, *Janmisampṛadāyam*, pp. 18-20.

25. Index no. A. 80. Tiruvalla copper plates. See also *T.A.S.*, II. pp. 175-183.

26. *K.S.P.* Series. 2, pp. 57-8.

27. A.S. Altekar points out that a verse occurring in *Manusmṛti* (1-86) and several other works states that 'tapas' or austerities was the order of the day in Kṛta age, quest for knowledge or truth in Trēta, sacrifices in Dvāpara, and charity in Kali. See *The Rashtrakutas*, p. 299. Kauṭalya states that those learned in the Vedas shall be granted Brahmadēya lands yielding sufficient produce, and exempted from taxes and fines. See *Arthaśāstra*, Adhikarana II. Adhyaya I. However, the number and prosperity of Brahmin settlements in a region depended on the attitude of kings and the ability of Brahmins who settled there. For the Brahmin settlements of this period in the Deccan and South India, See Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas, Op. Cit.*, pp. 299 - 335; Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, pp. 140 -205; Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 232-34; *The Cōḷas*, pp. 492-503; Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, pp. 300-40.

28. Index no. A. 25.

29. Index nos. A. 26, 28.

30. Index no. A. 71, LL. 21-23 "Āriyarōṭu vanna virōtattiṉu", LI. 33-37. Āryabrahmaṇarum kuṭiyirunniṭattū". K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar suggested that the term 'Ārya' in this context referred to the Tamil followers of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa who invaded Kerala. See *A.R.A.D.T*, 1905 M.E. This is unacceptable. The Kerala Brahmins (Nambūdiris) are usually designated as Arya Brahmana.

31. A Tripparappu copper plate of Āy king Karunantaṭakkan (567-583 AD) refers to one Talaimanai Nāgaśarma from Tiruvalla Grāma (Kerala) *T.A.S.*, I, pp. 188-200. L. 4. A Kaṇḍiyūr inscription of 1146 AD refers to one Vairamana Akkiśarma Nārāyaṇan, *T.A.S.*, I, pp. 292-5, LI. 25-26. In this case Akkisarma which forms the first part is the father's name.

32. The present writer ascertained the existence of Nambūdiri families having affiliation to Payyanūr, Perumcellūr, Karikkāḍ, Panniyūr, Cōkiram and Iriññālakkuḍa. The grāmakṣētras of Perumcellūr, Karikkāḍ, Panniyūr and Cōkiram are still managed by the old Nambūdiri families of these grāmas respectively. It is also interesting to note that the management of Tiruvalla grāmakṣētra was transferred to Mārtāṇḍa Varma, king of Travancore in 925 M.E. (1750 AD) by the three families of Iḷaman, Mēccēri and Vilakkilimaṅgalam. Besides these three families others named Śankaraaṅgalam, Maṅgalaśśēri, Iranallūr, Talamana, Muḷamana and Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam are associated with the management of this temple in documents of the 17th century. See 'Annals and Antiquities of Tiruvalla', *K.S.P.*, no. 2. pp. 90-94. All these family names have appeared in Tiruvalla copper plates. Index no. A. 10.

Iḷaman	LL.	366.	Maṇgalaśśēri	LI.	365.
Mēccēri	"	590.	Iranallūr	"	599.
Vilakkilimaṅgalam —	"	63, 118, 222, 529, 554, 584, 608.	Talamaṇa	"	118.
			Muḷarnaṇa	"	592.
Śankaramaṅgalam	"	3, 207, 479, 583.	Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam	"	278, 267.

This demonstrates the wonderful continuity of Brahmin settlements, families, and their traditions in Kerala.

33. Index no. A. 8, LL 45-48. "Nivēdyamum aṭaiyum nantāviḷakkum cāntiyum akkiramum paliyum ivvāṟiṉukkumamaitta pūmi iraṇṭu (vivāha) taḷi nampiyum mūttavakaḷiruvarum kaṇṭu celuttakkaṭavar".

34. Index no. B. 6, LL. 2-3. "Ippūmi ellām uḷavu maṅgalattavakaḷ tantatiyil mūttōriruvarum ciṟakkaraiyil mūttavaṉum kūṭi aṭuttu palam mukkālvaṭṭattu koṭuppikkakkaṭavar".

35. Index no. A. 28, L. 2. "--manai uṭaiya tēvanārāyaṇaṉum tēvan tuppira maṇiyaṉum tēvan cuvākaraṉun tēvan cēnnaṉum--- taṅga nālvarkkumuḷḷa miḷi-". L. 4 "Tēvanārāyaṇaṉum tampimārum".

36. Index no B 16, LL. 12-14. "Ipparam santatipṛavēśakamāka ppaṇṇiccu koṇṭōrāvōr ivakaḷirupattunālvarum. Anantaram mūttamakan nirkkakaṭavan, Makkaḷillāta varkaṭku dāyādarum vāḻakkaṭavan".

37. *T.A.S.*, V, I, pp. 63-86. LL. 33-34. "Immārkkamē cilavu celutti ivar oruttaril mūttaputhirar atikāram celutti varuvitum".

38. See Note no. 8. above. These Brahmins are known as 'ammāvanmār' even today and they are devoid of the right to study the Vedas or perform sacrifice.

39. Manu says that a Brahmin who sleeps with a Śūdra woman shall be degraded and that in case he produces a son in her he shall be an outcaste - *Manusmṛti*, 3-17. The

Śankarasmṛti, of uncertain authorship, asks Brahmins, Rājas and Vaiśyas to keep away from Śūdra women. Chap. 11. Para. 3. The Brahmins of Kerala, however, seem to have side-tracked the law by assuming that aristocratic Nāyars who formed the military and ruling class were not actually Śūdra though not as high as Kṣatriya. For instances of Brahmins marrying Kṣatriya women and even taking Śūdra mistresses in ancient India, see R.S. Sharma, *Light On Early Indian Society and Economy*, (Bombay, 1966), pp. 40-50. For details of the practice of Brahmins marrying Kṣatriya and native Nāga women and instituting even a matrilineal system of succession in Funan in Cambodia, See P.N. Bose, *Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, p. 30 and A.R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, p. 103.

40. Index no. A. 10, LL 12. "Ivvūrikkūrāḷaṉum potuvāḷum pukkuvilakkavum poruḷ kavaravum kuṭi vaikkavum (pūmi nēṭavum) āṭakoḷavum kaṭṭilēṛavum ivvūrkkuṭikaḷai oru nanmaittinmai ceyyavum peṛān" ; Index no. C. 17. LL. 12- 17. "Pukku vilakkavum poruḷkavaravum aṭaiyuḷavuḷavum pāṭṭamāḷavum kuṭiyirukkavum kaṭṭilēṛavum pūmi nēṭavum kuṭikaṭkkuvvalayai ceyyavupeṛār ūrāḷar". The term 'kaṭṭil eṛutal' is employed in several South Indian records to signify marriage. See 165 of 1936-37 and *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 804. See also T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 385.

41. It is largely true to observe, along with K.P. Padmanabha Menon, that "the Aryan colonisation of South India was effected not by force of arms but by the arts of peace." See *History of Kerala*, I, p. 56.

42. Daṇḍin, *Avantisundarikatha*, quoted by Ullur S. P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷasāhityacaritram*, pp. 87-8. "Mitram ca tavaiṣa brahmarṣēh kalpasūtraṭikākārasya sakalavidyānadīpūravāridhēh trayastrimsat kratu vibhūti bhāvitakrayatridaśasya śāpānugrahasamarthasya brahmarṣer bhavarāta nāmanh putrah tatputrānām tatsamānamēdhādi sarvasampadām dvitīyah trayyāmaṅgeṣvaitīya kalāyām kavitāyamadvitīyah suhrinmata nirvahaṇa dattahṛdayo, guruparicaryāparah paramamāhesvaro labdhavarṇakarṇadhārah kaṛṇamapināparayā tyāgaśaktyatikrānto, tantrārtha tattvavyākhyāna caturaṣcaturvēdavid sarvaguṇa mātrbhuta karuṇavṛttir mātṛdattah". See also *Avantisundarikathasara*, quoted in the same passage.
"Mitrāṇi mātṛdattādyāh
Keraḷēṣu dvijōttamāh".

43. N. Subrahmanian, *Sangam Polity*, (Bombay, 1966) pp. 255-61. The older views of V. Kanakasabhai and others who regarded the caste system and the Aryan culture as almost non-existent in South India during the Sangam age have been corrected by recent studies. Formerly Mānguḍi Kiḻar's observation (Puram 335) that "there are no castes (tribes) except the Tuṭiyar, Pāṇar, Paṛaiyar and Kadambar" was taken literally to indicate the absence of the concept of a regular fourfold system. It is now realised that the four-class system was accepted and tolerated and had come to stay.

44. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* contains a legend to the effect that the first set of Brahmins brought by Paraśurāma went back for fear of serpents. Therefore, he brought other Brahmins and "made them shave their head at Gōkarṇa and develop a 'pūrvaśikha' (frontal knot) which is prohibited in 'Paradēśa' (other lands) and which therefore prevented the Brahmins from going out of Kerala". He gave them lands, arms, laws, sciences, guardian deities and Śūdra slaves so that they could be secure. Thus "the people of Kerala became equal to the people of paradise". See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 3-13.

45. This happened in Java, Cambodia and Indonesia. However, the geographical separation cut off their links with the mother country and resulted in stagnation after a time. See Note no 39 above.

46. The Cēra king Palyāṉai Cēlkeḻu Kuṭṭuvan helped the Brahmin poet Pālai Gautamanār to perform nine great sacrifices with the help of the wisest among Brahmins. See *Patiṟṟuppattu*, III, Patikam. Another Cēra king Perumcēral Irumpoṛai performed the puṭrakāmēṣṭhi sacrifice. See *Patiṟṟuppattu*, VIII. Patikam.
47. Mudināk arāyar, *Puṛam* 2; *Cilappatikāram*, Canto 29.
48. See chapter VI, Nature of Monarchy.
49. See Chapter VII, Divisions of Kingdom.
50. See Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, VI, pp. 280-86. "This may be called the caste of Malabar rājas and chieftains, but it is hardly a separate caste at all, at any rate at present, for those Nāyars and others who have at any time been the petty chieftains in the country, call themselves Sāmantas". Thurston also reports an interesting suit brought against Logan, collector of Malabar and author of the district manual, by the rāja of Nilambur objecting to his being classified as Nāyar. He stated in court that he was a Sāmanta by caste - neither Brahmin nor kṣatriya, nor a Vaiśya, nor a Śūdra. According to him the word 'Sāmanta' is a corruption of 'Samantra'. However, the word 'Samantra' means 'with mantra' and the rāja explained it as 'without mantra'. The rāja was unable to produce any old work or charter except *Kēraḷāvakāśakrama*, a recent manual of law, in support of his claims of caste privileges. Accoding to Buchanan also the pretension of some of the Malabar rājas to belong to the caste of Sāmanta was acknowledged by their subjects but not by Brahmins by whom they were only treated as Śūdra. In view of these and other facts the court's decision was that there is no distinctive caste of Sāmanta and that the plaintiff was a Nāyar by caste.

    The order of death pollution also supports this view: Brahmins – 10 days. Kṣatriyas-11 days, Ambalavāsi – 12 days. Sāmantas, Nāyars etc – 15 days.

    The tradition quoted by C. Achuta Menon, to the effect that the Sāmantas have sprung from the union of Kṣatriya males with Nāyar females may be nearer to the truth. See *Cochin State Manual*, p. 200. Those Nāyars who were sons of the Kṣatriya kings could have been appointed as rulers over small principalities. For details of the rise of the Sāmanta class in North India, see R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 22 ff.
51. See Chapter XII, Religions and Religious Culture.
52. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 65. These people are commonly known as Ampalavāsis or temple dwelling classes. Smṛitis derive the various castes other than the primary varṇas as the result of 'samkara' (exogamy or caste mixture). See *Manusmṛti*, X-8. There could be some truth in this in the case of Sāmanta, ampalavāsi and Nāyar castes of Kerala. See L.A. Ravivarma, 'Castes of Malabar', *K.S.P.*, II, No. 9, pp. 171-204.
53. The Vāriyars have been preserving the tradition of Āyurvēda down to modern times. Similarly the Vāriyars, Piṣāroṭis, Cākyārs and Nambiyārs have exhibited high Sanskrit scholarship and Sanskrtic culture.
54. A ślōka which appears in the prologue of both his plays, *Tapatisamvaraṇa* and *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, describes the appearance of Kulaśēkhara:

    "Uttungakhōṇam uru kantharam unnatāmsam
    Amsāvalambi maṇikaṛṇika kaṛṇapāśam
    Ājānu langhibhujam añcita kāñcaṉābham
    Āyami yasya vapur ārtiharam prajāṉām".

The phrase 'Añcitakāñcaṇābham' means 'glittering with golden hue' and this may refer either to the complexion or the ornaments or both but most probably it is an indication of his golden complexion.

55. Some texts contain the following verse:
"yasyapriyau śṛutidharau kavi lōkagītau
Mitṛē dvijanma parivāra śivāvabhūtam
Tānāmbujākṣa caraṇāmbuja saṭpadēna
Rājnā kṛta kṛtiriyam kulaśēkharēṇa".

The first two lines are, however, given differently in some of the manuscripts examined by Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyyar. They substitute the following lines:
"Yasyapriyau srutidharau ravi lōkavīrau
Mitṛē dvijanmavara pārasavavabhutam".

It is explained in the commentary that a Brahmin called Ravi and a Pāraśava named Lōkavīra were friends of the royal poet. See *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 29. p. 110.

56. K.A.N Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 494-5.

57. See chapter VIII, Local Bodies and Chapter XII, Religions and Religious Culture.

58. *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkhalai*, where the main theme is woven around the life of merchants, exhibit a bias in favour of non-Vedic religions.

59. A certain 'Cēravan nāṭṭu Ceṭṭiyār' appears as donor in a Cōkkūr inscription of the 15th year of Kōta Ravi, Index no. A. 8, LL. 80-91. "Komaranārāyaṇapurattu cēravannāṭṭu ceṭṭiyar oru tiruvakkirattiṉukku koṭutta pon muppattāṟu kaḻaiñcu". In the later period, the Vīra Rāghava plates of 1225 AD mention 'Cēramān lōka perumceṭṭi' as the title of the donee named Ravi Gōvardhana, see *E.I.*, V, pp. 222 ff. "Makōtaiyārpaṭṭiṇattu iravi kōrttaṉaṉāya cēramān lōkapperunceṭṭikku maṇikkirāmapaṭṭam kuṭuttōm". The term 'Ceṭṭi' is used as a title in these two examples. However, it is a caste name in a passage of Tiruvalla plates referring to Uttama Ceṭṭi's donation to the temple. Index no. A. 80, LL. 155-57. "Uttamaceṭṭi ceṟukaṭaitturutti vāḻkkai mēlpponkoṭuttamaicca tiruviḷakkoṉṟiṉu koḷḷum pāṭṭanel nūṟṟaimpatu paṟai".

60. Two out of the four Vaṇikar mentioned as the recepients of a charter from the Ūrār of Tāḻakkāḍ were Maṇikkirāmattār. The four Vaṇikar were permitted to erect 'pīṭikai' (shop) on the land allotted by the village and jointly administer the nagara. See Index no. A. 54, LL. 2-12. Some Vāṇiyar jointly donated a Tiruviḷakku to Tiruvalla temple. Index no. A. 80, L. 157. A certain Vāṇiyan who came from Īḻam is stated to have created an endowment for Tiruvamirtu in the same temple. *Ibid.*, Ll. 250-54.

61. See Nagam Ayya, *Travancore State Manual*, pp. 215 ff; Achuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, pp. 31-32; T.K. Krishna Menon, 'The Dravidian Culture'. *R.V.R.I.B.* pp. 33-43; Srinivasa Sastri, *History of the Tamils*, p. 92. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, V, pp. 293 ff; Caṭṭampi swāmikal *Pṛācīna Kēraḷam*, pp 69-92; K.A.N. Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, p. 191; O.R. Ehrenfels, *Mother Right in India*, pp. 68 ff; L.A. Krishna Iyer, *Social History of Kerala* (Madras, 1970), II, pp. 2-3; J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Oxford, 1946, 4th Edn.), p. 14.

62. Fawcett, *Nāyars of Malabar*, (Madras, 1915), pp. 191-224.

63. It is likely that the new Bhārgava Brahmins led the way to the recruitment and training of indigenous tribes for military service. They could have been responsible for introducing the title of 'Nāyaka' also. It is found in different forms in Maharashtra, Andhra, Tuḷuva and Kerala. The warrior classes in these regions are known as Nāyak, Nāyaḍu, Nāyga and Nāyar respectively. In describing Nāiḍu Thurston points

out that it is a title returned at times of census by many Telugu classes. In describing Nāyak he quotes different travellers like Barreto and Linschoten to show that it applied to a native captain or headman and that it was a title of honour among the Hindus of the Deccan. See *Castes and Tribes*, V, Nāiḍu & Nāyak. In Sanskrit Nāyaka means of a military leader. See *Arthaśāstra*, Prakaraṇa 91, Adhikaraṇa V. Adhyāya III. The military leaders who were assigned land in lieu of service must have settled down in the country side. Gradually their title must have become an index of power and respectability so that it became fashionable for all classes to flaunt it as a caste name.

64. For a detailed account of medieval Nāyars, see M.L. Dames (Trans & Ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, pp. 33-38; K.M. Panikkar, 'Some Aspects of Nāyar Life'; *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1918; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, IV, pp. 291 ff; Fawcett, *Nāyars of Malabar*. Logan pays a glowing tribute to the Nayars of Malabar: "I would more especially call attention to the central point of interest, as I look at it, in any descriptive and historical account of the Malayali race, namely the position which was occupied for centuries on centuries by the Nāyar caste in the civil and military organisation of the province - a position so unique and so lasting that but for foreign intervention there seems no reason why it should not have continued to endure for centuries and centuries to come". See *Malabar*. Preface, P.V.

65. On the popularity of Nāga worship in Tuḷuva, see Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, p. 370. Matriliny was also not peculiar to Nāyars in Kerala. It was widespread among Ampalavāsis, Tiyyar, and Muslims of North Malabar and among Ceṟumar, Paṟayar, Pulayar, Vaṇṇār, Taccar, Velḷḷāḷar etc. in all parts of Kerala. Even a section of Nambūdiri Brahmins, the Payyanūr grāma of North Malabar, followed this system of inheritance. However, it was most powerful and most universal among Ampalavāsis, Kṣatriya and Nāyars probably on account of their interest in preserving the Brahmin 'Sambandam' which it facilitated.

66. The Cēkōr families of Tiyya caste in North Malabar, with their proficiency in Kaḷarippayaṟṟu and dedication to the profession, form the subject of a large group of songs known as Puthūram Pāṭṭukaḷ in the collection of Vaḍakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ (Northern Ballads) of medieval Kerala. See C. Achyuta Menon, *Ballads of North Malabar* (Madras University, 1935), Vol. I, pp. 15-16. These volumes contain many references to Muslim warriors also. In the 16th century, the Syrian Christians could put in the field 25000 armed men against the Portuguese. See Fr. D Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, p 149. Several songs mention 'Tuḷunāṭan vidya' as the highest accomplishment in the field of Kaḷarippayaṟṟiu and state that veterans had their training there.

67. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has rightly stressed the distinction between tribal matriarchy analysed by sociologists like Henry Maine, Morgan et al. and matriliny among Nāyars and others in medieval Kerala. See Eḷamkuḷam, 'Marumakkattāyam Kēraḷattil'. *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 134-210. It is also true that matriliny cannot be traced among the Cēra kings or other chieftains of the Sangam age.

    Eḷamkuḷam's argument that prolonged Cōḷa wars changed the system of inheritance in Kerala goes against all the accepted canons of social evolution. It is more logical to assume that elements of tribal matriarchy survived in Kerala and the Brahmin elite of the new settlements could have given a new lease of life to the institution. The emergence of a class of people born of Aryan Brahmin fathers and Dravidian mothers might have occurred in the post-Sangam period. This class, favoured by the powerful Brahmin oligarchy and inducted into the army and administration, could

have formed the nucleus of the Nāyar sub-caste. Such a phenomenon of a mixed breed has parallels in the European colonies of Latin America and in ancient Rome.

Roman matrimonial custom sanctioned two usages justae nuptioe or real marriage and marriage according to natural law, commonly called concubinage, but in reality corresponding with morganatic marriage. A woman united to man by the second was described as concubine, arnica, convictrix, etc. She did not bear the name of matron, nor did she share her husband's titles. The child of such a union, called nothus, was a natural child and though his father was known, he had no right of succession. This implied no slur on the woman's character also. Since the law of the twelve tables forbade marriage between patricians and plebians, concubinage became popular and it was in the interests of the plebian women too. See Louis de Combes, (Translated by Lingi Cappadetta) *The Finding of the Cross* (New York, 1907) pp. 94-6 quoted by T.K. Joseph, *K.S.P.*, II, no.9, p. 204. The anxiety of the Brahmin settlers to keep their family property undivided could have led them to encourage younger male members to take more and more to this form of concubinage. Thus it is Brahmin socio-economic leadership and race mixture, not wars, that institutionalised, reinforced and popularised matriliny in Kerala.

68. Index no. A. 2, LL. 17-19. "Tiyamāḷvāṉum matināyakaṉum maṟṟumevvakaippaṭṭārum eppiḷai colliyum ivakaḷaittaṭumāṟappeṟār".

69. The Nāyaga of Udayapura - the lord of the town of Udaya - is mentioned in a record. See no. 102 of 1901; *E.I.*, IX, p. 21. The Nāyaga ot Kōlālanagara figures in another inscription. See no. 99 of 1901; *S.I.I.*, no 288, p. 144. See also Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, p. 177. Similarly Nāyakas who were officers in charge of military stations or districts are mentioned in Gaṅga inscriptions *E.C.*, VII, sk, no. 218; M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ*, pp. 142-3.

70. Index no. A. 46, LL. 6-11. "Aṭṭikkuṭuttaruḷiyār mūtta kūṟṟil eḻunūṟṟuvarum paṇiyuṭaiya nāyaṉum ūru ūriṭavakai veḷḷāḷarum".

71. Index no. A. 32, LL; A. 36, L. 6; A. 46, L. 68; A. 47, L.2; No. A. 62. L. 3; No. B. 29, P 3-4.

72. Index no. A. 70, LL. 3, 6.

73. Index no A. 80. LL. 464-6.

74. *Ibid.*, LL. 266-7 and 517-8.

75. *Ibid.*, LL. 544-45. "Kōyirpuṟattu cēnnan kumaraṉum marumakkaḷum kūṭi tēṅgavēlikkōṇattu taṅgaḷ pūmi mel irupattu nāṉāḻi akkaratalai amaiccār".

76. *Ibid.*, L. 148. "Kōyirpuṟattu nāyittiyār tiruviḷakkiṉu amaicca pūmi".

77. *Ibid.*, LL. 551-52. "Paṇiccavirutti nālāyirakkaḷattil nālonṟu kōvinnan accutaṉum marumakkaḷum kūṭi aṭṭikkoṭuttār tiruvallavāḻ appaṉukku".

78. Besides Nāyars, this title of Paṇikkar was used by Nambūdiris, Kammāḷas, Īḻavas and Syrian Christians etc. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VI; L.A. Ravi Varma, 'Castes of Malabar', *K.S.P.*, II, P. 193. However, these were exceptions to the rule.

79. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 203.

80. Index no. A. 58, LL. 1-2.

81. A Taṭṭān called Nṛpatuṅga of the period of Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga was the son of Mādēvi Perum Taṭṭān and the grandson of Uditōdaya Perum Taṭṭān. A Mahākaṣṭakāri (great Architect) named Paramēśwara is mentioned in the period of Pallava king Paramēśwara alias Nandivarman Pallava Malla. See C. Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, p. 63. In some cases the Kammāḷar used the name as well as the caste suffix of

their Kṣatriya patron. See Cūriyan Pōrkoṭi alias Ravivarma Ācāriyan of a record of Vēṇāṭu king Vīra Ravivarma (403 M.E. or 1228 AD) in *T.A.S.*, IV, I, pp. 84-85. This often led scholars to assume that the Ācāris were promoted to Kṣatriya rank, see Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p.61. In later times also the Zamoins of Calicut who enjoyed the hereditary coronation name of Māṉavikṛama permitted the officers in charge of the mint to be known as Māṉavikṛama Āśāri. See K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*.

82. Index no. A. 46, LL. 24-5. "Evalāḷāy kaiyyeḻuti aṟivēn vāliśērikaṇapati nīlakaṇṭaṉāyia kuṟumpuṟaipperuntaṭṭāṉeḻuttu" ; Index no. B. 16, LL. 29-31. "Ipparicu kai eḻutiyaṟivēn perumtaṭṭāṉumivaṉukkiḻaiya nārāyaṇan kēḷaṉum – mūṣikēśvara suvarṇakārēṇa".

83. Index no. A. 8, LL. 66-7 "Peruntaccan.....". The context is not clear from the passage. Index no. A. 71, LL. 145-46. "Aṟaiyūr ācāri kaiyeḻuttu".

84. The fact that people in South India during this period followed the hereditary professions of their respective castes had been observed by Arab travellers like Suleiman (c. 850 AD) also. See T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, P.381.

85. Index no. A. 2. LL. 5-20.

86. Gundert and Gopinatha Rao missed this meaning since they misunderstood the passage. Gundert imagined that four families of Īḻavar and eight of families of Īḻava slaves were separately mentioned. Gopinatha Rao took Īḻakkayyar as the feminine of Īḻavar. See *T.A.S.*, II, p. 65. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has rightly shown that 'Kayyar' is a term for workers, but still he has not explained how there were eight men in the four families and why this had to be stated separately. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, pp. 119. 121, 122. The natural conclusion is that when brothers had a common wife, the basic family unit included three, at least in each family, and not two as in the normal course.

87. The Īḻavar are people from Īḻam or Ceylon. In some areas of Kerala they are known as Tiyar, a variant of Tivar which means island people, since Tivu in Malayalam (Dvīpu in Sanskrit) denotes island. The Īḻavar's hereditary occupation of toddy tapping is directly mentioned in the Leiden grant of Rājarāja I. "Ivvūr itta teṅgum paṉaiyum Īḻavar ēṟappaṟatakāvum". There was also a class of rich Īḻava merchants in this period as illustrated by the gift of gold for Tiruvamirtu in Tiruvalla temple by a person referred to as 'Īḻattu niṉṟu vaṉṟa vāṇiyan'. See Index no. A. 80, LL. 250-52.

88. See L.A. Ravi Varma, 'Castes of Malabar', *K.S.P.*, II, no. 9, p. 192. The world Maṇṇān is a variant of Tamil Vaṇṇān. Even today Maṇṇān is the washerman of Malayalees, for 'maṇṇāṉṟe māṟṟu' or cloth washed by ṃaṇṇān is essential for religious purification. See also M.L. Dames (trans. & ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, p. 58 and Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, II.

89. Index no. A. 6, LL. 1-4 and 18-21. See chapters on Local Bodies, Police and Revenue.

90. A parallel to this can be found in the Pāliyam copper plates of Cochin (322 of Putuveppu era- 1663 AD) according to which the king of Cochin granted the Dutch company absolute rights over "the seven 'puṟamparuṣa' given away for the company's service and the people whom the Feringhis converted from Karnataka and settled here". The king also abdicated all his rights over such people. See *T.A.S.*, I, IV, p. 7. LL. 35-38. Some grants issued by the Chandella and Oriya kings also specify the transfer of peasants, artisans, traders etc. to the donees - "sa kārukarṣakavaṇigvāstavyam". See *E.I.*, XXXII, no. 14, plate. 1, L. 31. According to R.S. Sharma such a practice was adopted to compel the artisans and peasants to run the self-sufficient

economy of the villages, and reminds us of serfdom. See R.S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, p. 113.

91. Index no. A. 10, LL. 14-16.

92. Index no. C. 43n LL. 8-11 and 17-18.

93. Index no. B. 15, LL. 44-5 and 185-89.

94. For an anthropological study of the Pulayyar, See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VII; L.A. Krishna Ayyar, *The Casters and Tribes of Cochin*, pp. 88-9; O.R. Ehrenfels, *Mother Right in India*, (Osmania, 1941). pp. 49 ff; For a general account of their positions in the first half of the 20th century, See S Subbarama Aiyar, '*Economic Life in a Malabar Village*' (1925) quoted in Rev. W.S. Hunt, 'Slavery in Kerala', *K.S.P.* no. V, p. 277. "One peculiar feature of agricultural labour in Malabar is the existence of a class of semi-slaves.--- They are even now agricultural serfs attached to their master's soil.--- They regard themselves as the master's property". Though Kauṭalya, Manu and others ruled out slavery for the Aryan they permitted it for others. See *Arthaśāstra*, --- "Mḷēccānāmadoṣah prajām vikṛētumadhatum va natvēvāryasya dēśābhavah"; see *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 413. Seven kinds of slavery are prescribed for Śūdras here.

95. See documents reproduced in Rev. W.S. Hunt, 'Slavery in Kerala', *K.S.P.*, no. V. pp. 275-83; See also Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (1800), II, pp. 56 ff. Walter Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan* (1820), II, P. 282. In Cochin, predial or agrestic slavery was abolished and the slaves were emancipated by law in 1854 AD when they formed about one-tenth of the population there. For details, see C.A. Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, p. 204. The first royal proclamation prohibiting slavery was issued in 1853 AD in Travancore but it was abolished only the next year. However, palm leaf deeds of slavery of a much later date are found in considerable numbers in several places. See V. Raghavan Nambiar and T.K. Joseph, 'Annals and Antiquities of Tiruvalla' *K.S.P.*, no.2, p. 78; T.K. Joseph, 'Notes', *K.S.P.*, no. V. p. 279.

96. Index no. A. 24, LL. 9-13. "Iccelaviṉṉamaiñña pūmiyāvatu. Peruvayal pūmiyum pulaiyarunkaṇṇankālayuṭaiyār poṟṟaiyun taccaṉār poṟṟaiyum vaṭṭapoṟṟaiyir kaṭanu mēloṭiyum kūṭa āṭṭu nālappattirukalaṉ nel porakkuṭuttār"; Index no. A. 25. LL. "Kālkarai nāṭuṭaiya kaṇṇam puṟaiyan--- veṭṭikkarikkāṭṭukkoḷḷa pūmiyum pulaiyaraiyum kūṭa tirukkālkkarai paṭṭārakar tiruvaṭikku aṭṭikkuṭuttān"; Index no. B. 10, L. 2. "Ippoṉṉiṉu kaṇṇamaṅgalattu vayaluṅgkaraiyum pulaiyarum maṟṟum iravimaṅkalattiyakkan kōtai vāḻnnaruḷinra pūmi evvakaippaṭṭatum---".

97. Index no. C. 37, LL. 8-10. "atinukkumoḷḷa pūmiyum āḻum---".

98. Index no. A. 80, L. 499 "Kaṭaippaṉaṅgāṭum aviṭaiyoḷḷa āḻum..."; LL. 537-39. "Muññināṭuṭaiya irāman mātēvi taṉṉuṭaiya iñcaitturuttiyum kuḻikkāṭu pūmiyumāḻum kūṭa ttiruvallavāḻappaṉu kīḻiṭu paṇṇiyāḷ".

99. *T.A.S.*, VII, no. 24, p. 79, LI. 7-9. "Pēr pattiṉum per onniṉu nilam āṟu kalamum itiṉaṭutta parappunāṭṭil cemmē oḷḷa kāṭum-karayum kara purayiṭamum pēr onniṉu āṇāḷ onṟum peṇṇāḷ onṟum ākayil aṟupatin kalamum āḷ irupatum nīkki oḷḷa nilam eppērppaṭṭatum kāṭum karayum karapurayiṭavum āḻum kūṭa kīḻpērūr nāṭu vāḻiyiṭamāvatu".

100. See chapter VIII, Local Bodies and Chapter IX, Police and Revenue.

101. Index no. A. 2 and A. 6. These two charters alone have survived. However, even the first of these contains a reference to a previous charter, some of the rights granted therein being quoted and confirmed. See LL. 10-12. "Vārakkōlum kappāṉum paiñcakkaṇṭiyum muṉṉam peṟṟutaiyaṉa ṉāṉum viṭupēṟāka aṭṭikkuṭuttēn".

102. Index no. A. 34.

103. The signatures were left unexplained by Gopinatha Rao, the government epigraphist of Travancore. See *T.A.S.*, II, I, no.9, p. 85. At the instance of T.K. Joseph, C.P.T. Winkworth made a partly successful though not completely satisfactory, effort to decipher them. As F.C Burkitt rightly remarked, the difficulty may be partly due to the fact that the plates were cut by one who was not familiar with any of the scripts and names. According to Winkworth, the Pahlavi group contains ten signatures, each introduced by 'menok man' (the spiritual I) and followed by 'patas gokas ham' (I am witness to it). They bear witness to Syriac influence. He reads the eighth name as 'Ohr Mazd' with certainty. He tentatively reconstructs the first name as 'Afras son of — t, the Syrian' and suggests with grave reservations that it might be Afras son of Chahar buxt the Syrian. F.C. Burkitt considers this probable. If this is the case it agrees with the Syrian tradition that three Nestorian priests, including Mār Sāpir and Mār Prōdh came to India in 823 AD. Mār Sāpir is already mentioned in the plates. If Mār Prōdh is the first among the signatories it follows that the Pahlavi signatures were put by the Christian missionaries who accompanied Mār Sāpir Īśō. According to F.C. Burkitt, the eleven Arabic (Kufic) signatures include 1) Maimun, son of Ibrāhim, 2) Muhammad, son of Mani 3) Sulh, son of Ali, 4) Uthaman, son of al-Marziban, 5) Muhammed, son of Yahya, 6) Amr, son of Ibrāhim, 7) Ibrāhim, son of al-Tay, 8) Bakr, son of Mansur, 9) Al-Kasim, son of Hamid, and 10) Mansur, son of Isa and 11) Ismail, son of Ya Kub. Again the Hebrew signatures represent, according to the same authority, Jewish names like 1) Hasan Ali, 2) Isaac, 3) ben Michael and 4) Abraham. See C.P.T. Winckworth, 'Note on Pahlavi signatures', and F.C. Burkitt, 'Arabic (Kufic) and Hebrew Signatures' *K.P. P.*, no. VI, pp. 320-23.

104. Nos. 46 and 493 of 1938. See also D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 21.

105. *M. J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 116 Rev. Peet suggested that "Maṇigrāmam is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer named Māṇikkavācakar." Rev. Taylor commented "I venture to conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manicheans, such as the Arab travellers found in Ceylon." See also *T. A. S.* II. 1. p. 74.

106. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, 'A Note on Maṇigrāmattār', *E.I.*, XVIII, no.9, pp. 69-93.

107. *Ibid.*, p 70. Tiruveḷḷari inscription. See no 519 of 1905. "Vēdam vallān oru brāmmaṇaṉai ūṭṭuvitāka uṟaiyūr maṇikkirāmattu nārāyaṇan accan ivvūrkkallāl vacca pon anpatin kaḻaiñcu".

108. *J.R.A.S.*, (1913) pp. 333-39; *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 11.

109. *E.I.*, XVIII, *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.

110. No. 598 of 1926. See *A.R.S.I.E.* 1926-27, II. p. 93 para 47. "Ivvūril irukkiṟa Añcuvaṇṇam maṇikkirāmattōmum--- Kōyil tirumumpilē niṟavaṟakkuṭiyiruntu".

111. Salem inscription from Śukavanēśvaram temple. See *S.I.I.*, IV, p. 15. "Rājakēsari Varmarku yāṇṭu mūṉṟāvatu, koṭumpāḷūr maṇikkkirāmattu vyāpāri mancan maṇiyamārttāṇṭan śṟikoyil vaitta kaḻañcu".

112. Kuṟṟālam inscription from Kuṟṟālanātha temple. No. 439 of 1917. "Parakēcari varmarku yāṇṭu 21. Kuṟṟālattu perumāṉaṭikaḷukku ten vari nāṭṭu---nallūr maṇikkirāmattu dharmaśeṭṭi āyiṉa caṭaiyan gavaiyan vacca viḷakkoṉṟu".

113. Nos. 3 and 4 of 1901. See Index no. A. 51.

114. No. 474 of 1926. The text remained unpublished. It has recently been published by the present writer. See *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*.

115. *E.I.*, IV, p. 295. Kielhorn and Venkayya had suggested 1320 AD as the date of this inscription. However, historical and linguistic factors would suggest an earlier date. Therefore, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam's new date - 1225 AD - seems to be more acceptable. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, pp. 168-189.

116. No. 358 of 1927. See Index nos. A. 53 and 54.

117. *Ibid.*, LL. 3-4. This record lies in the compound of the Christian church in Tāḻakkāḍ village.

118. *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1925-27, II, p. 93. Para 47. *Op. Cit.*

119. Following Nāccinārkkiṉiyār, the author of Nēmināṯham has cited the word as an instance of a ketiyarpeyar. The change of 'va' to 'ma' is linguistically possible. Eg. Vaṇṇān into Maṇṇān, Vāṉam to Māṉam, see K. Godavarma, *R.V.R.I.B.*, no. IV, p. 36.

120. *J.I.H.*, XXV, III, pp. 269-80; *E.I.*, IV, pp. 290-96. *E.I.*, XVIII. pp. 69 ff; A. Appadorai 'Economic Conditions in South, 1000-1500 AD', *Imperial Gazetteer*, Part I, pp. 398-402. Nilakanda Sastri objects to the assumption that Añcuvaṇṇam is derived from Añjumān since this corporation is involved in the affairs of Tīttāṇḍadānapuram temple. See *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 179. Note 1. . "It is strange that this reference to an Añjuvaṇṇam, which agreed to help to build the temple, should not have convinced him (Venkayya) that Añjuvaṇṇam had nothing whatever to have to do with Añjumān".

121. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 382-84.

122. Index no. A. 34, LL. 6-8 and 12-13 Moreover, a certain 'Añcuvaṇṇattu vyāpāri (merchant of Añcuvaṇṇam) from Malabar appears in a record of 1090 AD from Viśākhapaṭṭaṇa. See K. Sundram, 'Tamil Merchants in the Trade of Medieval Andhra', *The Hindu*, dated 29th April '52.

123. Some of the old Jewish community songs in a strange dialect of Tamil-Malayalam have been collected and published by A.I. Simon, 'The Songs of the Jews of Cochin'. *R. V.R.I.B.*, XIII, pp. 25-38. Two of the songs formerly sung during wedding celebrations are related to Joseph Rabban, the donee of the Cochin copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi. They describe the procession of the hero who was honourably received by the Tampurān (sovereign). They also mention some of the aristocratic privileges like 'Pakaviḷakku' (day lamp) and 'Pāvāṭe' (ornamental cloth) mentioned in the copper plates.

124. The fourth decree on matters of Faith (Nos. XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX) accepted by the Sūnahadōs 1599 AD deals with three errors of the native Christians of Malabar owing to their constant intercourse with the pagans including the belief in transmigration of the soul, Law of Karma, and the attitude that salvation can be obtained in any law for all are right.

The thirteenth decree tries to put an end to the practice of Christian school masters keeping idols of the pagans in the schools.

The third decree on the Sacraments (No. LXXXVII) sternly condemns the custom of giving pagan names to Christian children.

The first decree on the reformation of customs and morals (No. CCXLV) forbids the custom of holding tournaments and mortal combats by Christians in honour of pa-

gan gods during the Onam festival. It also reprobates (No. CCXLVIII) the practice of having recourse to pujaris and poisoners.

See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Chapter VI. The Synod of Diamper. pp. 186-87, 189, 203.

125. Even today the Christians and Hindus contribute and compete for the Pūram festival in the Vaḍakkunnātha temple of Trichur. In many parts of Ēṛnāḍ several Hindus and Muslims make offerings to the religious institutions of both the communities.

126. See chapter IV, Early Wars and Alliances under the Rise of the Kingdom, and chapter V, Cola Invasions and the Last Phase.

127. Index no. A. 6, LL. 45-50.

128. The Zamorins used to appoint Marakkārs as the leaders of the local Muslim communities and Mūppans as the leaders of the Īḻava, Tiyya and Āśāri communities and Arayas as the leaders of the fishermen. They were granted special privileges and control over their fellow community men. See K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 262-3. The same practice prevailed in medieval Cochin also. See K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, pp. 357-68. For a similar practice, among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, See A. S. Altekar, *Rashtrakutas*, p. 370. Regarding the character of the Sreshṭin (Ceṭṭi in Malayalam) as the president of the merchant community in ancient India, See R.K. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 42-3. He quotes evidence from Vedic literature and Jātaka stories to support the inference.

129. Rabbenu Nissi (1320-80) a great scholar and Rabbinical authority, composed a poem called 'Nomershira' the last verse of which "summarised the entire history of the community in Cranganore." He says thus: "I travelled from Spain, and heard of the country of Shingly (Cranganore). I desired to see and Isaelite king, and him I saw (there) with my own eyes." See A. I. Simon, 'The Songs of The Jews of Cochin' *R.V.R.I* B, XIII, p. 33.

130. In 1439 AD the Pope Engene IV sent envoys to India, with a letter addressed to 'Thomas the illustrious Emperor of the Indians' and mentioning 'a constant rumour' that he and all his subjects were true Christians. Evidently he was referring to the St. Thomas legend. See D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, p. 67.

131. Index no. A. 6, LL. 38-43.

132. Index no. A. 34, LL 6-12.

133. *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 75-6. The word 'mangalya' stands for marriage.

134. See Regulations II of 1043 M.E. (1868 AD) of the Cochin State. Para 39. "Tirumukam vakekka aṭiyāra aṭukkuvata uḷpeṭe 2413 paṇam tīrppiccu sthāṉamāṉam koṭuttāḷ puruṣanmārkku kaṇakkennu eḻutukayum neṭumkuṭa caṅgalaviḷakku piṭippikkayum poṉṉuketṭiya nārācam piccātti corukukayum kuṭumbattil mūtta piḷḷakku adhikāram pravirttikaḷil cennāl irikkayum ceyyāvunnatu kūṭāteyum kalyāṇattiṉa tekkuvaṭakku aṭiccu kūṭṭi pura keṭṭukayum keṭṭivitāṉam ceykayum katiru maṇṭapam iṭukayum vādyattōṭukūṭi āṉappuṟattu māppiḷa kēṛi peṇṇu keṭṭukayum peṇṇuṅgaḷkka kalyāṇattinum allāte uḷḷa divasaṅgaḷilum kaikku muṭukum ābharaṇaṅgaḷum iṭukayum avarē piḷḷayennu viḷikkayum ceyyāvunnatākum".

135. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 79. The 18 ācāramas or privileges are named there. 1. Tōl (skin) 2. Kāl (leg-skin and legs of hunted animals) 3. Kaṇa (arrow) 4. Karimpaṭam (black cloth for seat) 5. Aṅkam (right to fencing) 6. Cuṇkam (share in customs dues) 7. Ēḻa (right to orphans). 8. Kōḻa (payments for special occasions) 9. Āṉa (elephant) 10. Vāḷ (sword)

11. Vīracaṅgala (hero's anklet). 12. Virutuvādyam. 13. Niyamaveṭi (periodical fire works) 14. Neṟṟippaṭṭam (head band) 15. Paṭavīṭu (military tant) 16. Paṟakkum kūttu (flying dance) 17. Munnil taḷi (Sprinkling of water in front). 18. Ciruta viḷi (call of Śrīdēvi).

136. The word 'pēṟu' appearing in compounds like viṭupēṟu (alienation of rights), aṭṭippēṟu (complete rights) etc. shows that 'pēṟu' was used in the sense of right in old Malayalam language.

137. See Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp 303-4. Sixteen maryādagaḷu (privileges) are mentioned in *Grāmapadhati* in connection with the Kōṭṭa village. Those are 1. Pakṣakavāṭa (side entrance) 2. Bhavige jōdu kambha (double pillars) 3. Naḍe maḍi (fireworks) 4. Naḍe Vādya (musical instruments) 5. Beḷḷu-koḍe (white umbrella) 6. Aidu mole dāna (cow with five teats) 7. Hagalu dīvatige (torch by day light) 8. Aṭṭa murida (broken roof) 9. Bidda akki (fallen rice) 10. Iḷidu hōḍa heṇṇu (girl who passed puberty) 11. Katri vilya (betel leaf offered with arms crossing each other) 12. Manege suttu pāgāṟu (wall around the house) 13. Kaudigemane (?) 14. Eda-mudi (?) 15. Madaṉa kai (ornamental steps) 16. Mukhamaṇḍapa (portico).

This list from the Mangalore version is presented with slight alterations in the Puṭṭtiye version also. 1. Aṭṭa muridu (broken roof) 2. Aimoleti (five teats) 3. Tappu gaṇṭi (criminal) 4. Kengoda (?) 5. Jōdumāra kūpa (well with double pillar) 6. Tulā śṛinkhala (weighing chain). 7. Gamaṉa śṛiṅga vādya (moving horn) 8. Naḍemāḍi (fireworks) 9. Divatige (Torches) 10. Pakṣakavāṭa (side entrance) 11. Tōraṇa (decoration) 12. Dīpa mālastambha (pillar of lamps) 13. Dōḷamañca (swinging seat) 14. Eḍḍu banda heṇṇu (Fallen women) 15. Ratna kambaḷi (Jewelled carpet) 16. Chatra (umbrella). There are some resemblances between the *Grāmapadhati* group and the *Kēraḷōlpatti* group see Note No. 135 above.

138. See grants of Cochin and Cranganore between 998 and 1075 M.E. (1823-1900 AD) quoted in K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, pp. 358-61. See also Taṇṭāymattiṭṭūram of Travancore, quoted in Eḷamkuḷam, *Janmisampṛadāyam*, pp. 85-6. "Acāymasthāṉavum paṇikkasthaṉavum..... vīracaṅgalayum virutum.... ponneḻuttāṇiyum piccānkattiyum....neṭiya kuṭayum caṅgalavaṭṭayum....maṭayum kuravayum koṭiyum veṭiyum vādyavum vīṇṭuvādyavum pakalviḷakkum pāvaṭayum āyikkoḷḷukayum paṭippurayum kuḷappurayum vaykkayum... kalpiccu tiṭṭūram tannu".

See also the folksong called 'Ponnāṇikkaḷippāṭṭu' in K.V.K. Ayyar, 'The Veṅgunnāḍ Nampiṭis' *R.V.R.I.B.*, X, I,. p. 49. "Valattu koṭuttanre akattu viṭṭu pakalviḷakkum pāvāṭayum nāḻikakkoṭṭum vīran iravi ennum pāril eṅgum pukaḷ occa kēḷkkum veṅgunnāṭe vāḻum vīra vijayan".

139. See *E.I.*, IV, pp. 222 ff. . "Makōtaiyār paṭṭiṇattu iravikōrttaṉaṉāya cēramān lōkapperunceṭṭikku maṇikkirāmappaṭṭam kuṭuttōm- Viḷāvāṭayum kaṭuttu vaḷeñciya-mu vaḷañciyattil taṉiccetṭtum murccollum muṉṉaṭeyum pañcavādyamum śankhum pakalviḷakkum pavaṭayum aintōḷamum koṟṟakkuṭayum".

140. See Note nos. 134, 135, 137, 138 and 139 above.

141. See Note no. 137 above.

142. See K.V.K. Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 26. The Zamorins used to sit on a white a black carpet, spread one above the other, during the coronation ceremony.

143. See Note no. 139 above.

144. See Note no 137 above.

145. See the following passage in the folksong called 'Malamappāṭṭu' from Veṅgunnāṭu now known as Kollengōḍe "Taṇṭum kuṭa taḷayum ceṇṭa takil muraśum taṇṭinṟe munpil akampaṭi āyiram cēkavarum vēṇṭum virutukaḷum pūṇṭuṭan nāṭu kāppān veṅgunnāṭe vāḻum vīran iravi mahīpālan".

146. See Note no. 139 above.

147. See Note no. 137 above.

148. See Note no. 138 above.

149. Dambal inscription of Jagedēkamalla, See *I.A.*, X, D. 188; A.S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas*, p. 370.

150. See Note no. 139 above.

151. See Note no. 137 above.

152. See Note no. 145 above.

153. See Note no. 135 above.

154. No. 66 of 1890. *S.I.I.*, III, no. 25; No. 562 of 1893 and No. 151 of 1905, *A. R. E.* for 1905, II, p. 43; see also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 550; Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 384.

155. See Note no. 139 above.

156. See Note no. 137 above.

157. See Note no. 154 above.

158. no. 136 of 1905, See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 550.

159. K.V.K. Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 263.

160. See Note no. 138 above.

161. See Note no. 134 above.

162. See Note no. 139 above.

163. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, p. 189.

164. See Note no. 137 above.

165. See Note no. 134 above.

166. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, p. 134.

167. See Note no. 134 above.

168. Index no. A. 2, LL. 20-23 and Index no. A. 6 LL. 43-45.

169. Index no. A. 34. LL. 15-20.

170. Some passages in the Old Testament and Talmud are said to contain clues regarding contact with the West Coast of South India: Genesis XLIX. 13 and XXXVII, 25; See Kings II-X, 26, 27, 28 and X-II, 22; Chronicles II-VIII, 17, 18 and IX, 10, 12. See also A.I. Simon, 'Language as a Clue to History' *R.V.R.I.B.*, X, I, pp. 26-40. It has also been suggested that the names of certain rare articles like sandalwood, ivory, apes, peacocks etc. which king Solomon's ships brought him, were originally not Hebrew but derived from Sanskrit or Dravidian languages. See M. Ragozin, *Vedic India*, pp. 305 -7.

171. For details of this trade, see Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 210-15; Warmington, *Roman Trade with India*, pp. 181-3. It was chiefly pepper and other spices that attracted the Romans to Kerala. Pepper was popular in Rome at least from the time of Augustus, costing about 15 dinaru per pound. Special ware-houses called horrea piperataria were erected for storing the commodity from Kerala. See also P.J. Thomas,

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'Roman Trade Centres in Malabar', *K.S.P.*, II, no. 10, p. 262 and Nagam Ayya, *Travancore State Manual*, I, pp. 241-44, 268-73 and 280-81.

172. Pliny (1st century), Ptolemy (2nd century), and Periplus of the Erythrean See (3rd century) mention the Greeko-Roman trade with Tyndis and Muziris, the ancient seaports of Kerala. Among Sangam poets Tāyamkaṇṇaṉār, (*Akam* 149) and Paraṇar, (*Puṟam* 343) have referred to the Roman ships harboured at Muciri (Muziris) in Kerala.

173. For the finds of Roman Coins from Karavūr, see *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1891, p. 2. For the Roman coins from Cannanore, see Robert Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, I, p. 24. For the Roman coins from Eyyāl in Cochin, see *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1945, p. 2. Para 6. See also P.L. Gupta, *The Early Coins from Kerala*, (Trivandrum, 19.15), Introduction.

174. Achuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, pp. 129-30; *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1927-8, p. 13.

175. See Adriaan Moens, 'Memorandum of 1781 AD', *Dutch in Malabar*, (Madras, 1911), p. 192. He suggests either 70 AD or 136 AD for the date. See M.P. De Paiva, '*Notisias Dos Judeos De Cochin*', (translated by S.S. Koder) *The Cochin Synagogue*, (1968), p. 38. He suggests 370 AD for the date of first migration and 490 AD for the next migration.

176. See Note no. 175 above and the chapter III, Chronology under Bhāskara Ravi Varma. See also Walter J. Fischel, 'The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of Cochin', *Charitram*, no.2, and M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Jewish Copper plates of Cochin', *Charitram*, No.3.

177. Much has been written on the subject though the matter is not yet settled. Dr. Farquhar wrote in 1927: "Thirty years ago, the balance of probability stood absolutely against the story of the Apostolate of St. Thomas in India. We suggest today that the balance of probability is distinctly on the side of its historicity". Dr. Farquhar, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1927, quoted by D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, p. 72. The same statement may be repeated today stressing that there are only possibilities but not evidence. Suggested readings for the subject are: A.E. Medlycott, *An Inquiry with a Critical Analysis of the Acta Thomas* (London, 1905); P.J. Thomas, 'The South India Tradition of the Apostle Thomas', *J.R.A.S.*, London, October, 1924, pp. 213-23; G.T. Mackenzie, *History of Christianity in Travancore*, (Trivandrum, 1903); C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1903); Nagam Ayya, *Travancore State Manual*, (Trivandrum, 1906) II, chap 8; Achuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, (Ernakulam, 1911) chaps. 2 & 3; Mc-Crindle, *Introduction to the Universal Christian Topography*; Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*; S.G. Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (Bombay, 1963), pp. 9-12.

The last mentioned book contains a good summary of the Acts of Thoma, an apocryphal work attributed to Bardesaana, a Syrian Christian and native of Edessa in Mesopotamia - a book full of romantic tales. Perhaps the best critical survey on the literature of St. Thomas legend may be found in T.K. Joseph's review of Fr. I. Daniel. *The Syrian Church of Malabar* (Madras, 1945) in *J.I.H.*, XXVI, III, pp. 301-19. Fr. Daniel concludes that "there is no clear historical proof about the apostolic origin of the Church" but adds that "the tradition and the circumstantial evidence are so strong that scholars hardly doubt the authenticity of the tradition." T.K. Joseph accepts the first conclusion after omitting the word 'clear' and rejects the second in toto. Quoting Sylvain Levi (*J.I.H.*, 1946, p. 38) he states that "one is right in denying any historical value to local legends which have nothing to bring to their support". With Karl Charpentier of Uppsala, he concludes that "one quite correctly contends that St Thomas probably never came to South India".

178. The Syrian Christian copper plates prove that Christians of Kerala in the 9th century were of Syrian and Persian origin. It is likely that St. Thomas actually did proselytising work in Syria and Persia and that when Christians from those areas migrated to Kerala at a later stage they brought with them the St. Thomas legend also. This is exactly what the Aryan Brahmin immigrants from Sourashtra and Karnataka seem to have done with Paraśurāma. Both groups, however, gave their legend a local habitation and local colour by associating their patron saints with particular places institutions and even families. To put these legends in historical perspective, one probably has to accept the geographical shift along with the genuine character of the tradition.

179. According to the St. Thomas legend the Apostle came to Māliankara near Koḍuṅgallūr and founded seven churches. 1. Pālayūr near Chowghat 2. Kōṭṭakkāyal near North Parūr. 3. Kōtamaṅgalam or South Paḷḷippuṛam. 4. Kollam (Quilon) 5. Niraṇam in Tiruvalla and 6. Nilakkal near Kāyal and Śabarimala. See K. P. P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, P. 444. It may be perceived that the first three were centred in Koḍuṅgallūr, and the other four had radiated from Kollam - the two ports of Kerala. Perhaps the division between 'Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇakkār' and 'Kollakkār' used by Syrian Christians in all their old documents may refer to the diffusion of Christianity from these two centres. See *Cochin State Manual*, p. 218. However, if this is true the first set could have risen only after the foundation of Makōtai or Mhōdayapaṭṭaṇam sometime in the 8th century or 9th century and the second set could have risen only after the foundation of Kollam in 825 AD, the starting point of the Kollam era which commemorates the event. Neither Sangam literature, nor the foreign writings on Kerala would permit the assumption that Nambūdiri Brahmins had established themselves as the ruling upper class elite in Kerala in the first century of the Christian era.

180. The 6th century Alexandrian traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes visited India. In the *Topographia Christiana* (535 AD) he writes: "In the island of Taprobane (Ceylon), in the interior of India where the Indian ocean is, there exists a Christian Church where clergy and faithful are to be found. So also in the Māle (Malabar) as it is called, where the pepper grows. But at Kalliāṇa (Quilion? Kallianapur, north of Mangalore?... Kalyāṇ, ... near Bombay?) so named there is a Bishop, generally ordained in Persia?". See Cosmos Indicopleustes quoted in D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits of Malabar*, I, p. 60. The suggestion that Kalliāṇa could be Kollam (Quilon) is out of place since the city was founded only in 825 AD. However, Māle where the pepper grows, must be identified as Mala-nāṭu or hill country, i.e. Kerala.

181. When the Portuguese reached India, the Thomas of Cana copper plates (two of them with writing on both sides and joined by a ring) were in the possession of the native Christians. They were pawned by their bishop Mar Jacob. After his death in 1549 AD Pero de Sequeira, treasurer of the Portuguese factory at Cochin, redeemed them and kept them in the factory. Martin Afonso de Sousa, Governor of Portuguese India, got them translated by an old Jew who said they were incised in three languages, Chaldean, Malabar and Arabic. A copy was sent by Pero de Sequeira to the king of Portugal Dom Joao III. According to Diogo de Couto, who wrote his *Decadas* during the last quarter of the 16th century (*Decada* VII. Liv. I. Cap. II & *Decada* XII. Liv. III Cap. V. See *I.A.*, LVI, 1927. P 148) he had seen the originals but they were lost through the carelessness of the Cochin Factory. See Rev. J. Monteiro D' Aguiar. 'The Magna Carta of St. Thomas Christians', *K.S.P.*, no.4, p. 172.

K.M. Panikkar, who searched for the Malabar copper plate documents in the Torre de Tombo in Lisbon at the instance of T.K. Joseph did not succeed in discovering any such plates. See *K.S.P*, no. 4, p. 195 .

Diogo de Couto's incomplete translation is in his *Decada* XII. Liv. III. Cap. V. The translation of the Jew is in the work of Damiao de Goes, in de Couto's *Decada* VII and in various Portuguese authors who wrote on the Syrian Christians of Malabar. A translation of the text was found by Bishop Medlycott, a former Vicar Apostolic of the Syrian Christians of Trichur (Malabar) in the British Museum in a MS. volume dated 1604 AD relating to Jesuit Missions in India (Roz' MSM in British Museum Addl. MSS. 9853, pp. 525-37 exclusively). This is more developed and complete than the one of Diogo de Couto. See *K.S.P.*, no.4, pp. 169-200.

In going through Hosten's English translation of Roz's Portuguese text and other translations reproduced in the paper cited above, the present writer found a similarity of pattern and style which makes it a product of the period of the Cēras of Makōtai. Any attempt to base conclusions on a distant echo of the original plates would be risky but the following points may be recorded with due reservation:

a) The king's name Coquarangon may be Kō Kōtai Irāman.

b) The great city of the great idol might be a literal translation of 'Makōtayarpaṭṭiṇam' wrongly deciphered as Mahādēvarpaṭṭaṇam. The name of the city is given in another passage.

c) The gift of the city of Magōderpaṭaṇam may be really the grant of proprietorship of the trading corporation called nakara, a city or a corporation for trade. Mār Sāpir Īśō was granted permission to start a nakara at Kollam (Quilon) in the other set of plates.

d). Sixty four elephant cubits - may be a reference to 'āṉaimēl maṇṇu nīr mutalāka' found in the Kollam plates.

e) Sixty two houses - may be seventy two privileges the word 'eḻupathiraṇṭu' for seventy two being mistaken for 'aṟupathiraṇṭu' and 'viṭupēṟu' meaning privileges being misunderstood as 'vīṭu' meaning house.

f) The seven kinds of musical instruments, the right of travelling in a palanquin, the women's whistling on the occasion of marriage, spreading of carpets, royal fans, double sandal, royal tent, and five tributes or taxes may mean pañcamahāśabda, aintōḷam, kuravai, pāvāṭai, cāmarai, iṭupaṭi, paṭavīṭu, and Añcuvaṇṇam respectively.

Da Couto stated that according to Chaldean books of the Christians, Thomas Cana came to Malabar about the year 811 AD. However, scholars have suggested various other dates too: Visscher-745 AD; De Barros-886 AD; Housten-8th century; Rev. Daniel-345 AD. It may not be earlier than the 8th century since Mahōdaya is mentioned here. If the present writer's identification of Coquarangon as Kō Kōtai Rāman is correct, it may belong to the reign of Rāma Rājaśēkhara.

XI. Economic Conditions

Rules and Standards

It is possible to gather some important details of coins and media of exchange, weights and measures, interest, prices and wages, trade and commerce and land tenure. This information is chiefly based on the records of the Brahmin settlements and West Asian colonies which occupied a leading position in the country's economic life.

Coins and Media of Exchange

The traditional belief is that Paraśurāma, the creator of Kerala, minted and circulated gold coins called Rāśippaṇam.[1] It is found that this Rāśippaṇam - the paṇam with zodiacal signs - is not mentioned in early records but appears only in records of the 18th ceitury.[2] Similarly a coin called Kaliyugarāyanpaṇam is believed to have been "probably issued by the sovereign who reigned in the beginning of Kaliyuga".[3] However, it would be more appropriate to consider that like Vīrarāyanpaṇam of Calicut this was also a late medieval coin called after some king with Kaliyugarāyan as title.[4]

Walter Elliot had not heard of the existence of any Cēra coin.[5] However, a silver piece in the British Museum with a Nagari legend on both sides has been attributed to the Cēra dynasty and the period of 11th-12th centuries.[6] The only sign of identity is the name of a certain Vīra-Kēraḷa. A Pāṇḍya prince named Vīra- Kēraḷa, probably the son of a Pāṇḍyan king and a Koṅgu Cēra princess, was defeated by Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja.[7] A certain Vīra Kēraḷa figures in the Koṅgu-Cēra inscriptions.[8] Coimbatore in former Koṅgu-Cēra territory was known as Vīrakēraḷanallūr also.[9] Besides these, the first king of the Perumpaṭappu (Cochin) dynasty which followed the disintegration of the Cēra kingdom probably had the name or title or Vīra Kēraḷa.[10] This was also the name of the first independent king of Vēṇāṭu who succeeded Rāma Kulaśēkhara.[11] If the Vīra Kēraḷa coin belongs to the 11th-12th centuries, as asserted by competent numismatists, these are the only possibilities and therefore it cannot be considered as a coin of the Cēras of Makōtai.

Three copper coins found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parūr near Ālaṅgāḍ have been described as Cēra coins by the Archaeological Department of former Travancore.[12] No legends have been found on them. Two of them were almost semi-circular and one slightly square in shape. "The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand, or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible".[13] It has been pointed out that the "presence of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggested that the coins must be of Cēra origin".[14] According to Rapson, gold coins of this type from Koṅgudēśa must belong to the period before 1090 AD, as they are imitated by Harṣadēva of Kashmir.[15] In the absence of legends, nothing definite can be stated about the dynasty or period of the coins. The elephant symbol was adopted by several South Indian dynasties like the Andhra, Yādava, Koṅgu, and Gaṅga.[16] The bow is a Cēra symbol but it could be employed by the Cēras of Makōtai as well as the Koṅgu Cēras of Karūr and probably by the kings of Travancore in the later period as they claimed descent from the Cēra. Moreover, this emblem was noticed on the coins along with an 'aṅkuśa' (goad) 'pūrṇakumbha' (full vessel) and a figure which resembles the Buddhist 'tṛiratna' symbol on the same reverse side, and 'padma' (lotus), 'swastika', 'dīpa', (lighted lamp) 'candrakalā' (crescent) and 'āditya' (sun) on the obverse. Some of these might be interpreted as part of the 'aṣṭamāṅgalya' (eight symbols of auspiciousness) and moon and sun may perhaps represent the Koṅgu-Cēra line represented as Candrāditya Kula.[17] In the circumstances there is greater probability of these coins belonging to the Koṅgu-Cēras especially because a coin called Āṉai Accu (elephant mould) was current in Koṅgu and to some extent on the West Coast in the 12th-13th centuries.[18] At any rate more specific evidence is required to prove that the three copper coins from Parūr were issued by the Cēras of Makōtai.

The conclusion that Cēra coins were not in circulation during the Cēra period is supported by the evidence of inscriptions which generally mention payments in terms of gold of specified weight, and rarely mention other coins too, but never mention any coins identifiable as those of the Cēra. The Vāḷappaḷḷi copper plate of Rājaśēkhara, which is the earliest known record of the Cēras of Makōtai, prescribes a fine of nūṟu tiṉāram (one hundred Dinara) to those who obstructed the temple routine.[19] Three Dināras are mentioned in another sentence of the same copper plate.[20] A Dināra of the time of Chandragupta II in the Gupta empire weighed about 125 grains of gold and was roughly equal to 2½ Kaḻañcu.[21] According to the smṛitis of Kāṭyāyana, quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*, three Suvarṇas made one Dināra. The Sanskrit part of an early Pāṇḍya inscription records the gift of ten Dināra for a perpetual lamp and its Tamil portion uses the word Kāśu for Dināra.[22] There is a Cōḷa inscription of Rājēndra I which equates 3 Kaḻañcu of gold with one Kāśu of the old

type.[23] Thus we get the equation: 1 Dināra = 1 Old Kāśu = 3 Kaḻañcu of gold. This equation helps to identify the Paḻam Kāśu (Old Kāśu), mentioned in some Cēra inscriptions as the equivalent of 3 Kaḻañcu, with Dināra.[24] It also means that the old Roman coins continued in circulation even during this period.

Some writers have speculated that Dināra came to Kerala with the Brahmins who came from North India.[25] This need not be the case. It is true that the term Dināra is derived from the Latin Dinarius. It is also true that the Bactrian and Kushan rulers of North-West India and through them the Guptas came to employ the term Dināra for their coinage.[26] However, the Roman coins themselves had reached Kerala directly through sea-trade in the early centuries of the Christian era. Large quantities of early Roman coins were found in Kōṭṭayam, a village 12 miles east of Cannanore.[27] A similar find of Roman punch-marked coins came from Eyyāl in old Cochin state.[28] They have their counterparts in Karavūr or Karūr, the old headquarters of the Cēra kingdom of the Sangam age.[29] Therefore, it is more appropriate to conclude that Dināra was a direct importation from the Roman empire into Kerala.

Though Dināra, Paḻamkāśu, and Kāśu are mentioned occasionally in Cēra inscriptions, the most common regular medium of exchange appears to have been gold of prescribed weight and standard. Most of the inscriptions refer to fine or other payment in terms of Kaḻañcu or Kāṇam of gold.[30] This indicates that although the old Roman coins were still in circulation the Cēras of this period did not have a coinage of their own. It also signifies that much of the routine transactions were made by barter, exchanging goods and services. The expression 'cūṭum uraiyum varuvitu' found in a 11th century inscription from Trikkaḍittāṉam underlines the insistence on prescribed standards of fineness as in the case of contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions.[31] A similar passage is noticed in Tiruvalla Copper Plates also.[32] As in other parts of South India ten Kāṇams of gold made one Kaḻañcu - a fact which is illustrated by statements in several records of the age.[33]

Weights and Measures

The Kaḻañcu-Kāṇam ratio in weight has already been mentioned in connection with the medium of exchange. It has been suggested that Kaḻañcu is really the name of a prickly climbing species of Caesalpina, the weight of whose seed varies between 45 to 50 grains.[34] However, the basis of the Tamil weight system was the Mañcāṭi which was regarded by medieval authors as 1/20th of a Kaḻañcu and equal to two Ratis of the North and has been equated with 4 grains in Wilson's glossary.[35] This will yield 80 grains for a Kaḻañcu. In fact, it has been pointed out by scholars that in the Cōḷa empire the Kaḻañcu

often went up to 80 grains in weight even though it was 72 grains only in theory.[36]

There are some other units of weight mentioned in Cēra inscriptions. They have also continued unaltered until recent times. The units of Tulām and Palam are employed in connection with articles like sandalwood, tamarind etc.[37] The supply of sandalwood for one whole year guaranteed by the property donated by Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ (Governor of Vēṇāṭu) to Tiruvalla temple is stated to be 3 Tulām and 65 Palam. Therefore, it is clear that as in some other cases cited along with it, this endowment was at the rate of one *Palam* per day.[38] Thus we get the equation:

100 Palam = 1 Tulām

This is the same as it remained through centuries. Further, there is reference to one Kai of tamarind in a Trikkākara inscription.[39] It is not related to any other weight, but in view of continuity of the Palam-Tulām ratio it may be assumed that the traditional system continued in this case too. Thus we have the following formula:

4 Kai = 1 Palam

100 Palam = I Tulām

The same traditional pattern is illustrated in the case of grain and liquid measures also. From a passage in Tiruvalla plates we get the following table of measures.[40]

2 Āḻakku = 1 Uḻakku

2 Uḻakku = 1 Uri

2 Uri = 1 Nāḻi

This order conforms to the pattern found in contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions although certain measures like Ceviṭu, Kuṟuṇi, and Paṭakku which are mentioned there fail to appear in Cēra inscription.[41] Tūṇi and Kalam of the Cōḷa inscriptions are found in Kerala but the ratio (3 Tūṇi = I Kalam) is not the same. The term Tuṭavu is found in several Cēra inscriptions.[42] It is known as the synonym of Uḻakku in liquid measures from the records of the former Cochin State.[43] There is, at least, one reference to Piṭi in Cēra inscriptions. In the absence of any relation to other measures it may be assumed provisionally that it is the same as the Piṭi of Cōḷa inscriptions, where 2½ Piṭi (5 Ceviṭu) was equal to the Āḻakku measure.[44]

The higher units of Iṭaṅgaḻi and Paṟa, which also continued to be in force in Kerala till recently, are met with in the inscriptions. They are mentioned in connection with rice, paddy, salt, sesame, pepper, beans etc. It is difficult to define Iṭaṅgaḻi as its relations to other measures are not brought out in the records of the age. Three types of Paṟa are mentioned in different parts of Tiruvalla copper plates. The Eṇṇāḻippaṟa (Paṟa of 8 Nāḻi) seems to have

been the most common type.[45] The Onpatināḻippaṟa (Para of 9 Nāḻi) is mentioned in one place.[46] There are several references to Patināḻippaṟa (Paṟa of 10 Nāḻi) also.[47] A clue to the nature and origin of such differences can be found in other Cēra inscriptions. Records up to Bhāskara Ravi have mentioned Paṟa without reference to its capacity in terms of Nāḻi.[48] Two records of Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, refer to Onpatināḻippaṟa.[49] The Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, mentions Patināḻippaṟa and calls it Puttenpaṟa or new Paṟa.[50] Perhaps it came into existence a little earlier, immediately before the period of Bhāskara Ravi since the earliest reference to it seems to be contained in a passage in Tiruvalla plates which mentions a gift of Manukulāditya to the temple while he was crown prince.[51] From all this it may be inferred that the original measure in Kerala was Eṇṇāḻippaṟa which conforms to the system of lower measures.

The introduction of the new Patināḻippaṟa must have been the result of Cōḷa influence. Their Kuṟuṇi or Marakkāl known as Āḍavallān or Rājakēśari measure was at first equivalent to Eṇṇāḻippaṟa of Kerala.[52] During the Rāṣṭṛakūṭa occupation of part of the Cōḷa empire a measure called Pērilmai or Mādēvi, equivalent to Patināḻippaṟa, started appearing simultaneously with the old measure in their inscription.[53] This development in the Cōḷa system could have been copied in Kerala for the sake of convenience in trade. However, the Onpatināḻippaṟa seems to be a purely local unit confined to Vēṇāṭu alone.

The biggest measure is called Kalam in the Cēra inscriptions. The Kollam record of Rāma Kulaśēkhara proves that 10 Patināḻippaṟa or 100 Nāḻi constituted a Kalam.[54] Though Paṟa was different in the earlier period the rule that 100 Nāḻi made 1 Paṟa could have existed at that time also.[55]

The measure called Tūṇi is also found in some inscriptions. References in the 15th year of Kōta Ravi indicate that Tūṇi was an intermediate measure between Nāḻi and Paṟa and that 20 Tūṇi constituted a Kalam.[56] Thus Tūṇi must have been 5 times higher than a Nāḻi also. A Kiṇāḷūr inscription actually mentions Aināḻi Tūṇi or Tūṇi measuring 5 Nāḻi.[57] However, terms like Valiya Tūṇi (big Tūṇi) Iraṭṭai Tūṇi (double Tūṇi) and Onpatināḻi Tūṇi (Tūṇi of 9 Nāḻi) occur in Tiruvalla copper plates.[58] Like different Paṟas different Tūṇis also must have been employed in Kerala. A measure called Poti is mentioned in some records of this period as well as in later times.[59] Though the Cēra inscriptions do not give its relation to other units it is known that 30 Iṭaṅgaḻi constituted 1 Poti in the more recent period.[60] Perhaps the Poti was a local measure which prevailed mostly in Wynad and other parts of North Malabar alone.

It was the practice for temples to keep their own standard measures in order to avoid uncertainty and dishonesty in transactions. It was often stipulated that tenant's dues were to be measured according to the 'God's meas-

ure', variously designated as Tēvar Tuṭavu, Tēvar Nāḻi, Tirumaṭaippaḷḷi Nāḻi, Tēvar Tirumaṭaippaḷḷi Nāḻi, Tēvar Iṭaṅgaḻi, Tēvar Paṛa etc. in the records of the age.[61] As already pointed out, the leaders of merchants in trade centres, like Maruvan Sāpir Īśō, were made the custodians of weights and measures, as indicated by the gift of Vārakkōl and Kappān, and allotted a fee as reward for maintaining standards as indicated by the grant of Tulākkūli and Niṛaikkūli.[62] These methods must have contributed to the standardisation of weights and measures.

Length was probably measured in terms of Viral or Aṅgulam (finger length), Aṭi (foot length), Kai (arms length) and Kōl. A white garland of one Kōl is mentioned in a part of Tiruvalla plates.[63] Its relations to other units are not stated anywhere. Time was measured in terms of the length of the shadow mentioned as 'akattirupattayyaṭi' (25 feet before noon), 'akattaiyyyaṭi' (5 feet before noon), 'ucci tiriññu irupatiṛṛaṭi' (20 feet after noon), 'akattu pantīraṭi' (12 feet before noon), 'ucci tiriññu oraṭi' (1 feet after noon), 'ucciyakattu pantīraṭi' (12 feet before noon) etc.[64]

The unit called Vēli is mentioned in connection with land in the Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate.[65] The historian of the Cōḷa empire states that the extent of Vēli was indeterminate and also that "the system of measurement by Vēli which was an ancient one in the Cōḷa country spread over the other parts of South India with the Cōḷa empire and apparently disappeared with it".[66] This is evidently wrong since Vēli, as pointed out above, existed in Kerala in the 9th century long before the Cōḷa conquest of the region.[67]

Interest, Wages, and Prices

Some of the transactions mentioned in Cēra inscriptions reveal the rate of interest which prevailed here. A record of Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, from Trikkākara gives the rate of interest as 'pattu arai' (half per ten). It reveals the practice of the temple authorities 'lending' gold at this rate.[68] A person called Ciṛumaṛṛappuḻai Kōtai Kēraḷan handed over to the temple 40 Paḻankācu equal to 120 Kaḻañcu of gold. The temple authorities 'lent' this gold to four brothers - Dēva Nārāyaṇan, Dēvan Subrahmaṇian, Dēvan Divākaran and Dēvan Jayantan - who pledged their joint property as surety for the loan. However, the deed specifies that they were not bound to pay back the gold and the temple officers were not entitled to accept it either.[69] The four brothers were to continue to pay 12 Kalam of paddy every year in lieu of interest for the 'loan'. If they failed, however, they had to surrender 15 Kalam seed capacity of land. These details would serve a double purpose. While they provide the rate of interest they also provide indirectly the prevailing rate of conversion between gold and paddy which seems to have remained fixed.

The interest being 5% in this case it would amount to 6 Kaḻañcu of gold and its equivalent is given as 12 Kalam of paddy here. Thus we get an equation:

1 Kaḻañcu of gold = 2 Kalam (20 Paṛa) of paddy

This equation is confirmed in a record of 1064 AD from Trikkaḍittāṉam which states the payment both in terms of paddy and gold. According to this 12 Kalam of paddy is equal to 6 Kaḻañcu of gold, "full gold of the prescribed heat and fineness".[70] A passage in Tiruvalla plates maintains the same rate of exchange between gold and paddy when it prescribes the payment as 18 Kaḻañcu of gold or 360 Paṛa of paddy by Patināḻippaṛa.[71]

Though the conversion ratio between gold and paddy remained the same in all these cases, it is doubtful whether the rate of interest was so low and so stable in view of the fact that different rates varying from 5% to 15% have been found in the neighbouring countries.[72] It is known from a record of Cōkkūr that Cēravannāṭṭu Ceṭṭiyār gave 36 Kaḻañcu of gold for a Tiruvakkiram of 2 Nāḻi rice per day presumably for the whole year.[73] The expense was to be met from the interest of this gold. From this it is clear that interest was calculated at the rate of 10% since 3 Kaḻañcu 6 Kāṇam of gold could buy 720 Nāḻi of rice required for this purpose.

The following table of prices may be prepared from a part of Tiruvalla copper plates:[74]

10 Nāḻi Paddy	=	I Nāḻi Pepper
"	=	1 Nāḻi Cumin
"	=	5 Nāḻi Green Gram
"	=	5/8 Palam Asafaetida
"	=	1 1/4 Kāṇam Camphor
"	=	20 Kāṇam Sandalwood
"	=	10 Kāṇam Aloe wood

Besides this the following payments are also recorded there:

100 Nāḻi Paddy	=	420 Unripe plantains and 360 Ripe plantains
120 Nāḻi "	=	10,000 Betel leaves and Areca nuts
208 " "	=	8 Nāḻi of Ghee and 5 Nāḻi of Oil
64 " "	=	60 Coconuts, Salt and Tamarind

From this it may be inferred that 10 Nāḻi of rice was roughly equal to 80 plantains or 800 Betel leaves with areca nuts or half Nāḻi of ghee or oil, or 10 coconuts in exchange value. There is more information about the rate of wages for services in the temple. A record of Trikkākara belonging to the reign of Kēraḷa Kēsari Perumāḷ prescribes the daily payment at the following rates:[75]

Śānti (Priest)	=	2 Nāḻi of Rice
Paḷḷittāmam (Garland maker)	=	1 Nāḻi of Rice
Akkiramaṭuvān (Cook)	=	1 Nāḻi of Rice
Ilaiyum Viṛakum Iṭuvān (Supplier of leaves and firewood)	=	2 Nāḻi of Rice
Arikuttumavaṉum Eccilaṭippāṉum (Pounder of rice and Cleaner of the dining hall)	=	1 Nali of Rice
Uḷpāṭan (Sanctum keeper)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice

The annual payment in gold to the temple servants mentioned in the same record may also be reproduced here:[76]

Perumutiyanmār (Storekeepers)	=	10 Kāṇam gold
Ārādhikkumavan (Priest)	=	10 Kāṇam gold
Viṛakiṭuvān (Fire wood maker)	=	10 Kāṇam gold
Arikuttuvan, Eccil aṭippān, Taḷikai āyuvān (For pounding rice, cleaning the dining hall and the plates)	=	5 Kāṇam gold
Akkiramaṭuvān (Cook)	=	5 Kāṇam gold

This may be outside the daily payment of rice mentioned above. Some special payments for the temple servants of Tiruvalla on the day of Tiruvōṇam are mentioned in the copper plates.[77]

2 Mēl Emperumakkaḷ (2 Chief Priests)	=	20 Nāḻi of Rice
5 Kīḻśānti (5 Subordinate Priests)	=	50 Nāḻi of Rice

Bhaṭṭar (Vedic Professor)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice
Ayyappan Emperumān (Priest of Ayyappan)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice
Kīḻ Samaṅcitan (Subordinate Accountant)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice
5 Paṇṭārakaḷ (5 Treasury guards)	=	20 Nāḻi of Rice
Ilaiyiṭumavan (Leaf supplier)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice
Vāyiṛkkal Nilkkumavan (Watchman)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice
33 Koṭṭumavaraḷ and Viḷikkumavaraḷ (33 Drummers and Pipers)	=	99 Nāḻi of Rice
4 Akattaṭikkumavar (4 Inside Sweepers)	=	8 Nāḻi of Rice
Viṛakiṭumavar (Firewood maker)	=	20 Nāḻi of Rice
Kalavāṇiyan	=	20 Nāḻi of Rice
Anṛaiccelavu vāyikkumavan Au(ditor of Accounts for the day)	=	5 Nāḻi of Rice
4 Tiruppaḷḷittāmam keṭṭumavar (4 garland makers)	=	8 Nāḻi of Rice
Purattaṭikkumavar (Outside sweepers)	=	8 Nāḻi of Rice
Vātirppuṛam aṭikkumavar (Sweepers outside the outer wall)	=	4 Nāḻi of Rice
Matilakattu vakkāṇiccirukkum Paṭṭakaḷ Ōrōruttar (Each of the Vedic Professors who participate in scholarly	=	5 Nāḻi of Rice

discourse in the temple)		
Kaiviḷakkum Tiruvaṭaikkai amirtum koṭukkumavan (The lamp attender and distributor of arecanuts)	=	3 Nāḻi of Rice
4 Tēvaṭiccikaḷ (4 Dēvadāsis)	=	12 Nāḻi of Rice
Koṭṭumavaraḷ (Drummers)	=	36 Nāḻi of paddy

The annual Jīvitam (salary) for some classes of temple servants is prescribed in a Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription. Some passages in the record are illegible but it is clear that a total of 114 Kalam 50 Nāḻi of rice was set apart for the Kāntarpikar (Instrument players) and Naṅkaimār (Dancing girls) of the temple. It is also known that the Karaṇan (Account) and Ōrviyan (Painter) got 16 Kalam 50 Nāḻi and the Naṭṭuvanār (Dance Master) got 20 Kalam while the Śānti (Priest) got 5 Nāḻi per day besides 1 Kalam of gold for the year in this temple.[78] The salary of one Kāṇam of gold is prescribed for the Mēlśānti (Chief priest) and Kīḻśānti (Subordinate priest) in a record of Tiruvālūr temple.[79]

In addition to the salary in terms of gold and the daily allowance of rice, the temple servants enjoyed several other special privileges. For example, half of the 72 Nāḻi of rice endowed by Vīrakkuṟumpoṟaiyār at Tirunelli for the routine Pantīraṭittiruvamirtu (noon offering of rice) had been allotted to the drummers of the temple.[80] When a Pantīraṭittiruvamirtu was instituted by Kuvalāyiṉi Gōvindan Kuṉṟappōḻan at Trikkākara temple, it was decided that every day the 2 Emperumakkaḷ (priests) would get 24 Nāḻi, the Paḷḷittāmam (garland maker) and the Tiruvalaku (Temple washerman) would each get 6 Nāḻi of rice.[81]

Sometimes payments were made not as Jīvitam (livelihood or salary) in terms of gold and rice but as Virutti (service tenure) in terms of land assigned to the employees. This must have become possible and convenient when most of the professions became hereditary. A number of lands called Virutti are met with in the inscriptions of this period. This kind of service tenure was known to other South Indian kingdoms of this age also. This may be taken up for discussion along with land tenure.

Trade and Commerce

The organisation of trading centres called Nakaram in Kollam (Quilon), Koḍuṅgallūr (Cranganore), Tāḻakkāḍ, Bhāskarapuram, and Pantalāyaṉi Kol-

lam (Quilandy), and the constitution of Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam which figured prominently in these places have been discussed before.[82] Besides the Jewish corporation of Añcuvaṇṇam and the Christian corporation of Maṇikkirāmam, other trading corporations which were prevalent in various parts of South India like Vaḷañciyar and Nāṉādēśikaḷ are also met with occasionally in Cēra inscriptions.[83] A fragmentary record of Bhāskara Ravi from Pantalāyaṉi Kollam refers to the Vaḷañciyar in that place.[84] Another fragmentary inscription of the 11th century from Ālattūr near Palghat reveals their presence there.[85] An undated Peruvamba inscription of 11th century mentions Ceṭṭkaḷ, Patineṇ bhūmi Tiśay Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar, and Vaḷañciyar and also refers to Rājēndra Cōḷa.[86] The Eramam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi mentions the participation of Vaḷañciyar and Nāṉādēśikaḷ and Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati in the temple administration of that village.[87] The presence of Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati in this record and the reference to Rājēndra Cōḷa at Peruvamba suggest that the extension of these trading corporations into Kerala took place in the wake of Cōḷa invasions, even though the fragmentary passage does not reveal fully the transactions which took place. A Vāṇiyan (merchant) from Īḻam, (Ceylon) figures among the donors of Tiruvalla temple thereby suggesting the existence of close commercial relations between Kerala and Ceylon.[88]

Beyond these few notices of trading corporations, the details of their activities are not recorded anywhere. It may be assumed that the foreign Jewish and Syrian traders were interested in pepper and the hill products and the famous varieties of scents and spices which attracted Westerners to this part of the country through the ages. In that case they might have tried to explore the hills and forests in due course. It is not improbable that the Christian of Maṇikkirāmam spread to the eastern high ranges and that the name of Śabarimala is associated with that of Mār Sāpir Īśō, the founder of Kollam Nagra.[89] These Western colonists might have been responsible for importing Arab horses into Kerala and other parts of South India. The Añcuvaṇṇattār and Maṇigrāmakkār found in other parts of South India might have been off-shoots of these corporations in Kerala. At the same time the term Ceṭṭi found in the epigraphic records from Cōkkūr and Peruvamba indicates the presence of a trading class or caste, indigenous to South India.[90]

Merchants from Kerala are noticed in this period in several inscriptions of different parts of the Cōḷa empire. A record of Tiruvaḍandai (Chingelpet district), in the 4th year of Rājakēsari, mentions the gift of 20 Kaḻañcu of gold to the temple by a merchant of Puruṣōttamamaṅgalam in Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, a part of Malaināṭu.[91] Another inscription of the 12th year of Rājakēsari from Talaiccaṅgāḍu (Tanjore district) mentions a lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Malaināṭu.[92] In the 3rd year of Parakēsari Varman a native of Neṭumpuṟaiyūr in Malaināṭu, most probably a merchant, donated 25 Kaḻañcu of gold for

lamp in a temple of Kumbhakōṇam (Tanjore district).[93] A verse found in a record of Tiruvengavāsal (Pudukkōṭṭah district), dated in the 5th year of Parakēsari, mentions a lamp by a native of Malaināṭu.[94] Another native of Malaināṭu has donated a lamp to the Kuḍumiyamalai temple (Pudukkōṭṭah district) in the 15th year of Parakēsari.[95] A lamp by a native of Malaināṭu is again mentioned in this temple in the 16th year of the same king.[96] Yet another native of Koḍuṅgallūr in Malaināṭu has donated lamp to this temple in the 16th year of Parāntaka Cōḷa.[97] The Udaiyārguḍi temple (South Arcot) has the record of a lamp donated by a native of Malaināṭu in the 38th year of Parāntaka.[98] Pūvan Māran of Neṭiya Taḷi in Koḍuṅgallūr in Malaināṭu gave sheep for a lamp in Tirumālpuram temple (North Arcot) in the 41st year of Parāntaka.[99] Four years later another native of Koḍuṅgallūr in Malaināṭu gave land to the temple of Tiruvankāḍu (Tanjore district).[100] In the 10th year of Rājarāja a merchant of Kaḍapparpaḷḷi in Malaināṭu gave 16-1/8 Kaḻañcu of gold at Tiruvaḍandai (Chingelpet district) for feeding 12 Brahmins for 30 days in the month of Kumbha.[101] A record of the 23rd year of this king shows the gift of 96 sheep for lamp at Uttaramērur (Chingelpet district) by Udayan Āḍittan of Taṇṇīrmuṭṭam in Malaināṭu.[102] A record of the 29th year of Rājarāja from Tiruvaḍandai (Chingelpet district) mentions the gift of 15 Kaḻañcu of gold by a merchant of Koḍuṅgallūr in Malaināṭu for feeding 30 Brahmins.[103] Some of these natives of Malaināṭu are specifically mentioned as Vāṇiyar (merchants) but it is likely that the others were also there in connection with trade. There are frequent references in Cōḷa inscriptions from Tanjore, Tirucciṛappaḷḷi and South Arcot to Kutiraicceṭṭikaḷ (horse dealers) who seem to have been importing horses from Arabia for the princes and nobles.[104] These Kutiraicceṭṭikaḷ are often stated to come from Malaināṭu.[105] This is not surprising since horse trade is mentioned as a profitable field for Kerala merchants in later periods also.[106]

Some of the Kerala merchants of this period went out to other countries across the sea, especially to the eastern side. A certain Irāyiran Śiriyan alias Śri Kulaśēkhara Nambi of Makōtayaṛpaṭṭaṇam in Malaimaṇḍalam constructed a Viṣṇu temple in Pāgān (Burma) and left a record in mixed Grantha and Tamil script there.[107] This Tamil record is prefaced by a beautiful Sanskrit sloka from the *Mukundamāla* of Kulaśēkhara Āḻvar. The Government of India Epigraphist has placed this undated record in the 13th century on palaeographical grounds but it is more likely that the quotation from Kulaśēkhara of the Cēra period indicates the period of the Cēra kings of Makōtai when the Vaiṣṇavite cult gained ascendancy in Kerala. Several groups of people known as Cōḷiya, Pāṇḍya, Meliyāḷa etc are found in the region of Simbiring in central Sumatra and scholars have attributed their origin to the "early waves of immigration from South India".[108] This might be correct since an inscription of Kuti dated 762 AD contains a reference, to 'Cempa, Kling, Harya, Singa, Cōḷa, Cvālika, Malayāḷa, Karṇāṭaka' etc. in the margin of

the copper plates.[109] Another record of King Airlinga (1019-1042 AD) says that people of various countries came to the kingdom through ports situated on the river Brantas, and these names include Kling, Aryya, Cōḷa, Singaḷa, Karṇāṭaka, Cōḷika, Malayāḷa, Pāṇḍikira, Drāviḍa, Campa etc.[110] In the light of these findings it may not be out of place to conclude that Malayāḷee merchants of the Cēra period joined other South Indian merchant groups in exploring possibilities of trade in the far off islands of South East Asia across the ocean. Chou-Ju-Kua, the Chinese traveller, referring to Chinese-Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries mentions in his book *Chu-fan-ache* a kingdom in the extreme South West of India which he describes as the land of Nampi and he mentions the capital as Mie-a-mo or Ma-li-mo. This kingdom has been identified as Malabar, the land of Nambūdiris with the capital Makōtai.[111] It has also been pointed out that Kollam (Quilon) was known to the merchants of Tang empire of China which flourished between 618-907AD.[112] These pieces of information may be taken as evidence to show that regular trade relations existed between Kerala and China even before the close of the Cēra period in Kerala.

The legend about the last Cēramān Perumāḷ joining a group of Arab merchants going back to Arabia from a visit to Ceylon, and undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca, is found in the Brahmin chronicle of *Kēraḷōlpatti* as well as in Muslim tradition recorded by Sheik Zeinuddin.[113] This might be taken to indicate commercial and cultural contacts between Kerala and Arabia. Suleiman, the Arab merchant of the middle of the 9th century, had first-hand knowledge of Kollam (Quilon) in Kerala.[114] The establishment of a mosque at Māṭāyi in Kōlattunāṭu at the Northern end of Kerala in 1124 AD proves the presence of Arab merchants there.[115] Thus along with Jews and Syrian Christians, the Arab Muslims were also to be found among the foreign merchants in the port cities of the Cēra kingdom. A few Kufic (Arabic) signatures and Arab Muslim names in the Syrian copper plates of 849 AD are of special significance in this connection.[116] Therefore, it may be concluded that Kerala, placed as it was in the centre of the international East-West highway of maritime trade, was frequented by merchants of Syria, Palestine and Arabia as well as China, and served as a clearing house of trade between the two parts of the globe.

Land Tenures

All land seems to have belonged to the Cēra king in theory. The governors were his feudatories and as such they enjoyed the lands in their districts in return for payment of tribute.[117] These lands, possessed by the king or his feudatories and inhabited and cultivated by the native population, are known as Cērikkal in the records of the age.[118] It is from such land that Nagaras and Grāmas were carved out and leased out to the foreign and native

merchants or the Aryan Brahmin cultivators. These people enjoyed the lease in perpetuity. Mār Sāpir Īśō is described as the person who 'saw' or purchased the Nakaram with libation of water.[119] It is likely that the very 'kāṇal' used here is the root of the term 'kāṇam', a kind of proprietorship prevalent in Kerala in later times also.[120] It may be defined as perpetual lease, 'as long as the world, sun and moon endure'.[121] In this case the Kāṇam holder Maruvān Sāpir Īśō had the right to give Kārāṇmai or tenancy to anyone, since the two corporations of Añcuvaṇṇam and Maṇikkirāmam are described as the Kārāḷar (tenants) of the Nakara.[122] According to the Syrian copper plates Maruvān Sāpir Īśō, the Kāṇam holder of the Nakara, was also granted full proprietory rights over the 'Kuṭikaḷ' (settlers) belonging to different castes.[123] Thus we are able to discover three kinds of tenure in land, i.e. Kāṇam, Kārāṇmai and Kuṭimai. These terms may be translated as the rights of proprietorship, tenancy and occupancy respectively.

The grant of proprietary right on land was accompanied by certain ceremonies which are mentioned in the Syrian copper plates and other inscriptions. Not only land but any object or privilege was given away with libation of water.[124] In the case of land it was the practice to take a female elephant along the four boundaries of the plot to be alienated. This custom was the same all over South India and is mentioned in Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions.[125] The lands enjoyed by the Aryan Brahmin cultivators also appear to have been leased out by rulers in perpetuity to the Urāḷar (Village proprietors) on similar lines.[126] The right of proprietorship in this category is not called Kāṇam but Urāṇmai in the records of the age.[127] Some of the lands in the grāma were set apart as Dēvasvam (temple property) and Brahmasvam (Brahmin property) which may be described as eleemosynary tenure.[128] The Brahmasvam was divided among the Urāḷar, 10 or 18 or 25 or 27 as the case may be. The share of a single family was called 'Paṭakāra', probably a Sanskrit loan word of which the original might be Bhaṭṭakara.[129] The term Iṭaiyīṭu, literally meaning 'middle ownership' is used for a person's landed property in general and this may be due to the fact that the first or original ownership always resided in the sovereign.[130] The Urāḷar were to pay their share of 'iṟai' or tax to the common pool from which the amount fixed as the revenue from the grāma was paid to the district governor. Those who failed to pay their share of revenue were to pay fine. The Urāḷar were sometimes asked to report the harvest to the council and co-operate with the king's officers who came to the village.[131]

The lands of the Ūr were leased out again to Kārāḷar or tenants who undertook to pay a portion of the produce as Pāṭṭam or tenant's dues. A village officer called 'Pāṭṭamāḷan', i.e. the man in charge of collecting tenant's dues, appears in some of the records of the age.[132] In some cases when lands were donated to the Brahmin corporation, the donor specified that Kārāṇmai had

to be given to a particular person whom he nominated.[133] The Kārāṇmai right seems to have been hereditary in the normal course, and sometimes the Ūrāḷar were asked not to give Kārāṇmai to others, or to increase the dues, or accept succession fee.[134] The most common rules found in the records prescribe double payment of the dues in case of temporary default or delay and surrender of the land in case of inability to continue the tenure.[135]

Sometimes the royal or feudal proprietors of land placed a Cērikkal or a smaller plot of land as Kīḻīṭu or subordinate property of a temple corporation.[136] In this kind of transaction there was no real transfer of ownership. The corporation only undertook to 'protect' the land (rakṣikka) in return for the payment of Kīḻiṭṭu Kāṇam or Rakṣābhōga. They did not get any of the proprietory rights over the soil or the Kuṭikaḷ (settlers) inhabiting the village. This kind of surrender was made with different motives. The function of rakṣa in this context is defined in a passage of Tiruvalla plates as protecting from the displeasure of kings and feudatories.[137]

An interesting case of such surrender of land is recorded in an undated 11th century inscription from Perunna temple.[138] A person called Ñāvalkkāṭṭu Etiran Kaviran gave a loan of 1000 Paṛa of paddy to the chieftain called Āticcan Kōtai, Governor of Muññināṭu. The agreement was that the principal doubled itself and that the debtor had to return 2000 Paṛa of paddy in order to close the transaction.[139] The debtor had mortgaged Kaḷattiñāloṭi plot of 200 Kalam seed capacity to Etiran Kaviran. The Perunna inscription says that the said Etiran Kaviran placed the above land at the disposal of the Potuvāḷ of Tirunāḷkkaṇam (the Committee for Tirunāḷ celebration) evidently as Kīḻīṭu for feeding 1000 Brahmins (100 per day) during the course of the ten day festival, from Pañcami onwards, in the moth of Kaṉṉi. Having converted the land as a Kīḻīṭu, Etiran Kaviran wants in return the rakṣa or protection of the assembly for himself, his women and children. The rent that he pays will have to be treated as rakṣābhōga. The document lays down that in the event of the Muññināṭu governor paying the principal and reclaiming the land, the festival committee and Etiran Kaviran shall invest the amount on another plot and give the tenancy to Etiran Kaviran. It is further stipulated that when Etiran Kaviran and his successors voluntarily relinquish the Kārāṇmai it shall be cultivated by the members of the Gaṇa themselves. The 200 Paṛa of paddy fixed as the tenant's dues was conceived as the Rakṣābhōga (Protection fee) and therefore the Gaṇa was requested to protect Etiran Kaviran, his women and children. This offering by Etiran Kaviran seems to have been at least partly motivated by his fear that the governor might one day take back the land without settling his claims properly. When the land is temple property under the protection of the Brahmin Corporation and Etiran Kaviran is only a tenant there, not even the governor might have dared to touch it for

fear of incurring the displeasure of the gods of the earth and the gods of heaven.[140]

There are other cases where the feudal owners gave certain rights in lands to the corporation for monetary consideration. Thus Kaṇṇan Puṟaiyan, governor or Kālkkaraināṭu, received gold from the temple authorities of Trikkākara and transferred to them the tenancy of the plot of Veṭṭikkarikkāṭu between Vāykālcciṟai and Iṭaicciṟai and the Pulayar settled there.[141] He was also good enough to relinquish the landlord's share with which he endowed 12 Kalam Tiruvakkiram (Brahmin feeding) and lamps and poor feeding in the month of Karkaṭaka. Thus, although the temple authorities paid gold only for the acquisition of tenancy rights, it resulted in a complete transfer of the sole rights over the plot of land.

The wording of this passage which indicates the transfer of ownership deserves notice as it reflects the standard phraseology of the legal pundits in Kerala through the centuries and runs parallel to similar phraseology in the records of other parts of India. It is a typical example which reveals how far even small things which appear to be local peculiarities were truly the local variants of an All-India pattern. The expression "māvaṟakkoṇṭu mutalaṟa aṭṭikkuṭuttān" means that the transfer included trees above ground as well as hidden treasure. This phrase is repeated in other Cēra inscriptions of the period also.[142] It is further elaborated in a statement that everything like stones, grains of sand, stumps of Strychnos nux vomica tree, thorns, roots and poisonous cobras belonging to the plot were included in the transaction.[143] By way of precaution to exclude any pretension of rights to the soil on the part of the owner, it is written into the deed that the governor or people attached to him shall not be nominated as tenants in future.[144]

The Ūrāḷar are generally prevented from obstructing cultivation, confiscating the property of the tenants and taking up the cultivation themselves. This is written into all the deeds in stock phrases.[145] These warnings were issued to curb the tendency of the individual Brahmin Ūrāḷar or his agents to encroach upon the rights of the tenants and thereby cause harm to the common interests of the temple corporation. There is certainly no reason to imagine, as some scholars have done, that these clauses were inserted by the 'democratic' village assemblies or district assemblies on account of their anxiety to protect the interests of the Kārāḷar against the Ūrāḷar.[146] All the documents bear witness to the high status and powers of the Brahmin Ūrāḷar and the dominant role of this oligarchical group in the administration of the temple and temple properties. The strict warnings were intended to safeguard their common group-interest against the self-interest of their own individual members which could ultimately ruin their community as a whole. Evidently it was not the strength of the Kārāḷar inside or outside the Brahmin village assembly as Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has imagined, but the commu-

nitarian outlook of the Brahmin groups, backed by the power of the state, that prescribed severe punishment for all Ūrāḷar who acted without sanction from the communal organisation.

The Ūrāḷar were also instructed not to mortgage the landed property of the temple.[147] They were not permitted to employ the land donated for one purpose for something else even with the unanimous consent of the assembly at a later date.[148] Those of the Ūrāḷar who acted alone in the matter of temple property without the sanction of the whole assembly and the co-operation of the overlord were subject to fine and excommunication.[149] Those who were members of the executive committee were prevented from becoming the tenants of the temple.[150] Sometimes the tenant's dues are stated to be one-third of the produce or one-fifth of the produce.[151] In some cases the tenants are obliged to pay the tax also.[152] Some records mention the time of payment of dues and usually this is fixed at Sankrānti or Viṣu, either Alpiśai Viṣu, or Citrā Viṣu or someday chosen for convenience.[153]

Lands donated to the temple for the conduct of a festival or feast were usually handed over to a trust called Kaṇam (Gaṇa), consisting of several families which divided the land among themselves. By way of tenant's dues they supplied the paddy or ghee or other commodities required for the celebration. Such Kaṇams are met with in several temples. Thus we have a Kaṇam of five members functioning at Tiruvanmaṇḍūr temple though their duties are not clear from the inscription.[154] There was an Uttira Kaṇam (Uttṛa Gaṇam) at Trikkaḍittāṉam temple.[155] A Tirunāḷ Kaṇam existed at Perunneyil temple.[156] Several Kaṇams like Tirudvādaśi Kaṇam, Tirunāḷ Kaṇam, Tiruvātira Kaṇam, Utṛāṭa Kaṇam, and Tiruvōṇa Kaṇam are mentioned in Tiruvalla copper plates.[157] These Kaṇams (trusts or special committees) managed the lands allotted for separate endowments and probably leased them out to tenants as the Ūr or Sabha did on a larger scale.[158]

There was another kind of tenure different from Ūrāṇmai or proprietorship, Kārāṇmai or tenancy and even from the mere occupation right of Kuṭimai. This is known as Virutti (Vṛitti) or service tenure. Several plots of lands are known as Virutti and the names themselves indicate the kind of services remunerated by the permanent assignment of lands to certain families. This must have developed when more and more occupations became hereditary in character.[159] Thus we have a) Cāntivirutti which is the land allotted to priests, b) Paṇikaḷvirutti which is the land allotted to temple servants, c) Koṭṭtikaḷvirutti which is the land allotted to drummers, d) Paṇiccavirutti which is land of the Paṇikkaṛ or fencing masters, e) Paḷḷivirutti which is land of the servants of the Paḷḷi, f) Kāvalviruttti which is land of the watchman, and g) Pārāyaṇavitutti which is the land of recitors of epic poems in the records of the age.[160] Tirunandāvaṉavirutti or land assigned for the livelihood of gardeners, Cākkaimārvirutti or land assigned to the traditional actors,

Ūrpotuvāḷvirutti or land assigned to the village secretary, Uvaccavirutti or land assigned to drummers, Taḷivirutti or land for temple officers, Puṟappotuvāḷvirutti or land given to the village secretary for outside service, Kalavāṇiyavirutti or land assigned to the potters, Tantrivirutti or land assigned to ritual instructors, and Mahābhāratavirutti or land assigned to professors of Mahābhārata, are mentioned in Kollūr- Maḍham plates of 1189 AD which are claimed to be the re-issue of a praśasti of the time of Śrīvallavan Kōta.[161]

It is interesting to note that fields and compounds generally had proper names which made their identification simpler in the documents of the age. There is also surprising continuity in the matter of these names. The old names of the Cēra period continue to the present day in many a village.[162] The custom of naming fields existed in other Tamil countries also but it was not so widespread as in Kerala.[163]

It is clear from the various types of transactions mentioned in the records that land was a precious possession considered as the most secure and durable form of investment in this period. Land owners who enjoyed the Kāṇam right like the Nāṭu Uṭayavar, Nakarattār, and Ūrāḷar - all originally derived from the sovereign were assured of the regular income from tenant's dues. Therefore many people must have preferred to invest their gold in lands as the temples are found to have been doing frequently. Merchants could purchase land for gold. Since the paddy-gold ratio did not change for a long time, the price of land also did not probably fluctuate much during the Cēra times. Land owners represented the state's power in their own domain as illustrated by the Ūr and Nagara. Sometimes political and commercial interests appear to have induced kings and governors and also Brahmin assemblies to settle foreign traders and missionaries on their soil. Sometimes religious motives prompted the rulers to distribute land to Aryan Brahmin immigrants.[164] In all these a mixture of economic and extra-economic motives appear to have been responsible for the speedy extension of occupied and cultivated land and its accumulation in the hands of the new commercial and agrarian classes. Thus it was in this period that the traditional Kerala land system which lasted for centuries until the Mysore-British era took shape.

The chief produce of the land in the Brahmin settlements of the river-valleys must have been paddy. Pepper, spices and perfumes of the hills and forests which attracted foreigners from different lands to Kerala for many ages must have come from the eastern high ranges but there is not much information about this in epigraphy or contemporary literature. Coconut cultivation is referred to in Tiruvalla copper plates.[165] The presence of a class of toddy-tappers using ēṇi and taḷa among the tenants of Tarsāppaḷḷi in Kollam naturally presupposes large scale cultivation of coconut and palm trees. However, Kulaśēkhara, the royal dramatist, emphasises the presence of pad-

dy fields when he proudly introduces himself as the Lord of Kerala full of beautiful paddy fields.[166] The most important development in the field of land tenure in this period is perhaps the gradual acquisition of thousands of acres of paddy land by the Brahmin village corporations through the processes of Aṭṭippēṛu (Land-owners donating sole proprietorship of land to the temple), Kīḻīṭu (Land owners placing their land under the protection of the temple) and outright purchase. Gradually this led to the domination of economic and social life by the Aryan settlers who succeeded in imposing their culture on Kerala.

Notes and References

1. Nagam Ayya, *The Travancore State Manual*, I, p. 170. "Paraśurāma, the founder of Kerala, after crowning Bhānuvikṛama as its king is stated to have minted gold coins called Rāśi and made them over to the king for circulation. Tradition says that Paraśurāma sowed the Rāśi coins broadcast and buried some in cairns which are seen here and there on the Travancore mountains... According to the people the Rāśi is the oldest coin of Kerala. The Specimens sent to Sir Walter Elliot were found to weigh 5-8/10 grams each, 'with an obliterate form on the obverse, probably a shanka.' Though seldom seen in circulation the Rāśi was till recently the denomination used in North Travancore for the valuation of lands." See also K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, pp. 407-8; Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 137.
2. Kollam records of 1703 AD. See *T.A.S.*, V, I, no. 20 and 21, pp. 55-59. Pāṭṭāḷi copper scroll of 1796 AD. See *T.A.S.*, VI, I, no. 72. pp. 93-97.
3. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, p. 171; K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, p. 408.
4. The very concept of Paṇam is found only in later records. See Vaḍaśśēri inscription of 1464 AD. *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 33 pp. 124-27. The Vīrarāyanpaṇam is described as a coin of Calicut in the beginning of the 19th century. See Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, (London, 1807), II, p. 353. According to Sir W. Elliot the Kaliyugarāyan paṇam was at one time current over the whole of Kerala. See Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 137; *The Travancore State Manual, op. cit.*, p. 171. It may be remembered that Kalingarāyan was a title of the Cōḷa feudatory Naralōkavīra who invaded Kerala on behalf of his master in the reign of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 312. Perhaps 'Kaliyuga rāyan' is a mis-reading of 'Kalinga rāyan'. It is also possible that 'Kaliyugarāyan' was another medieval royal title.
5. Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, (Madras, 1884), p.111. "I have never heard of the existence of any Cēra coins".
6. C.J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, (London, 1922), p. 63. Plate no. VII-9. Obverse-undeciphered inscription, Reverse-Nagari inscription "Śri Vīrakēraḷasya". See also E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 36. Kerala. Plate V.11.
7. *S.I.I.*, III, I, no. 28, pp. 51-8. Ll. 1-2. See also chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase.

8. Nos. 706, 707 and 714 of 1905; See also chapter on Chronology under and Kōta Kōta. Note no. 41.
9. See No. 129 of 1909. *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1910, p. 103. "Pērūr nāṭṭu vīra kēraḷanallūrāṉa kōvan-puttūr".
10. The Vīra Rāghava copper plates of Cochin (1225 AD) refer to the first king as Vīra Kēraḷa Cakṛavarti. See Vankayya, *E.I.*, IV, pp . 290-97, Ll. 1-3. "Śṛīvīrakēraḷaśakṛavarti ātiyāy muṛa muṛeye pala nārāyirattāṇṭu cenkōl naṭattāyi niṇṛa śṛīvīrarāghava śakṛavartikku tiruvirācyam cellāyi niṇṛa".
11. See Cōḷapuram inscription of Vīra Kēraḷa, ruler of Vēṇāṭu, dated 1126 AD. *T.A.S.*, IV, I, no.3, pp. 17-18. See also chapter on Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase.
12. *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 49, pp. 162-4.
13. *A.R.A.D.T.* 1920-21.
14. *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 49, p. 162.
15. E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 36, Plate V, 12. The author has quoted Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarangiṇi*, VII, Slōka 926 to support his view. "Dakṣōmatuabhavēd bhangih priyā tasya vilāsinaḥ karṇāṭanuguṇastankas tatas tēna pravaṛtitah". Rapson is wrong since Karṇāṭa and Koṅgu are not identical and therefore his chronology is also unreliable.
16. See Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, nos 4 and 6; Plate II, no. 43; Plate III, no 92, 118 and 119.
17. *A.R.E.*, Madras, 1910, p. 59.
18. *Ibid.* 1912 and 1916 and *T.A.S.*, III, I, pp. 22, 24. The traders of the West Coast were suppliers of foreign maritime goods to the interior of South India. The kutirai ceṭṭis (horse traders) of Malaināṭu are mentioned in some Cōḷa inscriptions. See no. 196 of 1928 and no. 182 of 1926. A medieval Malayalam poem called *Uṇṇiyacci* (13th century) speaks of horse trade in 'Cōṇāṭu' (Cōḷa country - probably a reference to the Koṅgu region which was adjacent to Malaināṭu and part of the Cōḷa empire) and 2000 Āṉai accu as the price of a Joṉakakkutira (Arab horse) and 5000 Āṉai accu as the price of an elephant in that region. "Cōṇakakkutira cōṇāṭu viṛṛāl namukkānayaccuṭan iraṇṭāyiram kiṭṭuminṛāṉaviṛṛālumayyāyiram kiṭṭalām". For details of 'āṉai kāśu' in Koṅgudēśa, see also Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 116.
19. Index No. A. 1, L. 3. "Tiruvāṛṛuvāy muṭṭappali vilakkuvār perumān aṭikaṭkku nūṛu tiṉāram taṇṭappaṭuvatu".
20. *Ibid.*, Ll. 9-10. "Kāvati kaṇṇan cańkaran puraiyiṭattinme nūṛṛaimpatin tūṇi nellu mūnṛu tiṉāramum".
21. Altekar, *The Rāshṭṛakūṭas*, pp. 387-90.
22. No. 136 of 1908 from Tirupputtūr. See also Sastri, *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 98. Though Kāśu in this period had a fixed value, different later forms of Kāśu are known under different names like Īḻakkāśu, Paḻam-Cōḷiyan Kāśu, Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāśu, Rājarāja Kāśu etc. They differed considerably in vaule. There was also progressive debasement of Kāśu in the Cōḷa Empire. For details, see no. 131 of 1907, no. 141 of 1912, no. 484 of 1925, and *A.R.E.* 1912, II, Para 39; see also Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 587, 614.
23. No. 176 of 1915; *A.R.S.I.E* 1916, II, p. 117, Para 12. It says that the gold coin Kāśu received as gift was weighed by the niṛaikkal (stone) and was found to be equal to three Kaḻañcu. This was apparently different from the Kāśu in circulation at that time. It must have been an old Kāśu of the period before the debasement of the coi-

nage. See note 22 above. Inscriptions of the 11th century provide a new equation: 2 Kāśu = 1 Kaḻañcu. See no. 25 and no. 156 of 1895, no. 252 of 1915, no. 241 of 1923. See also *S.I.I.*, VIII, no. 737.

24. A record of Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, from Trikkākara states that Ciṟumaṟṟappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan gave the temple authorities 40 Paḻam Kāśu corresponding to 120 Kaḻañcu of gold for instituting akkiram there. Index no. A. 28 L.1. "Ciṟumaṟṟappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan amaicca akkirappon nārpatu paḻankāciṉoṭu kūṭa pon nūṟṟirupatu kaḻaiñcu pon." Paḻam Kāśu is mentioned in another record from the same temple but its value in terms of weight is not specified. Index no. B. 10. L. 1. "Kārilattu kaṇṇan kumaraniṭaippaḻankāciṉoṭu oppitu muppattāṟu kaḻaiñcu pon koṇṭu..." The term Paḻam Kāśu is employed in some Cōḷa inscriptions also. See no. 629 of 1916, no. 484 of 1925.

25. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 74, f.n. no.4; *Paścāttalattil*, p. 34. F.N. No.1; *Janmisampradāyam*, p. 37, f.n. no.2.

26. The coin called Dinārius was current in Rome chiefly from about the second century BC to the second century AD. For details of Diṉāra with reference to India, See A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas*, pp. 387,90; Syama Sastri, *Arthaśāstra*, Intn, p. XXIX; Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 481; J. Allen, *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. CXXXII; *M. J.L.S.*,1887-8, pp. 160-96; *Ancient India* no.2; Max Muller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 125; C.J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 45; E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 280-2; Sewell, *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, London, pp. 623-37; Jean Filliozot, 'Intercourse of India with the Roman Empire', *J.I.H.*, XXVIII, I, pp .23-44; N.G. Unnithan, 'Diṉāra in South India', *J.I.H.*, XLII, II, pp. 351-60; R.S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, (Bombay, 1966), p. 78.

27. Robert Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, (Madras, 1883), I, p. 242. The Roman coins were buried underground in a brass vessel. No fewer than five coolie loads of gold coins were dug out from the same spot. Many were melted down or taken away by the people. The Maharaja of Travancore procured several of them including 8 coins of Augustus, 3 of Antonia Augusta, 28 of Tiberius, 2 of Caligula, 16 of Claudius, and 16 of Nero. Sewell quotes from Captain Drury, *J.R.A.S.* Bengal, XX, 371 and *I.A.*VI, p. 216.

28. See *A.R.A.D.C.*, 1945-6, p. 2, para 6; *J.N.S.I.*, XXV, pp. 22-8. The latest coin in the Eyyāl hoard is the Aureus of Trajan (97-117 AD). All the coins are much worn out probably due to the long period of circulation. For details, see P.L. Gupta, *The Early Coins from Kerala*, (Trivandrum, 1965).

29. For details, see *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1891, p. 2.

30. See chapter IX Police and Revenue, under Taṇṭam or Fine.

31. Index no. B. 20, L. 6. "Ponkoṭukkil cūṭumuraiyum varuvitu āṟu kaḻaiññu niṟaippon koṭuppitu." This statement may be compared to "Aṭṭu veṭṭiccuṭukku tantu kāccāṟṟi kai celvatu kaḻancir peṟṟa tuḷaippon uraiyum tuḷaiyum vaḻuvatu" occurring in a Cōḷa inscription of Rājarāja I. See no. 218 of 1911. In this the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of gold and the tuḷai (punch mark) which was stamped by the government authorities. For other instances of prescribed purity and weight of gold mentioned in Tamil inscriptions, see *J.N.S.I.*, XX, p. 9; *E.I.*, XXX, p. 109.

32. Index no. A. 80, L. 334. "Rakṣāpōkam pon cūṭumuraiyum varuvitu patiṉeṇ kaḻaiññu pon". The editor Gopinatha Rao seems to have been at a loss to understand the

meaning of this passage. He puts a question mark after 'cutumurai' and leaves it unexplained. See *T.A.S.*, II, p. 146.

33. This ratio may be calculated from the prescription of the amount of fine. While the Perumāḷ gets 25 Kaḻañcu, his representative called Āḷ kōyil gets 12 Kaḻañcu and 5 Kāṇam of gold. See Index no. A. 13. Similarly while the Perumāḷ's representative called Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ gets 25 Kaḻañcu, the Nāṭuvāḻi gets only 12 Kaḻañcu and 5 Kāṇam and the Vāḻkaivāḻi gets only 6 Kaḻañcu and 2½ Kāṇam of gold. See Index no. A. 31. These are evidently instances of stating fractions like half the original amount. They yield the equation, 10 Kāṇam = 1 Kaḻañcu. This was the same everywhere.

34. A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 365.

35. See *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, p. 191. See also D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 431. Dr. Hultzsch gives the following equation:

    2 Kunni = 1 Mañcāṭi

    20 Mañcāṭi = 1 Kaḻañcu

    Since Kunni is equal to 2 grains, this will also give 80 grains as the weight of Kaḻañcu. See *S.I.I.*, I, p. 116, and R.K. Mookherji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 105. f.n. 1.

36. Codrington, *Ceylon's Coins and Currency*, pp. 3, 7; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p.613.

37. Index no. A. 9,. Ll. 34- 5. "Irupattainpalan cantaṇa"; Index no. A. 19, L. 6; "Puḷi nārpalam"; Index no. A. 35, L. 3 "Puḷi aṟupalam"; Index no. A. 42, L. 3. "Irupalan ceytu puḷi"; Index no. 80, Ll. 200-9. "Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ taruntiruccantanamuttulāttaṟupattaimpalam. Tuṭantalaikkālāl vāḻum taraṇivarmaramaicca tiruccantanattinuḷḷa pūmi naralurkkal nārkkalam. Pulikkonar narkkalam. Venmaṇal nārkkalam. Kaṇṇan kattal nārkkalam. Nāṉūṟu paṟaikku pāṭṭam. Cantaṇappuṟamaiññūṟṟukkalamaiññūṟu paṟaikku pāṭṭan tiruccaṇtanattinnirupalam celvitu kapālimaṅgalattāl aiympatu paṟai. Perumāḷ naṭaiyāl aiympatu paṟai. Cańkaramaṅgalattirupattaimpaṟai. Itellānkūṭṭi ōrō palañceyvitu. Vēḷur kkapalīccuvarattu kuḷattiṉu tekkin puraiyiṭattinmēlāṭṭu mirupalan cantanantarakkaṭavar".

38. See Index no. A. 80, Ll. 200-9 and note no. 37 above.

39. Index no. A. 24, L. 8. "Irutuṭanneyyum kayyu puḷiyum oru tēṅgayum". The weight of Kayyu (Kaiśu) is mentioned in *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* (13th Century) also. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 158.

40. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 321-29. This passage provides the following rate of dues in terms of paddy for the corresponding endowments of Neyyamirtu in the temple.

Land	Paddy	Ghee
Perumpānturutti	300 Paṟa	I Nāḻi
Tāyan Kuṇṟappōḻan Vaḷkai	37½ Paṟa	1 Āḻakku
Iṟai	75 Paṟa	1 Uḻakku
Kāpālimaṅgalam	150 Paṟa	1 Uri
Tēviyār Celavu	300 Paṟa	1 Nāḻi
Iḻinniṇam	225 Paṟa	3 Uḻakku
Kaitaippaṟāl	75 Paṟa	1 Uḻakku
Putuvariyai	75 Paṟa	I Uḻakku

41. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 624. The same units prevailed in the Pallava and Rāṣṭṛakūṭa kingdoms. See Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, p. 87; A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 376.

42. Index no. A. 4, Ll. 4-5. "Aṭum tuṭaviṉāl oru tuṭavu neyyum". Index no. A. 13, Ll. 72-4. "Viḷakkiṉukkamaiñca tuṭanneyyum". Index no. A. 24, Ll. 7-8. "Irutuṭanneyyum kayyu puḷiyum oru tēṅgayum kaṟiyum uppum kūṭa uccaittiruppaliyin muṉṉai-yamiṟtu ceyyikkakkaṭavar". The Government epigraphist misunderstood the term tuṭam as tulām and consequently produced a funny translation, i.e., "the feeding shall be conducted with two Tulām of ghee, one kaiśu of tamarind, one coconut, vegetable and salt". All this ghee for feeding two Brahmins at a time! Index no. A. 26, Ll. 4-5. "Inney.... irupattañcu tuṭavu uḷppāṭaṉum". Index no. A.48, Ll. 2-3. "Iraṇṭu tuṭavu eṇṇai". Index no. A.80, Ll. 392-402. This shows the annual quota of 10 Tulām of ghee to be realised as tenant's dues from different plots belonging to the temple. Index no. B. 10, L.2. "Tēvar tuṭaviṉāl muppattu añcu tuṭavu ney celuttakkaṭavar".

43. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 275.

44. See Index no. A. 9, L. 18. "*Niyati oru piṭi ney*". For the Cōḷa system, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 624.

45. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 55, 57, 59, 318, 348, 443, 566 and 574.

46. *Ibid.*, L. 483.

47. *Ibid.*, Ll. 78, 288, 298, 301, 334-5, 493, 494, 534-5, 548 and 572-3.

48. Index no. A. 38, L. I; Index no. B. 10, L. 4.

49. Index no B. 11, L. 10; Index no. B. 13, L. 8.

50. Index no. A. 71, Ll. 24-28. "Puttan Paṟaiyāl Patināḻi Koḷḷum paṟaiyāl niyatam ōrō paṟaicceytunel". The Government epigraphist wrongly deciphered the word "puttanpaṟai' as 'putten aṟai' and, therefore, failed to grasp the significance of this passage. The Patināḻippaṟa is mentioned in an undated 11th century inscription of Perunna temple. See Index no. C. 42, L. 12.

51. Index no. A. 80,Ll. 285 - 90. "Manukulāticca tēvar iḷankōkkālattamaicca celaviṉu pūmiyāvo perumpānturuttikkari kāññirakkōṇattu vāḻkkai āyirattirunūṟṟukkalattilum āṟoṉṟupōy āyirakkalattiṉum pāṭṭam ālancēri vāḻiṉṟa aññūṟṟukkalattiṉum patināḻippaṟaiyāl ttoṇṇūṟṟaimpaṟai vittu ttoṇṇūṟṟaimpaṟai nel mikkaññūṟṟukkalattiṉum toṇṇūṟṟaimpaṟai vittu toṇṇūṟṟaimparai nel". Manukulāticca was the coronation name of Bhāskara Ravi who came to the throne in 962 AD.

52. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 624; Altekar, *The Rāshṭṛakūṭas*, p. 376.

53. The Pēriḷamai measure found in South Arcot district was 25% larger than the ordinary Marakkāl. It was probably identical with the Mādevi measure from the same district in the same period of Kṛṣṇa III Akālavarṣa. See *E.I.*, VII, p. 36 and VIII, p. 188. See also note no. 52 above.

54. Index no. A. 71, Ll. 87-95. "Vaiccanel patineṇkalattāl toḷḷāyira nāḻi pālākkāṭṭu kaṇṇan tēvan celaviṭuvitu. Toḷḷāyira nāḻi mēl ivvūr cattipiramam celaviṭuvitu". According to this statement 18 Kalam = 900 Nali + 900 Nali = 1800 Nali. This would work out to the following equation:

    100 Nāḻi = 1 Kalam.

    It has already been shown that Patināḻippaṟa is mentioned here. See note no.50 above.

55. Several inscriptions of the early period refer to these two units of measure - Kalam and Nāḻi. See Index no. A. I, 4, 9 etc.

56. Index no. A. 8, Ll. 33-35. "Maṟayiṉuḷ irukalappāṭu valaṅkālmiḻi patiṉ tūṇippāṭu ivai aimpatiṉ tuṇippāṭum purai putukkuvān". Here we get the following equation:

    2 Kalam + 10 Tūṇi = 50 Tūṇi.

57. Index no. B. 23, Ll. 31-35. "Mūvāṇṭu kaḻiññāṭṭāṇṭ aiññāḻittūṇiyāl mukkalam nel kuṭukkakkaṭavaḷ kuṇṟan ciṟunaṅkai".

58. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 211-12. "Aṅguḻḻa valiya tūṇiyālirupattu nār tūṇi". *Ibid.* Ll. 525-26. "Paḻḻippuṟattu tēvartūṇiyāl iraṭṭaittūṇiyāl irutūṇi". The term 'tēvartūṇi' is wrongly deciphered by the Travancore Government Epigraphist as 'tēvar tuṭavai'. See *T.A.S.*, II, III, pp. 153,202. *Ibid.* Ll. 571-72. "Paṇiccaviruttikkoḻḻum nel onpatināḻittūṇiyāl kkaṇattāroti okka iraṇṭu paṭakāram koḷvitu". *Ibid.* L. 609. "Aṟappuṟam onpatināḻittūṇiyāl nālppattaintūṇi". It appears that 32 Nāḻi made 1 Tūṇi and 3 Tūṇi made 1 Kalam in the Cōḷa empire. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 624.

59. Tāḻakkāvu inscription. Index no. B. I, Ll. 8-10. "Kuṭampāṭi irupatu nālu poti nākerapoṟai panniraṇṭu poti". Kiṇālūr inscription. Index no. B. 23, Ll. 9-11. "Irunāḻi piṭikkun tūṇiyāl nālpatu poti". *Ibid.*, Ll. 23-24. "Irunāḻittūṇiyāl nūṟṟirupatu poti nel".

60. See Graeme's Glossary, Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XIII, p. CCXXVIII.

61. Index no. B. 10, L. 2. "Tēvar tuṭaviṉāl muppattañcu tuṭavu ney". Index no. A. 8, Ll. 91-3. "Tēvanāḻiyāl irunāḻi". Index no. A. 80, Ll. 530-31. "Tirumaṭaippaḻḻi nāḻiyāl aimpatināḻicceytari". Index no. A. 30, L. 5. "Tēvar tirumaṭaippaḻḻi nāḻiyāl nūṟṟunāḻicceytari". Index no. A. 28, L. 2. "Pantiru kalam nel koṇṭu vantu tirumaṟṟappuḻaittēvar iṭankaḻiyāl kkuṭukkakkaṭavar". Index no. B. 10, L. 4. "Tēvar paṟaiyāl nāḻi pokku".

62. See chapter VIII Local Bodies under Nagara and chapter on Social Life under West Asian Colonies.

63. Index No. A. 80, Ll. 9-10. "Cāttirarkku orukkōl nīḻam onpatu keṇappiṭai kuṟaiyātē oru veḷutta mālai".

64. For the measurement of time in terms of Nāḻikai, see Index no. A. 80, Ll. 17-18. "Ittiruvārātinai añcu nāḻikaikku tuṭaṅgi mūṉṟu nāḻikaikku mun oṭukkuvitu". For statement of time in terms of the length of shadow, see Index no. A. 21, Ll. 2-3. "Akattirupattaiyyaṭiyil muṉṉe tiruvamirtu ceyyakkaṭaviyar. Akattaiyyaṭiyinmuṉṉe tiruvamirtiṉṉari....". *Ibid.*, Ll. 5-6. "Ucci tiriññu irupatiṟṟaṭikku".

    Akattirupttaiyyaṭi = 7-18 A.M.

    Akattaiyyaṭi = 9-36 A.M.

    Ucci tiriññu irupatiṟṟaṭi= 4-24 P.M.

    See also Index no. B. 6, L. 1; A. 27. L. 11; A. 30. L. 5 etc. This traditional method of calculating time is followed even today by villagers in Kerala.

65. Index No.1, L. 10.

66. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 621.

67. In modern times Vēli is a measure equal to about 6¾ acres. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 75.

68. Index no. A. 28, L. 2. "Ippon nūṟṟirupatiṉ Kaḻañcum pattu araipoliyāl āṭṭum pantiru kala nel".

69. *Ibid.*, L. 4. "Ippūmi mēl ninṟu ippon koṭukkapeṟār tēvanārāyaṇaṉum tampimārum. Uḷppāṭaṉum perumutiyaṉum koḷḷappeṟār".

70. Index no. B. 20, L. 6. "Nel koṭukkil iṭaṅgaḻiyāl ppantiru kalam koṭuppitu. Pon kuṭukkil cūṭumuraiyum varuvitu aṟu kaḻaiññu niṟaippon koṭuppitu".

71. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 334-35. "Poncūṭumuraiyum varuvitu patiṉeṇ kaḻaiññu poṉṉāka okkum patināḻippaṟaiyāl munnūṟṟaṟupatu paṟai nellāka koṭukkakkaṭaviyan".

72. The rate of interest permitted by Manu (VIII, 41) Yājñavalkya (II. 37) and Kauṭalya (III, 15) is 15 percent of the capital per year. It is found to be varying between 10 to 15 percent in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. See Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas*, pp. 372-74. The same fluctuation is noticed in the Cōḷa empire. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p, 599. The general rate of interest in North India for cash loan with security was 15 per cent of the capital. See R.S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, p. 107.

73. Index no. A. B. Ll. 80-94. "Komaranārāyaṇapurattu cēravan nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyār oru tiruvakkirattiṉukku koṭutta pon muppattāṟu kaḻaiñcu tēvanāḻiyāl irunāḻi tiruvakkiram".

74. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 418 27 and 431-32. "Neyyamirtu iṭaṅkaḻiyāleṇṇāḻi. Anṟu matilakattu eṇṇai vēṇṭumavarkku paṭuppān itaṅkaḻiyāl aññāḻi. Miḻakiṭaṅkaḻiyānāḻi. Cīrakam uḻakkiṉār nāḻi. Kāyam oru palam. Tēṅgay aṟupatu. Tiruvāḻaippaḻakkulai āṟu kulai. Vāḻaikkai ēḻu kulai. Oru kulai aṟupatu ceytu kāyuḻavāyiruppitu. Itaṅkaḻiyālppatināḻippayaṟu. Vāḻaikkāyum paḻattiṉumāy nel nūṟṟunāḻi. Anṟu pākkiṭuvān patiṉāyiram veṟṟilaikkumatiṉu vēṇṭum aṭaikkaykkumāy ppatiṉeṇpaṟai nel. Eṇṇaikkunneykkumāy nellirupattāṟu paṟai. Miḻakiṉu Patināḻi. Kāyattiṉu irupaṟai. Cīrakattiṉu patināḻi. Karpūram añcu kāṇattiṉu nel nālppatināḻi. Cantaṇattiṉu aññāḻi. Akil pattu kāṇattiṉu patināḻi". "Uppiṉum puḻikkum tēṅgaykkumāy nel eṉpaṟai. Payaṟṟiṉu iru paṟaiyarai. Vākaippoṭi irunāḻi".

75. Index no. A. 19, Ll. 3-5. "Cāntikku irunāḻi paḻḻittāmattiṉṉu nāḻi tiruvakkiram aṟunāḻi - - - akkiramaṭumavaṉṉu irunāḻi ari kuttumavaṉṉum eccilaṭippāṉum nāḻi akkirattiṉṉum payaṟṟiṉṉum irupatu nāḻi uḻpāṭaṉṉu nānāḻiyum kūṭa....".

76. *Ibid.* Ll. 7-8. "Perumutiyanmārkku pattu kāṇam. Ārātikkumavaṉṉu pattu kāṇam Viṟakiṭuvāṉṉu pattu kāṇam. Ari kuttuvāṉum eccilaṭippāṉum taḻikai āyuvāṉum añcu kāṇam. Akkiram aṭuvāṉum pattu kāṇam".

77. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 413-18 and 427-38.

78. Index no. A. 9, Ll. 10-12, 15-16, 17-18. "Kāntarpikarku naṅkaimārkum ariykku nūṟṟupattu nārkalamaympatināḻi. Karaṇaṉukkumōrviyaṉukkum patiṉaṟu kalam patināḻi". "Naṭṭavaṉārkku cīvitam --- koṭukkunnelliṭaṅkaḻiyāl irupatin kalam". "Niyati aññāḻi cāntikku kāṇam poṉṉum".

79. Index no. A. 67, Ll. 9- 12. "Mēlcāntyum kīḻccāntiyum viḻuviṉṉōḷamum kalppittu kāṇam poṉṉum koṇṭu cānti aṭakkaṭavar". There are several other instances of payment of rice as jīvitam though sometimes the actual amount is not stated. Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn set apart 30 Kalam of paddy per anum from Neṭumpālanāṭu for the jīvitam or maintenance of 9 drummers and musicians of Tiruvalla temple. See Index no. A. 80, Ll. 352-56. Similarly Jīvitam for the servant of Lord Ayyappan, and for other drummers, are mentioned in the same plates. *Ibid.*, Ll. 616, 619.

80. Index no. A. 46, Ll. 11-13. "Ari munnāṉaḻiyāl aṟu nāḻiyālum pāti pirāmmaṇar amitu ceyvitu. Pāticcōṟun nirāṭṭu paḻḻikku pañcamaśaptaṅkoṭṭi uvāccakaḷ koḷvitu".

81. Index no. A. 35, Ll. 2-3. "Pātiyum koṇṭu pirāmmaṇarum cirivaiṉṉavaraiyum amirtu ceyviccu maṟṟu arimunnāṉāḻiyāl emperumakkaḷkku irupattu nānāḻiyum paḻḻittāmattiṉu aṟunāḻiyum tiruvaḷakiṉu aṟunāḻiyum".

82. See chapter VIII Local Bodies under Nagara; chapter on Police and Revenue under Revenue from trade centres; chapter on Social System under West Asian Colonies. See Index no. A.51, 78, and C. 29.
83. For details of the two organisations in other parts of South India, see T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Section IV; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 595-98.
84. Index no. A. 51.
85. Index no. C. 28.
86. Index no. C. 29.
87. Index no. A. 40. The merchant guild is called Samaya in some Cōḷa inscriptions. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 597. Therefore Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati denotes the head of the merchant guild named after Rājēndra Cōḷa.
88. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 250-52. "Īḻattu ninṟu vanna vāṇiyan paḷḷattu pokkōvinnan kaiyyil tiruvamirtiṉu koṭuttamaicca tāyankuṇṟappōḻan vāḻkkai mēl naṅgaiyār kaṭaviya nel aññūṟu paṟai".
89. This is mere speculation based on the similarity of names. The name of Sabarimala is generally believed to have been derived from Sabari, a woman ascetic mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. There is greater possibility for a connection between the Christian settlers of Kollam and the eastern high ranges which produced the commodities they wanted.
90. For the term Ceṭṭi, see Index no. A. 8, Ll. 83-4 and C. 29. Even today 'Ceṭṭi' is the name of a local sub-caste of hereditary traders in Kerala. The term itself has been traced back to Sartha (Sāṭṭa in Prakrit) and to Srēshthin (Sēth in Prakrit). See L.A. Ravi Varma, 'Castes of Malabar', *K.S.P.*, II, no 9, p. 191; Godavarma, *R.V.R.I.B.*, IV, p. 40.
91. *A.R.E.*, no. 263 of 1910.
92. *Ibid.*, no. 202 of 1925.
93. *Ibid.*, no. 470 of 1902; *S.I.I.*, VIII, no. 58.
94. *Ibid.*, no. 239 of 1914.
95. *Ibid.*, no. 328 of 1904.
96. *Ibid.*, no. 350 of 1904.
97. *Ibid.*, no. 351 of 1904.
98. *Ibid.*, no. 590 of 1920.
99. *Ibid.*, no. 313 of 1906.
100. *Ibid.*, no. 465 of 1918.
101. *Ibid.*, no. 273 of 1910.
102. *Ibid.*, no. 182 of 1923.
103. *Ibid.*, no. 263 of 1910.
104. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 607.
105. *A.R.E.*, no. 196 or 1928; 182 of 1926.
106. *Ibid.*, no. 556 of 1904; 201 of 1965; 161 of 1917 and 514, 515, 516 and 517 of 1935-36. See also T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Section IV; K.P. Swaminathan, 'The Horse traders of Malaimaṇḍalam', *J.I.H.*, XXXII, II, pp. 138-43. The medieval Malayalam poem *Uṇṇiyacci* mentions a merchant of Wynad in Malabar bragging about his trade in Arab horses in the Cōḷa country. See note no. 18 above.

107. E. Hultzsch, 'A Vaiṣṇava Inscription at Pāgān'. *E.I.*, VII, no. 27, pp. 197-8. The text of this interesting record says:
"Svasti Śrī. Nāsthā dharmē na vasu nicayē naiva kāmōpabhōgē
Yat Yat bhavyam bhavatu bhagavan pūrvakarmāṉurūpam
Ētatprārthyam mama bahuśatam janmajanmāntarēpi
Tvatpādāmbhōruha yuga gatā niścalā bhākirastu".
"Svasti Śrī. Tiruccelvam peruka Pukkamāna arivaṭṭaṇa
puṟattu nānā tēśi viṇṇagar āḷvār kōyil tirumaṇṭapamum
ceytu tirukkaṭavumiṭṭu inta maṇṭapattukku
niṉṟerikaikku nilai viḷakku onṟum iṭṭēn malai
maṇṭalannāṭṭu makōtayār paṭṭaṇattu irāyiran ciriyāṉāṉa
cīkulacēkara nampiyen itu śri iṭanmam malaimaṇṭalattān".

108. H.B Sarkar, 'The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Jayanese History', *J.I.H.*, XLII, II, p. 412.

109. *Ibid.* This inscription is generally considered by scholars as a spurious one. The author of the paper criticises the assumption saying that some mistakes committed by copyists or editors of such charters do not necessarily prove that the whole charter was fabricated.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 413. See also Majumdar, *Suvaṛṇadvīpa.* (Calcutta, 1937), p. 27; K.A.N. Sastri, *Śrīvijaya*, (Madras 1949), pp. 82-3; and B.A. Salatore, "Western India and The South East Islands', *J.I.H.*, XLI, III, pp. 649-65.

111. *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1946-47. Appendix A.P. 7. Among the goods exchanged were Hochi silks, porcelain ware, camphor, cloves, sandal-wood, cardamoms and gharu wood. Some of these articles must have originally come from Kerala and this trade could have started earlier. The export trade in Chinese celadon wares is said to have become brisk in the Sung period (960-1279 AD) and several pieces of celadon ware had been identified in the 1969-70 excavations of Cranganore conducted by the Archaeological survey in which the present writer also participated.

112. Ma Huan the Chinese traveller of the 14th century states that Kollam (Quilon) was known to the Chinese navigators of the Tang dynasty. See Ma Huan, quoted in K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, p. 280.

113. See chapter V Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase.

114. See Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*; K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, p. 271. It is called Koulam Malay, meaning Kollam of Malaināṭu, probably to distinguish it from other cities like Kalyāṇ, Kollāpura, Colombo etc. It may be Kollam or Kōlam of north Kerala.

115. See chapter V Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase.

116. See chapter X Social System under West Asian Colonies.

117. The claim of the state to all unassigned land is tacitly assumed. This is the case in the Cōḷa empire also.

118. See chapter IX Police and Revenue, under Ordinary Villages.

119. Index no. A. 6, L. 5, 50. "Innakaram kaṇṭu nīrēṟṟa maruvan sāpir-Īśō".

120. For an account of Kāṇam as perpetual lease in the modern period, see *Report of the Jenmi Kuṭiyān Commisstim of Travancore*, P. 59, quoted in Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, p. 297. The advent of the British in Malabar led to the interpretation that Kāṇam right was subject to eviction. However, opinion was divided on the significance of the

term. For a discussion, see Kāṇam in Graeme's Glossary, quoted in Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix. XIII.

121. In the Syrian copper plates the term 'aṭṭippēṛu' meaning sole or exclusive grant is also used to describe the transaction. It is stated to last as long as the world, sun and moon endure. See Index no. A.2, Ll. 21-23. "Ulakum cantirātittarum uḷḷa nāḷellām ceppu pattirattil paṭṭa paritu viṭupēṛu aṭṭippēṛāka aṭṭikkuṭuttān". See also Index no. A. 6, Ll. 15-16 "Innānkellaikkum akappaṭṭa bhūmi piṭi naṭatti ulakum cantirātittiyarum oḷḷa nāḷellām celpu pattiram ceytu kuṭuttēn". *Ibid.*, Ll. 43-45. "Ulakum cantirātittiyarum oḷḷa nāḷellām ivvaṭṭippēṛellām celppu pattirattilppaṭṭa vaṇṇam ceytu koḷḷappeṛuvar".

122. Index no. A. 6, Ll 48-9. "Innakarattukkukkārāḷarāka nīrēṛṛār Añcuvaṇṇamum maṇikkirāmamum".

123. Index no. A. 2, Ll. 12-20. See also chapter on Local Bodies and chapter on Police and Revenue.

124. The term 'nīrēṛṛa' occurring in grants denotes this practice. See Index no. A. 6, Ll. 5, 50. *Op. Cit.* See also Index no. A. 68. Perunna inscription, Ll. 15-23. "Perunneytal āṭṭaikkōḷāl nālppatinkalannellum peruneytal arantaiyum aṭṭilpēṛāy tirukkai naṇaccaruḷiyār". Index no. A. 71. Kollam inscription, Ll. 39-42 and 54-60. "Yakkan kaiyyilttirukkai naṇaccaruḷa". "Cāmantaruntirukkaikkūṭiyirukkattirukkai naṇaiccaruḷiyāvitu". Index no. B. 11, Ll. 6-7 and 11. "Paṭṭārakaraiyum paṭṭārakarkoḷḷa pūmiyum āticcan umaiyammaikku nīrōṭaṭṭikkoṭuttān". "Potuvāḷ kaiyyil nīrōṭaṭṭikkoṭuttāl". In English common law the delivery of a clod of earth is required to make a conveyance complete and this ceremony is known as livery of seisin. Water takes its place here.

125. See the term 'piṭi naṭatti' in the Syrian copper plates . Index no. A. 6, L. 15. The ceremony is clearly described in the phrases 'kariṇi parikṛamaṇa vispashṭa sīma catushṭayam' and 'piṭi cūḻntu piṭākai naṭantu' in the Leiden grant of Rājēndra Cōḷa. It is mentioned as 'ibhiparita sīma' in the Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa. See *T.A.S.*, II, no.9, p. 73. See also *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 67-8. It is possible that the donor or his agent sat on a she-elephant and followed by a number of subordinates, took a ride around the gift land and the subordinates marked off the boundary and noted down the details as the procession proceeded. See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 137-38.

126. See chapter VIII Local Bodies under Ūr or Grāma and chapter on Social System under Brahmin Settlers.

127. See Index no. A. 80, L. 34. "Ūrāḷar ūrāṇmaiyum tāṉamum paraṭaiyum peṛār". Index no. C.16, Ll. 11-12. "Ūrāṇmaiyum tāṉamum paraṭaiyum kuṭuttār". Index no. C. 18. Ll. 8-9. "Cōkiranallūr ūrāṇmaiyum tāṉamum paraṭaiyum koṭuttār". Index no. C. 20. Ll. 14-15. "Ūrāṇmai iḻappatu". See also Kiḻimāṉūr Record, *T.A.S.*, V, I, no. 24, pp. 63-86. L. 4. "Ūrāḻmakku koṇṭa pēr".

128. See Index no. A. 14, L. 6. "Akanāḻikaiccelavum brahmasvamum dēvsvamum paṛṛuvaḻiyum kārāṇmaiyun kūṭa viṭṭār". Index no. A. 62, L.6. "Tirumunnūr ppaṭārar uṭaiya tēvattuvamum piramattuvamum aṛunūṛṛuvarkkum kīḻīṭu". Index no. B. 15, Ll. 3-4. "Tēviyar piratiṭṭa paṇṇittanna kālattu tēvattuvattiṉum pirammattuvattiṉum paṇṇittanna piracatti jīṛṇiccu".

129. Index no. A. 64, L. 1. "Tenvāyppalikkaṇattil ivaṉṉuḷḷa paṭakāram". Index no. A. 80, Ll. 361-3. "Tiruttuvātayikkaṇattār avirōtattāl---- irupatu paṭakāram ōrō paṭakār-attāl". *Ibid.*, p. 549. "Puñcaippaṭakārattu nārāyaṇan iruṭi kēcavan".

From the first two examples it is clear that 'paṭakāram' was used for the share of property owned by the member of a Kaṇam (gaṇa) in a Brahmin village. The term is applied to the share of the Ūrāḷar also. See Kiḻimāṉūr Record. T.A.S., V, I, no. 24, pp. 63-86. Ll 11-12. "Innilam paṭakāram koṇṭatikārikkiṉṟa pēr pattum". The ten persons mentioned are the Ūrāḷar of the village. Therefore it is clear that 'paṭakāram' is applicable to such a share. The term is used in Pallava records also. See no. 80 of 1898. The Kollūr Maḍham plates also clearly establish that the term 'paṭakāram' stood for the shares of the Ūrāḷar since it is stated that land of 1325 Paṟai sowing capacity was set apart for Brahmasvam, divided into 23 Paṭakārams and distributed among Brahmin families. See Index no B. 15. See also T.A.S., IV, 1, no.7, pp. 24 5 The terms 'Pāṭṭavāram' and 'Pāṭṭam' used even today for the landlord's income from the lands might be derived from Paṭakāram of the inscriptions.

130. See Index no. A. 10, Ll. 18-19. "kaṭankāṭṭu kaccamum piḻaiccu ūrkkumiṭaiyīṭumkeṭṭu tāṉamum paraṭaiyum peṟār". Index no. A. 64, Ll. I, 3. "Tencēri cēnnan tāyaṉuṭaiya iṭaiyīṭum avan kuṭi irunna puraiyiṭamum". "Pāṭutānguvitāka ceytavaṉum irukūṟu paṟaiyumavaṉum ūrāṇmaikkiṭaiyīṭum keṭṭu". Index no. B 11, Ll. 11-13, 13-14, 18. "Mukkālvaṭṭamum paṭṭārakarkkoḷḷa iṭaiyīṭum". "Ipparicu ceyta kīḻīṭṭil ūrāḷarāka iṭaiyīṭarāka pukku vilakkavum". "Paṭṭārakarkkoḷḷa iṭaiyīṭum". Index no. C. 42, L. 4. "Iṭaiyīṭar iccelaviṉu virōtikkil". Index no. C. 43, L. 17-18. "Ūrāṇmaiyillāttavaruḷ ikkaccam piḻaippōrāyil tankaḷuṭaiya iṭaīyiṭu akanāḻiyaiccelaviṉōṭokkum". The Government epigraphist of Travancore gives a confusing explanation of the term in T.A.S., IV, I, no 1, pp. 7-8. The examples given above show that No. I. PP.7-8. The examples given above show that the term stands for property in a general sense.

131. See Tirunelli copper plate. Index no. A. 36. Ll. 19-22. "Kōyilmaṉuḻccar vilakkil niḻalvvakaiyir kōyilkku pōm āṭṭaittiṟai koṭāttavakaḷ taṇṭappaṭakkaṭavar". See also Kumaranallūr inscription. Index no. C. 43, Ll. 12-13. "Veṇpolināṭu vāḻumavakaḷ māṉiṭam ūrakattu cenṟoru nāṇṟu tinku ceykil teṇṭam koḷḷum poḻuta ūrāḷar irukūṟu paṟaiyappeṟar".

132. The term Pāṭṭam is used even today in the sense of tenant's dues in Kerala. See Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XIII. Pāṭṭam. The author derives 'Pāṭṭam' from the Dravidian root 'Pāṭu' meaning order or office. It is more likely that it is derived from Sanskrit Bhāṭṭa, meaning the property of the Bhaṭṭa or learned Brahmin. Thus 'Pāṭṭam' and 'Paṭakāram' are probably having a common source. The 'Pāṭṭam' denoting Brahmin property might have developed the meaning of the payment for Pāṭṭam, i.e. the tenant's dues payable to the Brahmin, as found in the Cēra inscriptions. For the context in which the word Pāṭṭam occurs, see Index no. A. 42, L.5. "Paraṭai pāṭṭamāḷappeṟār. Paraṭai uṭaiyavarai pāṭṭam koṭukkappeṟār". For Pāṭṭavāḷan, see Index no. A.27, Ll. 6-7. "Ukkiraṅgalam pāṭṭamāḷumavan". Index no. C.17, Ll. 9-10. "Taviraṉūr pāṭṭavāḷan".

133. See Index no. A. 80. Ll. 349-60 and B. 20. The donor in both is Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn. A certain Kōṭikkaḷattu Iyakkan Kōvinnan was present on the former occasion and this person is the receipient of Kārāṇmai on the latter occasion. He seems to have been Māḷuvakkōn who might have directed the temple authorities to give the Kārāṇmai to his own nominee.

134. See Index no. A. 13, Ll. 77-80. "Kārāṇmai koṭutta koḷavāyaṉum avan cantatiyumaṉṟi maṟṟoruttarkku kārāṇmai koṭukkavum pāṭṭamiṭavum kaikkūli koḷḷaveṇṭumeṉṟavum peṟār". See also Index no. A. 80, Ll. 53. "Tantatippirakitiyāy kārāṇmaicceytu".

135. The general formula is 'muṭṭukil muṭṭiraṭṭi', i. e., double payment for default. See Index no. A 13, Ll. 85-9; no. A. 24, Ll. 15-16; no. A 25, L. 4; no. A. 26, L. 4; no. A. 27, Ll. 8-9; no. A. 43, Ll. 10-11; no. A 45, L. 3; no, A. 77, Ll. 8-9; no. A. 80, Ll. 34-6; 373-82; no. B. 6, L 2; no. B. 20, L. 5.

136. Index no. A. 10, 43, 62 and no. A. 80, Ll. 329-45 and 532-42; no. B. 11; no. C. 17. See also chapter on Local Bodies, under other Kaccams; chapter on Police and Revenue, under ordinary villages.

137. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 342-3. "Araiya kōpamum cāmantakōpamum nīkki rakṣiccu rakṣāpōkam koḷḷakkaṭaviyar ūrāḷar".

138. Index no. C. 42.

139. Kauṭalya-(III. II.) permits an interest of 50% in the case of capital in grain. Manu (II, 39) Yājñavālkya (VIII, 151) and Vasiṣṭha (II, 48) who do not permit the capital in cash to be exceeded by the interest, declare that in the case of the capital in corn, the interest may amount to twice the capital. In the light of such views a hundred percent interest is understandable.

140. The sentence "Etiran kaviraṉum avan peṇṇu piḷḷaiyum rakkikka kkaṭavar potuvāḷum kaṇattārum" contains the formal statement that this act signified the conversion of the land as Kīḻīṭu (subordinate property) of the temple and that the payment to the temple is treated as Rakṣābhōga. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam takes it as an appeal for mercy based on the owner's fear of the Ūrāḷar who might oust him from tenancy in future. Eḷamkuḷam also interprets Etiran Kaviran's motive as a desire to gain mōkṣa by Brahmin feeding. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Janmisampradāyam*, pp. 46-7. In fact it was not suspicion about the Brahmin landlords but suspicion about his powerful debtor, the governor of Muññināṭu, that drove Etiran Kaviran to seek protection under the Brahmin Gaṇa of Perunna. Moreover there is no special appeal for mercy in the sentence except the formal statement that the Brahmin Gaṇa (Trust) is to undertake the protection of the family in return for the amount offered as Rakṣābhōga.

141. Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year. Index no. A. 25.

142. See Index no. B. 3, Ll. 13 -17; "Kaviyalppurattu āyini ennum vayal patinkalam pāṭu māvaṟakkoṭuttu vilaiyaṟakkoṇṭān". Index no. A. 80,Ll. 52-3. "Muṭṭārakiṉṟa pūmi mūvāyirattaiññūṟṟukkala nilamu māvaṟakkoṇṭu mutalamaiya aṭṭikkoṭuttān". Similar expressions are found in later medieval records of Malabar also, see Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix XU, no 28,43. These correspond to the Sanskritic expressions like "sa nidhisōpanidhi" "nidhi nikṣēpa samētah" etc. See *I.A.*, II, p. 301; XIX, p. 345. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 400.

143. Compare late medieval records of Malabar in Logan, *Malabar*, II, App. XII, no. 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 35. These expressions correspond to certain Sanskritic expressions in other Indian and Hindu-Asian inscriptions. See Semra plates of Candella Paramardin, *E. I.*, IV, pp. 155-6. "Sajala sthalah sasthāvara jangamah svasīmavicchinnah sādha ūrdhavah bhūta bhaviṣyad vartamāna nihśēṣādāya sahitāh". See Rāṣṭṛakūṭa inscriptions, Altekar, *The Rāshṭṛakūṭas*, pp. 241-42. "Savṛkṣamālākula", "Sakāṣṭhatṛṇa kūpa taṭākōpētah". See also Sungal plate of king Vidagdha of Champa. 11th century, Vogal, *Antiquities of Champa State*, I, pp. 167-69. "Sva sima tṛṇagōyuthi gōcara paryanta sa vanaspati udaka sihāra kullūka pānīya samēta--- kāṣṭhēndhana ghasa busadikam".

144. Index no. A. 25. Ll. 4-5. "Ippūmi nāṭuvāḻumavaraḷāka avakaḷkku cārnnavaralāka pāṭṭamāḷappeṟār".

145. The conventional sentence runs as follows: "Pukku vilakkavum poruḷ kavaravum peṟār". It says that the Ūrāḷar "shall not enter to obstruct or appropriate wealth". Sometimes these phrases are accompanied by several other prohibitions. See Index no. A. 10 and C. 17.

146. See Eḷamkuḷam, *Janmisampradāyam*, pp. 32-8.

147. Index no. A. 13, Ll. 65-9. "Cennaṭaiyā uḷḷa pūmi koṇṭu oṟṟi vaikkavum oṟṟi koḷḷavum peṟār." Index no. A. 64, L. 3. "Itiṉukkamaiñña nilam oṟṟi vaikkavum koḷḷavum peṟār".

148. Index no. B. 6, L. 2. "Ūrār avirōtattakkūṭiyum iccelavu maṟṟoṉṟiṉukku celuttikkappeṟār".

149. Index No. A. 36, Ll. 9-13. "Tirunellipperumāḷiṭaiy cirikāriyam kūṭakkaṭaviyavakaḷ kūṭiyallātu oruttan ekkaiyakam oru cuvāmiyoṭu kūṭi tēvakāriyam keṭukkum ūrāḷan uḷḷitu uṭaiyatu cuvāmi koḷḷakkaṭavar. Ūrāḷaṉum orōttarai oḻi tēva kāriyam ceyil āyirattetṭu kāṇam pon taṇṭappaṭakkaṭavar".

150. Index no. A. 42, L. 5. "Paraṭai pāṭṭamāḷappeṟār".

151. Index no. A. 80, L. 37. "Mūṉṟoṉṟu mēloṭi". *Ibid.*, L. 39. "Añconṟu mēloṭi". *Ibid.*, L. 309-10. "Añconṟu mēloṭi". *Ibid.*, L. 523. "Mūṉṟoṉṟu mēloṭi".

152. Index no. B. 10, L. 5. "Kaṭamai kūṭakārāṇmai kāṇpitu".

153. Index no. A. 10, Ll. 7-8. "Innel accankirānti tōṟum..." Index no. A 27, Ll. 6-9. "Akkirattiṉṉamaiñña pūmi ukkiramaṅgalam pāṭṭamāḷumavan--- alpiyai viḻuviṉṉum cittirai viḻuviṉṉum nellaḷakkakaṭavan". "Viḻuviṉṉu mun aḷavatoḻiyil ukkiramaṅgalam pāṭṭam āṭṭaikkāṇankoḷvitu". Index no. A. 30, Ll. 4-8. "Viriccikañāyiṟṟu aviṭṭattināḷ tēvar tirumaṭaippaḷḷināḻiyāl nūṟṟunāḻicceytari ucciyakattu pantīraṭiyin muṉṉam koṇṭuvantu palakaittalai aḷakkakkaṭaviyan". Index no. A. 48, Ll. 2-3. "Uttirattināḷ uccaiyin muṉṉai iraṇṭu tuṭaivu eṉṉai āṭṭakkaṭaviyar". Index no. A. 42, Ll. 3-5. "Nantāviḷakku celuttumavar cittirai viḻuviṉu pātiyaṭṭakkaṭaviyar. Niṉra pātiyumappiyai viḻuviṉu tikaiyaṭṭakkaṭaviyar". Index no. A. 45, L. 3. "Inney mituṉamum karkkaṭamum ciṅkamum immūṉṟu tinkaḷum celuttakkaṭvan". Index no. A. 43, Ll. 8-10. "Āṇṭu tōṟum koṭukkum pāṭṭanel cāntiviruttikkeḻunūṟṟu nāḻiyum cittirai viḻuvinuḷ koṭuppatu". Index no. A. 80, Ll. 336-7. "Vaiyyāci viyākan tōṟum kuṭavūr karumanceyyiṉṟavakaḷ camaṅcitar māniṭattil". *Ibid.*, Ll. 357-8. "Māḻuvakkōn āttum kumpañāyiṟṟu urōyaṇi nāḷ aḷavu koṭukka kkaṭaviyam". *Ibid.*, Ll. 391-4. "Maṭamaṇṇavakal iraṇṭayaṉattiṉu iru tulām neyyaṭṭuvitu. Karkkaṭakañāyiṟṟayaṉattiṉu---Makarañāyiṟṟayaṉattiṉu..." Index no. B. 20, Ll. 5-6. "Kumpañāyiṟṟu urōyaṇi nāḷ potuvāḻmār kaiyil—".

154. Index no. C. 41, L. 2. "Aiñcu kaṇattārum neyyaṭṭakkaṭavar".

155. Index nos. A. 32, 47, 64.

156. Index no. C. 42.

157. For Tirudvādaśi Kaṇam, see Index no. A. 80, Ll. 361-91. This Kaṇam also undertook the protection of properties. See *Ibid.*, Ll. 532-7. For Tirunāḷ Kaṇam, see *Ibid.*, Ll. 607-8. For Tiruvātira Kaṇam, see *Ibid.*, Ll. 615-17. For Uttṛāṭa Kaṇam, see *Ibid.*, Ll. 618-19. For Tiruvōṇa Kaṇam, see *Ibid.*, Ll. 621-22.

158. For the different meanings of the term Kaṇam and the contexts in which it is employed in ancient Hindu law books and literature, see R.K. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 29-31. He quotes Manu (III, 164. Gaṇam caiva yājakah) Govinda raja and kulluka (IV.209. Gaṇanām gaṇikānnam ca vidūṣaca jugupsitam) Nārada (1-7

and X-2), Mahābhārata, Vivādaratnākara, Smṛti Candrika, Vyavahāramayūkha, etc, in support of different explanation. Of all the different meanings, that of a Brahmin corporation is most suitable meaning in the context of Cēra inscriptions. This must be distinguished from the 'Āḷumgaṇam' (ruling group or executive committee) of some Pallava and Cōḷa inscriptions. See Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, pp. 129-31; See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 494.

The explanations of the term 'Amrita gaṇattār', offered by the Government epigraphist and Minakshi, are both evidently wrong. The former interpreted it as meaning 'managing members' of the village assembly. See *A.R.E.*, 1912-13. p. 90. The latter took it to mean a group of men in charge of temple affairs. See Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, p. 133. In the light of the Cēra epigraphic references, the Pallava epigraphic term 'amrita gaṇam' may be taken to apply to the group in charge of sacred food offering called 'amrita' in the temple.

Prof. Eḷamkuḷam's view that the Gaṇa of the Cēra period consisted of non Brahmins does not rest on evidence. See Eḷamkuḷam. *Janmisampradāyam*, p. 61. Some of the family names like those Makiḻañcēri, Iḷamaṇ, Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam etc. found in Tiruvādaśi Gaṇam of Tiruvalla are evidently those of Brahmins, as they exist even today under such names.

159. Vritti literally means livelihood. For Virutti land in other parts of South India, see Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, p. 199; M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talkad*, p. 155; Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 238.

160. a) See Index no. A. 43. L. 9. b) Index no. A. 44. L. 28. c) Index no. A. 47. L. 3. d) Index no. A. 80. LI. 88, 276, 307, 551, 553. e) *Ibid.*, L. 554. f) *Ibid.*, L. 566. g) *Ibid.*, L. 627.

161. Index no. B. 15, Ll. 84, 95, 111,, 113, 120, 130, 145, 176 and 181. The Virutti system of land tenure continued in former native states of Cochin and Travancore until recent times.

162. The village names and even house names have generally survived unchanged or only slightly changed. On verifying the names of some records from Cōkkūr, Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri, Kiṇāḷūr, Panniyūr, and Cōkiram (Index no. A. 8, 14; B. 23; C. 16, and C. 17) some field and house names are found unchanged: Cōkkūr- Iḷankuṇṭu, Aṭimāṛi, Kulukkalkkāṭṭu, Ayini, Puḻamuṇḍa, Maṇaloṭi, Cāttan Koṟṟi, Viyamiḷi, Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri -Muṭṭam, Putuvayal, Kiṇāḷūr-Kāntapuram, Muṭakkallūr, Paralāṭu, Panniyūr-Mallayūr, Puntōṭṭattu, Cōkiram-Perumpalāvu, Paḷḷikkara, Puḻakkara.

163. For some examples of such proper names for plots, see No. 48 of 1914, 345 of 1906 and 83 of 1919.

164. For interpretation of the motives which led kings of ancient India to settle Brahmins with land grants on their territory, see R.S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, pp. 52-89; D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, pp. 275-370.

165. See Index no. A. 80, Ll. 562-67. "Rakṣāpōkam mēlccānti emperumakkaḷ iruvarkkum ōrō teṅgu koḷvitu".

166. See Prologue in *Subhadrādhanañjaya*. "Kaḷamarāśi pēśala kaidārika kēraḷādhināthasya Kulaśēkhara varmāṇō".

XII. Religions and Religious Culture

There was co-existence of and co-operation among many creeds during this period in Kerala. Pockets of Buddhist and Jain influence can be identified through sculpture and Inscriptions. The position of Jewish and Christian communities in Kerala has been discussed in previous chapters and the scanty information regarding the status of these religions as such may be taken up here. The advent of Islam in Kerala also took place towards the close of the Cēra period.

A highly developed form of the temple oriented Hinduism held the dominant position in Kerala during this period as proved by the large number of temple inscriptions and the Tamil and Sanskrit Bhakti literature. The temple and allied institutions deserve special notice as the nuclei of a religion and culture. A native tradition of tree and stone worship and bloody sacrifices in the 'Kāvu' (grove) - non-Vedic and non-Aryan and typical Dravidian - could have existed but no written records about it have been preserved. The mention about them in earlier Sangam works and their survival to the present day show that developed Hinduism of the Aryan type tolerated and absorbed such practices.

A. Co-existence of Creeds

It is stated in the *Mūṣakavamśa* that several religions harmoniously co-existed in the Mūṣaka country like wild beasts who forgot their mutual conflicts in the vicinity of a holy 'āśṛama'.[1] This is applicable to the whole of Kerala in this period, and the statement also reflects an attitude of religious tolerance. The same ruler often patronised institutions of different creeds. The story of the creeds other than Hinduism, like those of Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam may first be taken up for consideration here.

Buddhism

The edicts of Aśōka mention the land of 'Kēraḷaputō' among the southern frontier kingdoms (*pratyanta*) of the Mauryan empire where his missionaries

carried out effective service.[2] This reference to the friendly contact and missionary work is corroborated by certain references in Sangam literature. The titles Vānavaraṉpan and Imayavaraṉpan used by Sangam Cēra kings appear to be the Tamil versions of the Aśōkan title 'Dēvānāmpiya'.[3] These and the prosperity of Buddhism in Ceylon which had close contacts with the coastal areas of the Cēra kingdom show that Buddhism had some prospects in Kerala even during the Sangam age. The *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* prove that both Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing in the Cēra country during the pre-Makōtai period also.[4]

Five Buddha images have been discovered from certain villages of old Travancore - from Karumāḍi, Māvēlikkara, Bharaṇikkāvu, Paḷḷikkal and Murudūrkuḷaṅgara.[5] On the basis of stylistic features they have been attributed to the 8th-9th centuries. All these five images came from the Alleppey-Kottayam region, which must have been a pocket of Buddhist influence. In fact, the existence of a famous Buddhist vihāra in this region is indicated by epigraphic and literary evidence. The Pāliyam copper plates of Āy king Vikṛamāditya Varaguṇa (898 AD) throw interesting light on this problem.[6] They open with three slōkas in praise of Śoudhōdani, Dharmasangha and Avalōkitēśvara.[7] They register the gift of certain lands in the Āy country to the deity of Tirumūlavātam.[8] The editor of the plates first expressed difficulty in identifying the deity and the location of this temple.[9] Later on he identified the temple correctly as that of the Buddha and suggested, in the light of the discovery of Buddha images from Alleppey district, that the old vihāra of Śṛīmūlavāsa must have been located somewhere near Tṛkkunnappuḻa.[10] It has rightly been pointed out that a village named Śṛīmūlavātam still exists near Trikkunnappuḻa on the sea coast where a Buddha-type image has been recovered from the sea.[11] This agrees well with the reference in *Mūṣakavamśa* to the threat to Śṛīmūlavāsa from the sea. The poem states that the Mūṣaka king Vikṛama Rāma (c. 929 AD) saved the famous Śṛīmūlavāsa vihāra from the attack of the sea.[12] Later on the poet mentions that Valabha, the Mūṣaka crown prince, (c. 1000 AD) went south to assist the Cēra in battle against the Cōḻa but before he could join the Cēra he got reports of a revolt in the home kingdom and turned back after receiving the blessings of the 'Jaina' people from the Mūlavāsa temple of the merciful Sugata.[13] Fouscher has discovered an image of Avalōkitēśvara from Gandhara with an inscription that says that it represented Śṛīmūlavāsa Lōkanātha from Dakṣiṇāpatha.[14]

These pieces of information present the picture of a great Buddhist vihāra called Śṛīmūlavāsa located on the sea coast in the present village of Śṛīmūlavātam near Trikkunnappuḻa. It was obviously a Mahāyāna centre with Avalōkitēśvara as the chief deity. Cēra kings like Vijayarāga nominated princes like Vīra Kōta as protectors of the temple.[15] Some of the Āy kings of North Kerala like Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, and Mūṣaka kings of North Kerala like

Vikrama Rāma and Valabha, patronised the institution. The fame of this vihāra had reached up to Gāndhāra. It was found in a flourishing condition from the 9th century to the 11th century some time after which the buildings were probably swallowed by the sea. The member of Tṛkkunnappuḻa who sat in the Perumāḷ's council along with the representatives of the four chief Hindu temples might have been the delegate of this vihāra though there is no definite clue regarding his religion.[16] The cause of the final disappearance of the vihāra is not known though the thrust of the sea described in the *Mūṣakavaṁśa* might have been responsible for it in view of the fact that, even today, that region is constantly subject to encroachment by the waves.[17]

It is interesting to note that the stage version of *Bhagavadajjukam*, used by the Cākyārs of Kerala for Kūṭiyāṭṭam, portrays a Brahmin comedian who embraced Buddhism and rejected it after some time.[18] The original Sanskrit passage has only two sentences but the old Malayalam speech of the comedian runs into four pages. This elaboration, full of details and technical terms, appears to reflect social reality at the time of composition. Since *Bhagavadajjukam* itself is earlier than 7th century AD the old Malayalam translation could be of any date after the 7th century.[19] Most probably it was composed in the Cēra period to suit the reformed Sanskrit theatre of Kūṭiyāṭṭam in which the comedians made elaborate speeches in the native language. The style of language, as it is, would indicate 14th-15th centuries, but the translation could really be older since the language is likely to have been modified every time a new copy was made.

In this work the poor Brahmin called Śouṇḍilya joins a Buddhist monastery in order to escape starvation. He confesses that the only sign of 'brāhmaṇya' in him was the sacred thread 'as dirty as the cloth of the washerwoman'. His profession was to go in search of the funeral feast (piṇḍassadya) from place to place. On hearing that the Paḷḷimār (Buddhists) gave free food he went to them. Then they asked him to join their creed. The first step was 'Triśaraṇāgamanam' of the 'Upāsaka', for which he had to shave his body clean, leaving the hair only on the head and donning white clothes. Then he would learn 'Pañcaśikṣāpadam'. As the next step he had to take away the sacred thread, cut the hair and throw it up and accept 'Śramaṇēravṛatam'. He would put on red robes and cover himself up for four days 'like women during the monthly period'. This was to be followed by twenty years of 'dīkṣa' during which the ten 'Śikṣā padas' had to be practised. He had to keep out violence, seeking others' wealth, sexual indulgence, untruth, liquor, dance and merriment, ornaments, comfortable bed, untimely food and precious metals. After this he had to accompany other monks to the river bank for 'Upasampatti'. Then he was entitled to three monkish robes. He would learn Tripiṭaka and his monkish evolution would be complete.

However, the Brahmin who agreed to become a Buddhist learnt quickly that there was only one meal a day for them. This knowledge increased his feeling of hunger. He cursed the Paḷḷimār of low birth, and came out of their group. He uses the word 'toḻuttu ceṛumi makkaḷ', i.e., the sons of the ceṛuma slaves of the cattle shed, for the Buddhist monks. He says that he tore his robes, broke his vessels, and kept only the umbrella for protection against sun and rain.

The refugee from the monastery gives an account of the daily routine there. He describes the rites of 'Uccāravarjanam' at the Mēhanabhavana; the 'Śaucam', and 'Jihvānirlēkhanam'; 'Bhūtārppaṇam' at Japaśāla; followed by 'Pradakṣiṇam' at Daśabalanilayana; 'Jinamunīndra Vandanam' at Buddhabhavana; the study of Buddhist works like *Prajñāpāramita*, *Pañcarakṣa*, *Tathāgataguhya* etc. and the recitation of mantras in the presence of the Vāgdēvatapītha at Gandhakuṭika; the Arikkibali, Ujiṣṭhabali etc. followed by storytelling; the recitation of Gaṇagātha in the evening and the final 'Japa' until the time of sleep arrived. These details go to show that Buddhist monasteries, conversion to Buddhism and reconversion to Hinduism were familiar to the author and his contemporary audience.

The cult of Śāstā or Ayyappan was familiar to Kerala in this period as well as to Tuḷu and Cōḷa countries and Ceylon.[20] The resemblance which it bears to the cult of the Buddha is unmistakable. The title of Śāsta is applied to Ayyappan and Buddha alike.[21] The emphasis on 'śaraṇam', the non-Brahmin character of worship, and the location of the great Śāsta temples in the eastern high ranges, would suggest a close parallelism between Buddhism and the Hindu cult of Hariharaputṛa or Ayyappan.[22] It may even appear that the Śāsta or Ayyappan is the Hinduised form of the Buddha. However, there are certain important differences which prevent us from accepting such a position. Ayyappan is represented as a hunter or warrior, and as the husband of two female deities and these attributes are unsuitable to the Buddha. The images are also different in appearance.[23] It is possible that in some cases the Buddha figures and shrines were later on converted into centres of Ayyappan cult and taken over by the Hindu population. Moreover, the similarities mentioned above are suggestive of the influence of Buddhism on the development of Ayyappa cult in Kerala.

There is a legend of Paḷḷivāṇa Perumāḷ, found in some versions of *Kēraḷōlpatti*, according to which a king of Kerala became a Buddhist after listening to their arguments, and was compelled by the Brahmins to relinquish the throne.[24] It has also been suggested that the 'Paḷḷivāṇavar' of the Nīlampērūr Bhagavati temple near Kottayam is most probably a representation of this ruler.[25] There is, however, no concrete evidence to support such an inference although the deities of Nīlampērūr, and Kiḻirūr nearby, were most probably representations of the Buddha.[26] It has also been pointed out that the 'Kuti-

ra' found in rural temple festivals of Alleppey-Kottayam region might be a relic of the car festivals of the Buddhists, the type of which has been described by Fahien of China in his account of Pāṭaliputra.[27] Moreover, the term 'Paḷḷi', usually applied to non-Vedic religious institutions, forms part of a large number of village names in Kerala and some of these at least might have been Buddhist centres. The Īḻavar from Ceylon could also have represented a Buddhist element in the population. Thus we get a glimpse of the Śrīmūlavāsa vihāra near Trikkunnappuḻa enjoying the patronage of Āy-Cēra-Mūṣaka rulers of the age. The popularity of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the surrounding region must have attracted converts even from the highest Brahmin caste as mentioned in the drama quoted above.

Jainism

There is evidence of the spread of Jainism in Kerala even during the Sangam age. The first Cēra king, Utiyan Cēraḷ Ātan, is stated to have courted death by starvation through Vaṭakkirikkal, a practice which reminds one of the Jain 'Sallēkhanavṛata'.[28] It is quite probable that following the great migration of Jains from Magadha under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu in the period of Chandragupta Maurya, and their settlement in Sṛāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa in Mysore, Jain influence crossed over to the neighbouring areas of Kerala. Several inscribed Jain caves donated by Cēra princes have come to light in the Karūr-Pugaliyur region.[29] The *Cilappatikāram* is claimed to have been composed by a junior prince of the Cēra dynasty, popularly known as Iḷamkō Aṭikaḷ, i.e., the junior prince. According to the Patikam he was a resident of Kuṇavāyir kōṭṭam, probably the vihāra of Kuṇavāy.[30] This place has been rightly identified by scholars as Tirukkuṇāvāy or Trikkaṇā Matilakam, now known as Matilakam, 5 miles to the north of Cranganore.[31] The existence of a great Jain temple, the rules of which provided the model and precedent for other Jain temples in Kerala during the Cēra period, is revealed by a number of inscriptions.

A record of Tiruvaṇṇūr in the 8th year of king Rājarāja places the deity of Tiruvaṇṇūr and its property under the protection of Aṛunūṛṛuvar of Rāmavaḷanāṭu and asks them to protect the property as if it belonged to Tirukkuṇāvāy itself.[32] Again it is stated that if the Aṛunūṛṛuvar failed to redress the grievances of the temple authorities they shall be deemed guilty of obstructing the routine of Tirukkuṇāvāy temple.[33] A similar clause is found in the Ālattūr Jain temple inscription of about the 11th century.[34] It is clearly stated in a newly discovered Tāḻakkāvu inscription that he who obstructed the routine expenses in the local temple shall be deemed as an offender against Tirukkuṇāvāy. Moreover, this record is dated in the 137th year of Tirukkuṇāvāy showing thereby that the foundation of Tirukkuṇāvāy was considered an epoch-making event and its memory cherished and made the

basis of an era by the Jains even in distant parts of Kerala.[35] Thus we may conclude that the great Tirukkuṇāvāy Jain temple near the Cēra capital, which supplied the model for Tiruvaṇṇūr, Ālathūr and Tāḻakkāvu Jain temples, came to be founded some time at the close of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, for the 137th year mentioned in Tāḻakkāvu record can be placed in the first half of the 9th century on palaeographical evidence.

This finding would suggest that the writing of *Cilappatikāram* took place in the immediate pre-Makōtai period, probably in the 8th century.[36] Tirukkuṇāvāy seems to have achieved fame as a Jain centre in the course of one or two centuries. A record of Kiṇālūr - this name is a contraction of Kuṇvāynallūr - mentions the 189th year of installation of Kāḷiya Paṭāra in that place.[37] The record is to be placed in 1083 AD and therefore the foundation of Vijayarāgēśvaram of Kuṇvāynallūr falls in the year 894 AD in the reign of Vijayarāga. It shows that Kuṇāvāy had earned such reputation as to cause a village to be named after it and also that king Vijayarāga patronised the Jain religion.

No tangible relics of Jain worship have been found associated with Tirukkuṇāvāy, Tāḻakkāvu, Kiṇālūr or Tiruvaṇṇūr. The temples in the first three places are lost and the one found at Tiruvaṇṇūr at present is a regular Śiva temple.[38] It could have originally been a Jain temple which came to be transformed later into a Hindu institution. There are several examples for such a transformation in Kerala. The *Kōkasandēśam* of the 15th century describes Tirukkuṇāvāy as a Śiva temple but adds that Brahmins are not allowed to see the Lord of the temple.[39] This is indeed a strange practice and could be explained by the fact that it was a Jain temple taken over by the Hindus at a later stage. In Kallil near Perumbāvūr, Paruvaśśēri near Peechi, and Chiṭṛāḷ near Kuḻithuṛa, the old Jain temples clearly identified as such by their sculpture have passed for Hindu temples for many centuries.

It is from the sculptures left behind in Ālathūr, Kallil, Paruvaśśēri, and Chiṭṛāḷ that we get a clearer picture of the Jain forms of worship which prevailed in the Cēra period in Kerala. Two beautiful images have been recovered from Ālathūr. One of them belongs to Mahāvīra in *paryankāsana* pose with the usual marks of triple umbrella, nudity, the lāñchana of two lions, and two Gandharvas holding chauris in the right hand flanking the sides of the figure. The other is that of Pārśvanātha in kāyōtsarga pose with a three-hooded cobra above the head of the figure. They must have belonged to a medium size temple of about the 10th - 11th centuries, the site of which is known to this day as 'Paḷḷikkunnu' or hill of the vihāra.[40]

At Kallil, the image of Mahāvīra is carved in half-relief on the rock wall of the cave temple. He is seated in yōgāsana on a lion pedestal with a triple umbrella above and Gandharvas with chauris on either side. Near Mahāvīra on the right side is Padmāvati, now covered with a metallic mask and worshipped as the Bhagavati, the principal deity of the temple. On the left of

Mahāvīra is Pārśvanātha, or perhaps another image of Mahāvīra, in which the symbols are not clearly visible. Another Mahāvīra figure in yōgāsana is carved on the overhanging rock facade of the shrine. Though this is known to Hindus as a Hindu Bhagavati temple, the Jain Baniyas and Ceṭṭis from Cochin go there to worship the Jain deities themselves.[41]

At Paruvaśśēri, about 21 miles to the east of Trichur, the Cochin Archaeologists discovered a small shrine "dedicated to the Buddha". The idol inside the shrine turns out to be a Jain image, with a three-tier umbrella seen just above the head and gandharvas on either side. It is being worshipped as Viṣṇu today and considered as part of the Paḷḷiyaṛa Kāvu Bhagavati temple.[42]

The Bhagavati temple of Tiruccāṇattu malai in Chitṛāḷ is another ancient Jain centre. It lay outside the Cēra country proper, and within the Āy territory. It contains a number of votive figures of Jain deities carved on the hill side with short inscriptions giving the names of the donors. The three compartments of the central shrine had Mahāvīra in the middle, Dēvi in the proper right and Pārśvanātha in the proper left though the Dēvi figure was destroyed in recent times. The shrine itself is a natural cave formed by an overhanging rock resting on another and it has been transformed by masonry work into a structural temple.[43]

The old name of the place was Tiruccāraṇattu malai, meaning the hill of the Chāraṇas. The word chāraṇa denotes a divine being but is often applied to Jain ascetics also.[44] The place appears to have been famous and we find from inscriptions that it attracted Jains from Tirunarunkoṇṭai in South Arcot district, Kuḍavāsal in Tanjore district etc. A record of the 28th year of the Āy king Vikṛamāditya Varaguṇa says that Kuṇantāngi Kuṛattikaḷ, the disciple of Arattanēmi bhaṭāra of Pērāyakkuḍi gave some golden ornaments to the Bhaṭāriyar of Tiruccāṇattu malai.[45] Achanandi, Uttanandi Aṭikaḷ of Kāṭṭampaḷḷi, Varaguṇa the disciple of Tiruccāraṇattu Paṭṭiṇi Bhaṭārar and Vīranandi Aṭikaḷ of Mēlaippaḷḷi are among the other donors of the temple.[46] It is not clear whether Varaguṇa of this list is the same as the Āy king Vikṛamāditya Varaguṇa. The Travancore archaeologists have identified the figures of Padmāvati dēvi, Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and other Jain Tīrttankarās among the votive figures carved on the rock and noticed the "striking adherence of the features of the images with the description given in the *Mānasāra*". They are distinguished by such marks as cropped head, hanging ear-lobes, complete nudity, contemplative mood, padmāsana posture, and the lion pedestal with the chauri-bearing yakṣas and Vidyādharas and other Dēvatās in attendance. The triple umbrella of Mahāvīra and the three-headed cobra of Pārśvanātha are clearly noticeable. The figure identified as Padmāvatī dēvī has a makuṭa on her head and two big kuṇḍalas in the ear-lobes.[47] The presence of a lion and two children in this complex would, according to some scholars, indicate that this figure is not Padmāvatī dēvī as suggested by the Travancore

archaeologists, but Ambikā the yakṣiṇī who attends on the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara called Nēmināṭha. In that case the seated male figure to the proper right of this female deity must be identified as Nēmināṭha.[48]

The location of Tāḻakkāvu in Wynad near the Mysore border, Ālattūr and Paruvaśśēri near the Koṅgu border, and Chitṛāḷ near the Pāṇḍyan border, would suggest that Jainism in Kerala was influenced by the centres across the political borders in Mysore, Koṅgu and Pāṇḍyadēśa. However, its place in the heart of the Cēra kingdom and the patronage it received from the rulers are proved not only by *Cilappatikāram* but also by the inscriptions and relics of Kiṇālūr, Tirumaṇṇūr, Tirukkuṇavāy and Kallil temples. The dominant position of Tirukkuṇavāy among the Jain temples of the Cēra period as indicated by the era of Tirukkuṇavāy, and the rules of Tirukkuṇavāy, quoted in Jain records, prove the great prosperity and popularity of this Jain temple situated close to the capital even though it was transformed later into a Hindu Śiva temple and destroyed completely in late medieval times. The word paḷḷi is found in association with place names in Jain centres. This may perhaps indicate that a large number of places having 'paḷḷi' at the end of their names had some connection with Buddhism or Jainism in ancient Kerala. The old Malayalam word 'paḷḷikkūṭam' for school may also be taken to mean that Jain monks had a prominent share in popularising elementary education in the countryside.

Judaism, Christianity and Islam

The establishment and growth of Western colonies in Kerala by people professing the Judaic, Christian and Muslim faith has been discussed before. However, not much information is available regarding the religious aspect of the life of Jews in Kerala. All their old religious institutions in Koḍuṅgallūr have been completely destroyed in the course of the Portuguese wars. The synagogues and religious relics which they have at Cochin belong to the Post-Cēra period. The Jewish copper plates are the only relics of the Jews from the Cēra period and they speak of the religious tolerance extended by the Hindu rulers of Kerala to the Jews at a time when religious persecution was the order of the day in many other parts of the globe.

The Syrian Christian copper plates of Kollam refer to the foundation of Tarisāppaḷḷi in that place. The meaning of the term Tarisāppaḷḷi is not quite clear. According to some scholars Tarisāppaḷḷi means a church for prayer as 'Tarisa' means prayer or meditation in the old Syriac language.[49] According to others the name 'Tarisa' denotes the biblical city of Tārshish, a city of Syria from which the Christians must have come to Kerala.[50] Some scholars point out the fact that Syrian Christians were called Dhariyāyikaḷ.[51] From the Syrian copper plates it is clear that the Tarisāppaḷḷi acquired lands and

skilled servants on a permanent basis like the Hindu temples of the day in order to guarantee a regular supply of items for daily service.

Five big stone crosses with Persian inscription, generally known as Persian crosses, have been recovered. While one of them belongs to St. Thomas Mount, two belong to the Old church in Kottayam, one to Kaṭamaṛṛam, and one to Muṭṭuchiṛa.[52] These contain inscriptions in the Pahlavi character of Sassanian Persia. There is no agreement among scholars regarding the message inscribed. An interesting decipherment of one of them reads: "My Lord Christ, Have mercy upon Āfras, son of Chāaharbukht, the Syrian, who cut this".[53] If this is correct it would suggest the authenticity of the Syrian tradition that two Syrian missionaries named Mār Sāpir and Mār Prōt. (Prōdh or Āfrōs) landed at Kollam in Kerala in 823 AD to spread the Christian religion and received permission from the king, 'Shākirbirti', to build a church there.[54] The mission of Mār Sāpir is already proved by the Syrian copper plates. It is likely that he had a companion named Mar Prōt.[55] The successful attempts made by these Syrian Persian missionaries to spread Christianity in the interior parts of Kerala with the support of the rulers can be inferred from the relics of the stone crosses.[56] These early Christians of Kerala have been described as Manicheans.[57] This is largely a surmise based on the similarity of the terms 'Maṇikkirāmam' and 'Manichean' and it has to be rejected in the absence of concrete supporting evidence.[58]

With regard to the religion of Islam we have even less of tangible evidence. The relation between the last Cēramān Perumāḷ and the introduction of Islam in Kerala, as reflected in Hindu as well as Muslim tradition, has been discussed before. Suleiman, the Arab merchant of the middle of the 9th century, who wrote with knowledge about the kingdoms of Western India, says expressly that "in Malabar he did not know of anyone of either nation (Chinese or Indian) that had embraced Mohammadanism or spoke Arabic".[59] However, it has been pointed out that graveyard inscriptions found on the beach outside the mosque in Pantalāyaṉi Kollam record the death of one Abbu Ibn Udthorman in Hijra 166. These are certainly old tombstones and the mosque itself contains a fragmentary inscription of Bhāskara Ravi.[60] However, the date of the tomb deserves to be re-examined. Masudi of Bagdad (896-956 AD) speaks about contacts between Malabar and Arabia and this is confirmed by Ibn Kurdad Bah (869—885 AD) and Abu Zaid of Ziraf (916 AD).[61] These early contacts increase the possibility of the Cēramān legend being genuine. Moreover, the plaque at the mosque of Māḍāyi recording its foundation shows the year 1124 AD.[62] This agrees with the last known date of the last Cēramān, i.e. 1122 AD and supports the tradition that the first ten mosques of the West coast, including Māḍāyi, were founded by the friends of the converted Perumāḷ who was the last of the Cēra line.

According to this legend, Saraf Ibn Malik, Malik Ibn Dinar, Malik Ibn Habib, Ibn Malik, and their wives and friends were responsible for the establishment of the first mosques at Koḍuṅgallūr, Kollam, Māṛāvi, Fakanūr, Manjarūr, Kāñjirakkūttu, Jarfattan, Dahfattan, Fandārina and Cāliyath. Of these places Fakanūr (Barakūr), Manjarūr (Mangalore) and perhaps Kāñjirakkūttu (Kasergode) lay outside the Cēra kingdom. Māṛāvi is the present Māḍāyi mentioned as Mārāhi in the *Mūṣakavamśakāvya*.[63] Jarfattan may be identified as Kharapaṭṭtaṇa, now known as Karipātt, where, according to *Kēraḷōlpatti*, a palace of the Kōlattunāṭu kings existed.[64] Dahfattan may be Dharmapaṭṭaṇa, now known as Dharmaṭam.[65] Fandārina is the same as Pantalāyiṉi Kollam, known to Arab merchants as Fandārina.[66] Chāliyath is the same as Chāliyam near Beypore. All these places developed into big centres of Muslims in the later period and this may be taken to signify the truth of the tradition. Moreover, Calicut or Kozhikode, which became the greatest centre of Muslims in Malabar in the medieval period, is left out of the list and this indicates that the tradition itself was formed before the rise of the principality of Calicut - an event which followed the disintegration of the kingdom of Makōtai. Thus the common tradition that Islam was propagated in Kerala towards the close of the Cēra period with the goodwill and blessings of the last Cēramān is acceptable to the historian as it is confirmed by all available circumstantial evidence.[67]

B) Temple Organisation and Culture

The rise and growth of temples as the force of socio-economic and cultural life in Brahmin settlements appear to be the most impressive phenomenon of the Cēra period. Various aspects of this phenomenon have already been discussed before. It remains now to mention some prominent temples, their forms of worship and administration and their patronage of arts and culture. In fact almost all the artistic and intellectual activities of the period seem to have their centre in the temple so much so that there arose what we may cell a temple culture. This temple culture gradually put its own stamp on the general culture of Kerala.

It is about Tiruvalla temple that we have the most detailed information since the copper plates running into 86 pages and 630 lines contain material from several separate records of different dates collected and arranged subject-wise.[68] Next in order come Trikkākkara with sixteen epigraphs.[69] Then we have Trikkaḍittāṉam with eight inscriptions.[70] There are six inscriptions at Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi, and five at Karikkāḍ, four each at Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr, Perunna and Cōkiram and three at Aviṭṭaṭṭūr.[71] Two records each have been secured from a number of places.[72] There are also a large number of Hindu religious institutions with a single inscription.[73] These numbers are largely related to the accident of survival. Therefore, while the presence of a good

number of inscriptions would indicate an important temple, the opposite of this is not always true. The prominent place occupied by some of the temples with scanty inscriptions could be understood with the help of other sources like literature.

The Vaiṣṇava saints known as Āḻvārs have composed songs on 13 temples of Malaināṭu. These are collectively known as 'pāṭalpeṟṟa' temples or 'divyadēśams' and accorded a special place among the Viṣṇu temples of South India. Namāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi* sings about 12 of these, i.e., Tiruvanparisāram, Tiruvāṭṭāṟu, Tiruvanandapuram, Tirucceṅgaṉṉūr, Tiruppuliyūr, Tiruvanvaṇḍūr, Tiruvallavāḻ, Trikkaḍittāṉam, Tiruvāṟanviḷā, Trikkākkara, Tirumūḻikkaḷam, and Tirunāvāy.[74] Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār's *Periya Tirumoḻi* also celebrates three among these, i.e., Tiruvallavāḻ, Tirumūḻikkaḷam, Tirunāvāy.[75] Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār's *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* refers to another, namely, Tiruviṟṟuvakkōḍe.[76] The three southernmost Viṣṇu temples in this group – Tiruvanparisāram, Tiruvāṭṭāṟu, Tiruvanandapuram – were situated within the Āy territory. The remaining ten divyadēśams were clearly within the Cēra Kingdom. Five of them - Tiruvanvaṇḍūr, Tiruvallavāḻ, Tirukkaḍittāṉam, Tirukkākara, and Tirumūḻikkaḷam - have yielded inscriptions of the Cēra period. Two of them also happen to be grāmakṣētras of the respective Brahmin settlements which are named in the traditional list of 32 original Brahmin settlements of Kerala. Though the precise dates of the Āḻvārs are not known, it is believed that the three Āḻvārs mentioned earlier - Nammāḻvār, Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār and Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār - did not live before the 8th century or after the 10th century.[77] Thus it is obvious that all the 13 chief Vaiṣṇava temples of Malaināṭu were already famous and prosperous long before the close of the Cēra period. In addition to these, the Viṣṇu temple of Trikkulaśēkharapuram in the capital, evidently known after the Āḻvār of that name, seems to have been founded in the 9th century since a record of the 195th year of the temple era may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century on palaeographic and linguistic evidence.[78]

However, the Vaiṣṇava bhakti cult seems to have become popular in Kerala only some time after the Śaiva bhakti cult had established roots in the region. This is seen from the fact that the chief temple of the chief city of the Cēra - Tiruvañcaikkaḷam in Makōtai - happens to be dedicated to Śiva. Its position in the very heart of the city, next to the Cēramān palace, reveals its importance. It is the only temple of Malaināṭu celebrated by the Nāyaṉārs. The songs of Sundara Mūrtti Nāyaṉār, the friend of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, in praise of the lord of Añcaikkaḷam is perhaps the earliest reference to a Kerala temple in contemporary literature.[79] The other big Śiva temples of the period at Perumcellūr, Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi, Tripṟaṅgōḍe, Cōkiram, Aviṭṭattūr, Airāṇikkuḷam, Kaviyūr, Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, Kollam-Rāmēśwaram etc. have not earned a place in early Śaivite Bhakti literature. The

Mūṣakavamśa says that Perumcellūr temple was founded long before the poet's time (11th century) by a Mūṣaka king named Śatasōma.[80] The Śiva temple of Trikkaṇḍiyūr was founded in 823AD as indicated by the records mentioning the temple era.[81] The early temples must have provided the institutional base for the bhakti cult, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, as the bhakti literature is largely centred on temples. In course of time the popularity of the bhakti cult must have been responsible for the foundation of several new temples and the growth and prosperity of old ones.

In the case of some temples we possess what look like the original endowments for the routine expenses and they give us an idea of the ordinary size and functions of a temple in this period. The Cōkkūr inscription of Kōta Ravi, 15th year, is a document of this type. A certain Kaṭampan Kumaran of Karkōṭṭupuram established the temple of Kumara Nārāyaṇapuram and made endowments for Nivēdyam (food offering), Viḷakku, (lamp), Śānti (daily worship), Akkiram (Brahmin feeding), Aṭai (sweet offering) and Bali (sacrifice).[82] These are the usual items of routine found in all the temples of the age. Nivēdyam is also known as Amirtu or Tiruvatmirtu in the records. Viḷakku is often mentioned as Nandāviḷakku (permanent lamp) or Tirunandāviḷakku. Special types of lamp offering like Viriccika viḷakku meant for the month of Vṛśchika are also mentioned.[83] More details of worship are found in some other records. For example, the Tripṛaṅgōḍe inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year, which also appears to be an original endowment, mentions provision for Nāḷpaṅku (daily worship), Tiruccandanam (sandalwood paste), Tiruppukai (incense), Tiruviḷakku (lamp), Nivēdyam (food offering), Oḻukkavi (daily sacrifice), Paṭārarai piṭikkal (procession) and Tiruvakkiram (Brahmin feeding) also.[84] A Kaviyūr inscription of 951 AD mentions Tiruviḷakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Tiruccandanam and Tiruppukai in the temple.[85] Most of the grants and gifts are concerned with the institution of Tiruvamirtu, Tiruviḷakku or Nandāviḷakku and Tiruvakkiram in temples. As the deities were conceived like exalted beings who performed all activities like men, items like Nīrāṭṭtu paḷḷi or Snāpanam (bathing) and Paḷḷikkuṟuppu (sleeping) also formed part of the ritual in temples.[86] The temples were generally dedicated to the worship of Śiva or the various manifestations of Viṣṇu. There were also some like Paṟamban Taḷi and Poṟaṅgāṭṭiri dedicated to Subrahmaṇya and others like Panniyankara and Kumaranallūr dedicated to Bhagavati. However, each temple had a number of sub-shrines where minor deities were worshipped. In the Śiva temple of Tripṛaṅgōḍe, other deities like Mātṛkkaḷ, Gaṇapati, Śṛīkaraṇa, the deity of Kārilattu, the deity of Nārāyaṇananki, the deity Kōtai Kēśavan and Ayyan are separately mentioned.[87] The Viṣṇu temple of Tiruvalla had the deities of the east and the west, Aṅkadēvata, Viṣvaksēna, Vaiśvadaivam, Varāhappan, the lord of Tiruvāyampāṭi, Ayyappan, Mayiyakki, Kuravaran and the deity of Āmantaiyyūr mentioned in the copper-plates.[88]

There are other items of temple routine which throw light on the temple patronage of sciences, arts and literature. Two classes of Brahmins called Bhaṭṭar and Caṭṭar are mentioned in the records of the age. Dancing girls known as Naṅgacci or Tēvaṭicci and drummers called Koṭṭi or Uvaccan are also found in several temple inscriptions. The association of these persons with the temple deserves notice as it shows that the temple, which was primarily a religious institution, also catered to the needs of scholarship and culture. The meagre references to such activities found in epigraphic records of the age can be understood better in the light of sculpture and literature.

Some inscriptions refer to the institutions of Māpāratam in the temple. A Trikkaḍittāṉam temple record mentions the expenses of Māpāratam.[89] A record of Kollam Rāmēśwaram says that the king Rāma Kulaśēkhara instituted Māpāratam in that temple.[90] Therefore, it may be inferred that it was a common practice to appoint a learned Brahmin (Bhaṭṭar) in temples for the purpose of reciting and explaining the *Mahābhārata* to the common people. It shows the way in which the great epic was made part and parcel of the life of the people by means of deliberate and continuous propaganda. The institution of Mahābhārata Bhaṭṭa was familiar to the other South Indian temples also.[91] Then there were other bhaṭṭas who conducted discourses among themselves on sacred literature. This is called Vakkāṇikka (*Vyākhyāna*-discourse) and the Paṭṭakaḷ (Bhaṭṭar) who conducted a discourse within the temple on Tiruvōṇam day are mentioned in Tiruvalla copper plates.[92] The poet Vāsubhaṭṭa claims that he was the disciple of a certain 'Bhārataguru' named Paramēśwara, who lived in the time of king Kulaśēkhara and who was of a pious, learned and charitable disposition. The poet also declares that he was intoxicated with the nectar of Bhārata which induced him to compose *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.[93] The guru mentioned here must have been the Mahābhārata bhaṭṭa of some temple.[94] The king Kulaśēkhara himself was deeply attached to the epic story of the *Mahābhārata*.[95] All these go to show the popularity *Mahābhārata* in the kingdom as a result of its daily recitation in temples and the high status enjoyed by the Mahābhārata bhaṭṭas, noted for their learning and eloquence. The practice of such recitation continued in Kerala for many centuries as we find the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśa* (15th century) referring to it in the course of describing a journey through the countryside.[96] In course of time Bhaṭṭastānas were instituted in temples for other subjects as well so that we find the Calicut Taḷi having an institution called '*Rēvatibhaṭṭa-sthānam*' in the 16th century.[97] In short the temples were fast developing into academic centres for the propagation and popularisation of the Vedic and Puranic lore.

Besides the Paṭṭar who conducted lectures on the *Mahābhārata* or discussed the scriptures in the temple, a class of Brahmins called Caṭṭar or Cāttirar or Chātra figured in temple records. In Tiruvalla there was a stand-

ing arrangement to feed 3 Cāttirar with 2 nāḻi of rice, half a coconut, 3 kaḻañcu of tamarind, and uḻakku salt per head at the time of the midday worship everyday.[98] There was also provision for feeding Cāttirar with 350 nāḻi of rice on the Ōṇam day.[99] Calculating on the basis of 2 nāḻi per head as before, this would indicate the presence of 175 Cāttirar in the place.[100] A record of Indu Kōta, 5th year, from Tirumūḻikkaḻam refers to the provision for 'Uttamākkiram' (feeding of uttamar or noble men) for Cāttirar in that temple.[101] From this it is clear that the term 'Uttamākkiram' is applied to the feeding of the Cāttirar.[102] Therefore, the institution of Uttamākkiram by Meṟṟāḻippuṟattu Ravi Rāman and Neḍumpuṟayūr Yakkan Ayyan at Neḍumpuṟam Taḻi in the 17th year of Indu Kōta may be taken to indicate the presence of Cāttirar in that temple too.[103] Thus it appears that Cāttirar were attached to Tiruvalla, Mūḻikkaḻam and Neḍumpuṟam temples.

More information about the Cāttirar and the institution called Śālai to which they belonged may be gleaned from the Pārthivapuram copper plates of the Āy king Karunandaṭakkan.[104] They speak of the creation of a Śālai and the institution of kalam or seats for 95 Caṭṭar or Cāttirar on the model of Kāntaḷūr Śālai by the king in that temple.[105] There are several references to the destruction of kalam at Kāntaḷūr Śālai in Cōḷa inscriptions and earlier writers have speculated that Śālai might refer to a mere hall or dining hall. Some have suggested that kalam could refer to marakkalam or ship and therefore they assumed that 'Kāntaḷūr Śālai kalamaṟuppu' referred to the destruction of the Cēra fleet at a place called Kāntaḷūr Śālai.[106] The details of Pārthivapuram Śālai are, however, capable of revealing the real character of the institution.

It is clearly stated that out of the 95 kalam 45 were set apart for Paviḻiya caraṇam 36 for Taittirīya caraṇam and 14 for Talavakāra caraṇam, adding that the seats to be endowed in future were to be divided equally between the three sections.[107] These groups represent Brahmins who specialised in particular sections of the Veda. Even these Brahmins could join the Śālai only when five other Caṭṭar certified that they were competent as Vaiyākaraṇa, Mīmāmsaka and Purōhita and that they possessed 'ōttu' or Vedic training in the three kingdoms, probably the three kingdoms of Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya.[108] The routine for Vedic recitation is mentioned.[109] The rules of discipline specified that the Caṭṭar were expected not to quarrel within the temple, not to injure one another or the tenants of the Śālābhōgam and Dēvadānam lands, not to carry arms into the assembly, not to play dice within the temple, and not to keep concubines in their maḍha or residence.[110] The regulations prove that they were a class of Brahmins with Vedic scholarship and military training, leading the life of brahmacārins in monastic centres.

A Jain Prakrit work of the 8th century called *Kuvalayamālā*, composed by Udyōtanasūri, gives a vivid picture of the maḍha of the Caṭṭar where Brah-

mins from different regions received training in all the arts and sciences. They are described as young bachelors of gluttonous habits, undressed hair, and big moustaches. They were devoid of property, friends and relatives, and were obtaining free food from others. The Jain monk takes delight in presenting them as people who loved to gaze at girls and others' wives and to believe that they themselves were attractive.[111] The class of Brahmins called Caṭṭar or Cāttirar have figured in several poetic works of the medieval period in Kerala.[112] The Śālai was the same as Ghaṭika. This identity helps us to understand the role of these Brahmins with spiritual and political training in founding kingdoms, fighting battles, or choosing a successor to the throne.[113] The Cāttirar appear as the heroes and lovers of dancing girls and courtesans in a number of medieval Maṇipṛavāḷam poems, and a peculiar form of military entertainment with dance, drama and music known as 'Cāttirakkaḷi' has also survived in Kerala.[114] The presence of the Cāttirar in large numbers in prominent temples would show that they formed an influential group in society, supporting the temples and temple culture. It also reveals why the capture of Kāntaḷūr Śālai was an important military achievement for the Cōḷa emperors who had to repeat it several times. The Cāttirar functioned as religious and scholarly elite in times of peace and enlisted for military service on the side of their sovereign to defend their strongholds in war-time.

Another group of people attached to the temple were the dancing girls who seem to have formed a wealthy and influential section of the community in the middle ages. The heroines of the Maṇipṛavāḷa poems of Kerala between the 13th and 16th centuries are mostly dancing girls and they must have been attached to the courts and temples. Kings, chieftains, merchants, priests and scholars paid tribute to their beauty and their skill in artistic performance.[115] In this context the few dancing girls mentioned in Cēra inscription acquire a particular significance. They must have played an important part in popularising the temple culture.

A class of temple dancers and musicians must have come into existence along with temples. They were unknown to the early Greek writers on India or to Kauṭalya though the latter gives a detailed account of a category of public women called Gaṇika. The temple dancers did not figure in Jātaka tales or the journals of Chinese travellers in ancient India. Therefore, it is clear that they were not very common till 7th century. References to them are found in *Matsyapurāṇa*, 10th chapter, and *Padma Purāṇa*, 23rd chapter, probably composed in the Gupta age.[116] Hereditary dancing girls associated with religious centres are not mentioned in early Sangam works but they come to the forefront in *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkhalai*. Temple dancers figure prominently in the life and literature of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints of the Bhakti movement also.[117] At any rate "the rise of the Dēvadāsi system in South India may be dated to a period not later than the 8th century A D".[118]

The dancing girls of the temples in the Pallava country were known as Kūttikaḷ, Aṭikaḷmār, Māṇikkattār and Kaṇikaiyār.[119] The same tradition continued in the Cōḷa period also.[120] The terms 'Tēvaṭicci' and 'Naṅgacci' are found in Cēra inscriptions. The first term signifies a 'servant at the feet of the Lord' and the second simply denotes a dancing girl though the context clarifies that she was a dancing girl of the temple. The term 'acci' is the feminine gender suffix indicating regard for the person. A gift of land by Ciṟṟaṟaiyil Naṅgaiyār is mentioned in the Cōkkūr inscription of Kōta Ravi, 15th year.[121] This is perhaps the earliest known reference to a Naṅgai in Cēra inscriptions. Mēṟṟaḷippuṟattu Śankara Naṅgacci is mentioned as donor in a Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of the 17th year of Indu Kōta.[122] Śṟīdhara Naṅgacci alias Tribbuvana Mahādēvi, evidently a person of high status as indicated by the titles, made land gifts to the same temple in the 18th year of Bhāskara Ravi.[123] The payments to Naṅgaimār, Kāntarpikar, and Naṭṭuvanār are mentioned in another inscription of this temple.[124] The mention of Kāntarpikar (instrumental musicians) and Naṭṭuvanār (dance instructor in Bharatanāṭya) makes it clear that Naṅgai was the dancing girl of the temple.[125] The Naṅgaimār are classified as uttama (high class) madhyama (middle class) and adhama (low class) and their wages are graded accordingly. It shows that the class of women called Naṅgai included expert dancers as well as others who performed menial services in the temple. Four Tēvaṭiccikaḷ attached to Tiruvalla temple received 12 nāḻi rice on the Ōṇam day for their performance.[126] Since they are mentioned after the Paṭṭakaḷ and along with the drummers it is clear that they were dancing girls and not menial servants of the temple.

There were also male actors in the temple known as Cākkai or Cākyār. Their descendants continue to perform Kūttu (mono-acting and storytelling) and Kūṭiyāṭṭam (play acting), forming a sub-caste of hereditary professional actors in Kerala. A Kūttaccākkaiyan of Paṟaiyūr (Paṟavūr) is mentioned in *Cilappatikāram* as an expert dancer who enacted the story of Śiva.[127] The Cōḷa inscriptions refer to Cākkaimār and the payment of 'nṛtyabhōga' to them in terms of 'Cākkai kāṇi' land by way of remuneration for their 'Āriyakkūttu' performance. [128] Though the term Cākyār itself is not found in records of the Cēra period, the term 'Cākkaimār Virutti' is mentioned in Kollūr Maḍham plates.[129] A record of Trikkaḍittāṉam refers to the institution of Uttira viḻā (Uttiram festival) in the temple by Śṟīvallavan Kōta. One of the items mentioned is the Kūttu to be performed every day for ten days of the festival's duration.[130] A record of Kollam-Rāmēśwaram refers to the institution of Tirukkūttu in the temple.[131] There is reference in Tiruvalla plates to the payment to a person who performed 'Kāḷiyānkam kūttu' on the Rōhiṇi day in the month of Vṛśchika.[132] 'Kāḷiyānkam' is the fourth act of the Sanskrit play called *Bālacarita* which is a favourite among the Cākyārs of Kerala.[133] This is evidence to show that the enacting of Sanskrit plays had become quite popu-

lar in Kerala temples. According to the tradition followed by the families of Cākyārs, king Kulaśēkhara, the dramatist, along with his friend Tōlan, revived the Sanskrit theatre in Kerala. The two plays of Kulaśēkhara – *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* and *Subhadrādhanañjayam* - are included in the Cākyār's repertoire. The king's courtier Tōlan is stated to have supplied the elaborate Malayalam passages for the Vidūṣaka intended for a native Malayalee audience.[134] In Kūṭiyāṭṭam we find the continuation, reformation and vulgarisation of Sanskrit theatrical tradition which flourished in the North Indian courts of ancient Ujjain, Kanauj and Kashmir and which was adopted and promoted in Kāñci during the 8th century. That the organizers of Kūṭiyāṭṭam in the 9th century had been inspired by the Pallava example is clear from the popularity of *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka* among the Cākyārs of Kerala.[135]

Instrumental music formed an integral part of the temple service. There were drummers known as Koṭṭikaḷ or Uvaccar in temples. Their duty was to sound the drum at the time of the worship every day.[136] The Kāntarpikar (instrumental musicians) are mentioned along with Naṅgaimār (dancing girls) in a record of Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi.[137] The Koṭṭikaḷ or Uvaccakaḷ and their Virutti are mentioned in a record of Trikkaḍittāṉam.[138] There was an arrangement for five drummers to perform at Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi every day in Tiruvalla temple.[139] Six drummers were to perform on Tiruvōṇam day in the same place.[140] The total number of drummers and pipers come to 33 in that temple.[141] Drummers are mentioned in other parts of the copper plates also.[142] It is stated that Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu, instituted a Pañcamaśabdam in that temple with nine persons - 4 ceṇḍai, 1 timilai, 1 cēkaṇḍi, 1 pair of kaittāḷam, and 2 kāḷam - to perform at Śṛībali three times a day.[143] There was an arrangement for Pañcamaśabdam to be sounded at Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi in Tirunelli temple.[144] Maṇalmaṇṟattu Yakkan Śṛīkaṇṭan, Governor of Naṇṟuḷaināṭu, instituted Pañcamaśabdam at Trikkaḍittāṉam temple.[145] Five persons were to perform at the time of Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi (sacred bath) and four persons at the time of Tiruppali (Śṛībali or the ritual sacrifice). This musical programme seems to have made the drummers an indispensible part of the temple organisation.

There was a practice of organising trusts called Gaṇam or Kaṇam for the purpose of conducting special feasts and festivals in the temple. Aristocratic donors often left plots of land in the hands of a group of men (Gaṇam or Kaṇam) so that they may cultivate and pay the rent in the form of commodities required for a particular celebration. Committees of this type are found in several temples. In Tiruvalla Viṣṇu temple there was a Tirudvādaśi Kaṇam consisting of twenty share holders for the celebration of Dvādaśi. Each member had to supply oil for lamp for 18 days with his Bhōgam (share) and this went by rotation, starting from Citra Viṣu day. If anyone failed for a day he had to pay double. If anyone failed for three days, he had to pay double the

quantity of oil and ten Kāṇam of gold as fine. If he failed for the whole period of eighteen days, the fine came to 6 Kaḻañcu of gold. For any period between three days and eighteen days, he had to pay half this amount of gold as fine. He who failed for all the eighteen days was not entitled to have Ūṭṭu(feast), Kūṭṭam (assembly) or Pāṭṭam (share of rent) until he paid up the entire fine. His Paṭakāram (share of property) shall be divided among the rest and they shall divide the share of responsibility also. The trustees were not empowered to mortgage the property among themselves or give it outside. Trust property and trust expenditure were granted immunity from encroachment of any type. Those who acted against them were liable to fine as well as excommunication according to Mūḻikkaḻam rules.[146] These laws, as well as the family names of Makiḻañcēri, Tengamaṇ, Maṅgalaccēri, Iḷamaṇ, Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Puñcaippaṭakāram etc. prove that the Kaṇam consisted of Brahmins of Tiruvalla grāma.[147] The same Tirudvādaśi Kaṇattār are mentioned in another passage of Tiruvalla plates as the recipients of some Cērikkal property as Kīḻīṭu, i.e., they are given paddy by way of rakṣābhōga or protection fee for undertaking the protection of a property. It is stipulated that if they misbehave in the Cērikkal they shall forgo the revenue.[148] Other Kaṇams like Tiruvātirakkaṇam, Uttirāṭakkaṇam and Tiruvōṇakkaṇam also functioned in Tiruvalla temple.[149]

A certain Uttira Kaṇam was established at Trikkaḍittāṉam temple by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, for the conduct of the Uttiraviḻa, every year, for ten days beginning with Kārttika day in the month of Kumbha. The main items of the festival were a grand feast with 'kaṟi' and 'ney' for 50 Brahmins and Kūttu every day throughout the ten days' programme.[150] We learn from another inscription that the governor's birthday fell on Uttṛam and that his mother was fond of instituting charities in temples.[151] That the Kaṇam became an influential body at Trikkaḍittāṉam is known from the fact that they were also associated with the meetings of the village proprietors in that place.[152] A certain Tirunāḷ Kaṇam is noticed at Perunna temple also.[153] These permanent committees or trusts attached to the temple, functioning under the village assembly, took care of the festivals and feasts, contributing an element of colour and gaiety to rural existence.

Notes and References

1. *M.V.K.*, Sarga 12. Slōka 112.
   "Kṛtāspadāḥ kānana sattvajātayaḥ
   Tapōbhṛtām siddhimatāmivāśramē
   Jagatpratītātiviruddhavṛttayaḥ
   Sahākhilā yatra vasanti dēvatāh".
2. Rock Edict no. II of Aśōka. It is described how the emperor sent missionaries to all frontier kingdoms in all quarters including Kēraḷaputō, Satīyaputō, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Tambapanni in the South. For a discussion of early Buddhist influence in South India, see A. Ayyappan and P.R. Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism*, pp. 52-8; Sastri, *South India*, pp. 85-90.
3. The title Imayavaranpan is used by Neṭum Cēraḷ Ātan. See *Patiṟṟuppattu*, I, II & V. His son Cenkuṭṭuvan is also called by the same title. *Cilappatikāram*, XXVI, 23 and XXX, 161. The title Vānavaranpan is used by Utiyan Cēraḷ Ātan. See *Puṟam*, 2 and 12. It is also found in the case of Āṭukōtpāṭṭu Cēraḷ Ātan. See *Patiṟṟuppattu*, VI-6. Following Naccinārkiniyar, the traditional Tamil scholars have usually interpreted the two terms in a fantastic way. They take Imayavaranpan as meaning "he who had Imayam (Himalaya) as his boundary". Similarly they take Vānavaranpan as meaning "he who had Vānam (sky) as his boundary". The alternative suggestion made by scholars that they mean the aṉpan (beloved) of Imayavar or Vānavar (both meaning Gods) appears to be more satisfactory. In view of the fact that king Tissa of Ceylon called himself 'Dēvānāmpiya' in honour of Aśōka it is possible that the Cēras also took such a title and that it appeared in its Tamil form in Sangam literature.
4. In both epics the authors have shown their bias in favour of the non-Vedic religions. While Kaṇṇaki, the heroine of *Cilappatikāram*, is deified as the Goddess of Paṭṭini cult popular among Jains, Maṇimēkalai, the heroine of *Maṇimēkalai*, becomes a Buddhist nun.
5. For details, see Gopinatha Rao, 'Bauddha and Jaina vestiges in Travancore', *T.A.S.*, II, III, pp. 115-25 and plates I, II, III. All the five are found in sitting posture. One has lost the head and another has lost the left hand and part of the body. See also A. Ayyappan and P.R. Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism*, pp. 72-5.
6. Index no. B. 2. The present writer has rejected the date suggested by Gopinatha Rao and Eḷamkuḷam and accepted a new date. For the arguments and proof, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 10-44.
7. *Ibid.*, Slōka 1-3.
   "Yaḥ kalyāṇamayaḥ svayam vitanutē yaḥ kalppakasya sthitim
   Yasmādabhyuditastamāmsi haratē saddharmagharmadyutih
   Yatpādāśrayiṇō bhavanti sukhinassarvē gaṇāh prāṇinān
   Dhēyānmerurivāparastrijagatim sarvām sa śauddhōdaniḥ".
   Ātmākāra grahaṇa vimukhāvāhatāpāngalīlāu
   Prāptāu nityam śṛutimati tṛṣānēkarūpavabōdhāu
   Dēvya bhūmērnnikhilakumatidhvāntarōdhānvitāya
   Nētrāyētām jita kuvalayau dharmasanghāu cirāya.

Niṣyandamānakaruṇāmṛtavāripūra
Nirdhautanirmalatarēva virāja mānā
Lakṣmīñcirāya bhajatāmavalokitasya
Diśyāttu naḥ śiśiradīdhiti tulya kāntiḥ".

8. *Ibid.*, L. 10.
9. *T.A.S.*, I, XII, p. 187.
10. *Ibid.*, II, II, p. 123.
11. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, pp. 223-4.
12. *M.V.K.*, Sarga 12, Slōka 96-8.
'Prathitamiha jinasya śṛīnikētam kadācit
Muṣitajanavipattērālayam mūlavāsam
Pṛthu caṭula turangakṣubdha vēlātaṭāntaḥ
Kabaḷayitumudanvānuddhatam vyājajrimbhē.
"Sapadi ca tamudantam sanniśamyāttakōpāh
Paribhavamiva śatrōrātmanōnantarasya
pratijaladhi sadūrādudyatāṣiḥ pṛatasthē
Na khalu jagati dhīrasvasya Paśyantya bhūmim
"Praḷaya iva gabhīradhvānamullanghya vēlā
Visṛta caṭula vīcēruddhitasyāṛṇavasya
Tulita jaladaśalkaistūrṇamabāddhya sētum
Balavadupalabhaṅgaih stambhayāmāsa vēgam".
For the date of Vikṛama Rāma, see Divisions of the Kingdom, under Kōlattunāṭu.
13. *M.V.K.*, Sarga XIV, Slōka 25-26.
"Upasṛtya nityasusamṛddha
Vibhava gurudharmapāragam
Tatṛa sugatamatikāruṇikam
Sucimūlavāsajuṣamabhyavandata.
"Pṛatigṛhya ca pṛavarajaina
Janakṛta jayāśiṣāh
Kōpabharita hṛdayassahasā
Prayayau parairapahṛtam svamandiram".
The term 'Jina' was applied to the Buddha also.
14. Foucher, *L' Iconographie Bouddique*, I.P. 105 quoted by Subrahmanya Aiyar, *J.R.A.S.*, II, p. 172.
15. Pāliyam Copper plates. Index no. B. 2, Slōka 10. The Cēra king in this period was Vijayarāga.
16. See Index no. A. 68, Ll. 3-5 and 10-15. "Kulaicēkara Kōyilatikārikaḷ..... nālu taḷiyaiyum tirukkuṇṛappoḷaiyum kūṭṭi koṇṭu neṭiya taḷi irunnaruḷi".
17. See K.P.P. Menon, *History of Kerala*, I, p. 121. "At Trikkunnappuḷa in Travancore the sea was more than a couple of miles away from the shore till a few years ago, and

ruins of a splendid temple that was washed away by the sea were visible distinctly within the memory of those now living".

18. *Bhagavadajjukam Kramadīpika* 5th day's prose. The work remains unpublished. The present writer copied the relevant passages from a palm leaf manuscript in the custody of Prof. K.P. Narayana Pisharodi, S.K.V. College, Trichur.

19. The Pallava king Mahēndra Varma I (580-630 AD) refers to his own *Mattavilāsaprahasanam* as well as *Bhagavadajjuka*, probably composed by Bōdhayāna, See Sastri, *South India*, p. 345.

20. For the worship of Ayyappan or Śāsta in Kerala, see Section on Temple Organisation and Culture in the same chapter. For Śāsta in Tuḷuva, see Salatore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 377-8. For Cōḷa empire, see Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 646. For Ceylon, See M.D. Raghavan, *India in Ceylonese History Society and Culture*. (Bombay, 1964), p. 64.

21. The *Amarakōśa* uses the term Śāsta for the Buddha. "Munīndraḥ Śighanaḥ Śāsta".

22. 'Śaraṇam Ayyappa' is the chief slogan of devotees and this reminds one of 'Buddham Śaraṇam Gacchāmi'. The traditional priests of Ayyappan are not Brahmins but low caste people. A spirit of casteless brotherhood also prevails among the devotees of Ayyappan. In Brahmanical temples the place of Ayyappan has always been outside the prākāra.

23. The typical representation of Ayyappan depicts him in a sitting posture with one foot or both feet resting on ground. He has bow and arrow in hands and the usual ornaments like Kaṭaka, Kaṅkaṇa, Makuṭa etc.

24. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 29-32.

25. P.K.P. Panickar, 'Perumāḷ Paḷḷivāṇar', *K.S.P.*, 3, pp. 147-51; S. Sanku Ayyar, *Kēraḷavum Buddhamatavum*, pp. 45-53.

26. The Nīlampērūr temple was known as Paḷḷippaṭikkal. The Bhagavati was called Paḷḷiyil Bhagavati. The trustee of the temple was known as Paḷḷiyil Mēṇavan. The Kerala Brahmins refused to worship in these temples. See *R.V.R.I.B.*, I, pp. 37-8; *K.S.P.*, 3, pp. 147-51.

27. Gopinatha Rao, *T.A.S.*, II, III, p. 124; S. Sanku Ayyar , *Kēraḷavum Buddhamatavum*, pp. 71-2.

28. *Akam* 55; *Puram* 65 and 66. This Cēra king is said to have been wounded in the back by his Cōḷa rival Karikāla in the battle of Venni. He voluntarily courted death by starvation.

29. See T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Palaeography* and I. Mahadevan, 'Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions', *Seminar on Inscriptions*, (Madras, 1968).

30. *Cilappatikāram*, Patikam. "Kuṇavāyirkkōṭṭattaracu tuṟantirunta kuṭa kkōccēraḷ iḷaṅkōvaṭikaṭku". The old commentator Atiyārkkunallār designates Kuṇavāyir Kōṭṭam as Tirukkuṇavāyil in Kerala. The word Kōṭṭam signifies a non-vedic shrine which is identified as a Jain Vihāra in this case because of the author's pronounced Jain outlook on life.

31. The old name of Matilakam village was Trikkaṇā Matilakam. It is referred to as 'Gunaka' 'Matilakam' and 'Kunaka' in *Kōkasandēśa* (15th century) Slōka no. 45, 46, 47, 48.

"Guṇakābhyāsabhūmim bhajēthāh"

"Appāl ninṟe tava matilakam kāṇalām kāntilakṣmi"

"Celvam cērnnakkuṇakayilakam pukku nī tekku nōkki"

"Cemmē kāṇmāṇarutu kuṇakettampurāne dvijanmār".

Archaeological excavations were conducted in 1970 in this place by the Archaeological Survey of India and the present writer also participated. An 8th - 9th century structure different from the usual Hindu temple in shape was revealed in the traditional temple compound there. This might have been the foundation of the Jain temple. Two Rājarāja Cōḷa coins were also discovered from the site. The official report has not yet been published.

32. Index no. A. 62, L. 9. "Ippaṭāraruṭaiya iṭaiyīṭu tiru kkuṇavāyoṭokka yilakkikka kaṭavar aṟunūṟṟuvaru".

33. *Ibid.*, Ll. 10-12. "Ippaṭārakkaṭutta tēvakāriyavun tariccirukkil potuvāḷ ceṉṟu coṉṟatu vīṭṭikkoṭukkakkaṭavar aṟunūṟṟuvarum.Vīṭṭikkoṭātavan tirukkuṇavāy ccelluñcelnaṭai muṭṭiccōrāvōr".

34. Index no. C. 28, Ll. 14-17. "Ippaḷḷikalin pūmikaḷum uḷaikkalam pūmiyum paḷḷiyuṭaikkārāṇmaiyum evvakaiyālumoral tirukkuṇavāyttēvaraiyum...".

35. Index no. B. 1, Ll. 1- 4; Ll. 10-13. "Ceṉṟatu vilakkil tirukuṇavā piḷaicōrāvitu." *Ibid.*, Ll. 1-4. "Tirukkuṇavāttēvarkku cellāniṉṟayāṇṭu nūṟṟumuppattēḷu".

36. This great Tamil epic was at first included in Sangam works on the basis of the Gajabāhu-Cenkuṭṭuvan synchronism. However, several scholars like Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai, K.R. Srinivasan etc. would now place it in the 8th century. It is certainly far removed from other Sangam works in style of language and the nature of society reflected there. The story might have been borrowed from the old legends and the authorship of Iḷamkō Aṭikaḷ, younger brother of Cēran Cenkuṭṭuvan, was probably a literary fiction. It could have been composed by an anonymous monk of Kuṇavāyir kōṭṭam in Kerala. See M.G.S. Narayanan, "New Light on Kuṇavāyir Kōṭṭam", *J.I.H.*, XLVIII, III, pp. 691- 706.

37. Index no. B. 23, Ll. 1-7. "Tirukkāḷiya ppaṭārarkku tiruvabhiṣēkancētu cellāniṉṟayāṇṭu nūṟṟeṇpatton patāmāṇtur---kuṇavāynallūr vicaiyarākiccuvarattu".

38. It has a Gajapṛṣṭha shrine, two-storeyed in appearance. The arrangement of pilasters and niches would suggest 13th century as it reflects later Cōḷa influence.

39. *Kōkasandēśam*, Slōka no. 47 and 48. The lord of Kuṇaka is called Purāri in the 47th slōka - "Perumkōyil kāṇām purārēh". The next slōka asks the bird messenger - there is a pun on the word 'dvija' which is applicable to Brahmins and birds alike - to stay outside since dvijas are not allowed to go inside – "Cemmē kāṇmāṇarutu kuṇakattampurāne dvijanmārkkenṟāl nīyum".

40. See N.G. Unnithan, 'Jain Relics of Ālathūr', *J.I.H.*, XLIV, II, p. 540 and Plates I & II. The images were kept in the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

41. See T.A. Gopinatha Rao, 'Bauddha and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore', *T.A.S.*, II, II, p. 130. Plate IX. Fig. I, 2 and 3.

42. P. Anujan Achan. 'A Buddha image at Paruvaśśēri', *R.V.R.I.B.*, VI, II, p. 118; See also *A.R.A.D.C.*, 1936-7, p. 12 and Plates no. IV, V and VI also.

43. See T.A. Gopinatha Rao, 'Chitṟāḷ Inscription', *T.A.S.*, I, XII, pp. 193-5 and Plates.

44. The Chūḍamani Nighaṇṭu says that Cāraṇas are the eight classes of Samaṇas who have attained a stage of spiritual evolution where they are able to conceal themselves in flowers, water or sky. The *Sendanār Divākara Nighaṇṭu* says that the term is applied to Jain ascetics also. The Jain caves at Ellora are excavated on a hill called 'Chāraṇādri', i.e., the hill of Chāraṇas.

45. See Note no. 43 above.
46. See Gopinatha Rao, 'Bauddha and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore', *T.A.S.*, II, II, pp. 125-6. A lady teacher from Tiruccāraṇattu is found among the donors at Kaḷugumalai, another Jain centre in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. See *S.I.I.*, V, no. 324 and 326.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 126 and Plate no. V, Fig. 1 and 2.
48. See P.B. Desai, 'Jainism in Kerala'. *J.I.H.*, XXXV, II, p. 245; see also Bhattacharya, *Jaina Iconography*, p. 142.
49. Burnell, *I.A.*, III, p. 310.
50. *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, Part. I, p. 130.
51. According to John de Monte Corvino, the traveller, the Nestorians in China and Tartary were called Tarisa. Having made this observation, Rev. Taylor suggests that the title might be derived from the name of Tārsus which was St. Paul's birth place. See *T.A.S.*, II, II, no.9, p. 73. Some old songs of the Christians use the word 'Tarutāykkanmār' for their ancestors. See 'Paḷḷippāṭṭu', *Purātaṉa Pāṭṭukaḷ*, p. 64. "Kāraṇappeṭṭa tarutāykkanmār Kālattu paḷḷi paṇitirunnu".
52. See C.P.T. Winckworth, 'A New Interpretation of The Pahlavi Cross Inscriptions' *K.S.P.*, no.3, p. 159. For the St. Thomas Mount and Kottayam crosses, See *I.A.*, III, pp. 308-16. For Kaṭamaṟṟam Cross, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, IX. The Muṭṭuchira inscription has not been published. See also 'Kaṭamaṟṟam Pahlavi Cross'. *T.A.S.*, VII, I, no 51, pp. 66-75.
53. *K.S.P.*, no.3, *Op. Cit.*, p. 163. Some attempts have been made earlier by Burnell, West, etc., to arrive at a satisfactory text of the inscription.
54. This tradition is recorded in the Syriac text of the 'Brief History of the Syrians of Malabar', prepared by a native priest and included in Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, I, p. 27. Latin. p. 125. See K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, I, p. 273. See also T.K. Joseph. 'Mār Sāpir and Mār Prōdh', *I.A.*, for March 1928, III, p. 311.
55. This name is variously pronounced. It is 'Prōt' in Land's Syriac text. Gouva has 'Prōdh', La Croz writes 'Firouz'. Burnell puts 'Aphrōttu'. Swanston gives it as 'Ambrōse'. See *K.S.P.*, no. 6, p. 322. F.N. 2.
56. These two prelates who died in Malabar have been regarded as saints by the St. Thomas Christians. The Synod of Diamper, 1599, branded them as Nestorian heretics at the instance of the Portuguese.
57. Burnell, *I.A.*, III, p. 311; Rev. J. Monteiro D' Aguiar, 'The Magna Carta or St. Thomas Christians', *K.S.P.*, no.4. P. 170.
58. See T.K. Joseph, *K.S.P.*, no. 4, p. 186.
59. See Logan, *Malabar*, I, p. 195.
60. Index no. A. 51.
61. See K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, II, p. 549. See also Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, intn., P. XIV; *Old Records of the India office*, p. 109; Kerr, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, I, p. 79.
62. Index no. B. 25. For details, See Chapter V Cōḷa Invasions and the Last Phase.
63. See *M.V.K.*, Sarga 14. Slōka 66, "Mārāhi nāma nagaram nṛpatiścakāra". Since Valabha is described as the founder of the city, the event must be placed at the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century. It is quite likely that the city had grown

considerably during a period of more than a century and attracted merchants from Arabia.

64. *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 56. This place is not mentioned in *M.V.K.* Therefore, it was probably founded after the beginning of the 11th century. Some scholars have identified Jarfattan as Śṛīikaṇṭhapuram but there seems to be nothing to support the inference.

65. This is a suburb of Tellicherry and a Muslim centre.

66. See Nainar, *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of South India*, pp. 18-19.

67. The popular version of the legend places the conversion of the last Cēramān Perumāḷ in the life-time of Prophet Mohammad and sometimes in 825 AD. These dates are unreliable.

68. Index no. A. 80.

69. Index no. A. 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 35, 41, 44, 45 and B. 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 20 and C. 39.

70. Index no. A. 31, 32, 38, 42, 47, 48, 64 and B. 20.

71. Neḍumpuṛarm Taḷi - Index no. A. 9, 27, 43, 69, 70, C.38. Karikkāḍ- Index no. C. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr - Index no. A. 22, B. 13, 14, C. 41; Perunna-Index no A. 33, 49, 68, C. 42; Cōkiram - Index no. C. 17, 18, 19, 20; Aviṭṭattūr- Index no. A. 10, 11, 12.

72. Tiruvāṛṛuvāy, Index no. A I, 4; Iriññālakkuḍa, no. I. A. 3, 74; Tirunandikkara, no. A. 7, C. 45; Indianūr, no. A. 15, 63; Tirumūḻikkaḷam, no. A. 23, 37; Tirunelli, no. A. 36, 46; Tiruvangūr, no. A. 50, 77; Trichambaram, no. A. 61, C. 1; Paṛamban Taḷi, no. A. 65, C. 30; Muduvallū, no. A. 78, C. 13; Rāmantaḷi, no. B. 3, 21; Kaviyūr, no. B. 5, 6; Tirumaṛṛakōḍe, no. A. 52, C. 15; Trikkulaśēkharapuram, no. B. 22, C. 32; Kāḷiyampaḷḷi, no. C. 5, 6; Airāṇikuḷam, no. C. 35, 36.

73. Cōkkūr, Tṛpṛaṅgōḍe, Poṛaṅgāṭṭiri, Tripūṇithuṛa, Panniyankara, Kāvuntara, Mānipuram, Pudukkōḍe, Pantalāyaṉi Kollam taḷi, Pullūr-Koḍavalam, Eramam, Tiruvañcikkuḷam, Tiruvaṇṇūr, Nallūr, Tiruvālūr, Kollam-Rāmēśvaram, Pantalāyaṉi Kollam, Talakkuḷattūr, Chēlaṉṉūr, Tirunellāi, Parumala, Ayirūr, Dēvidēvēśvaram, Tiruvaḍūr, Vellūr, Tṛkkaṇḍiyūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Māniyūr, Kuttiyāṭṭoor, Velam, Pulpatta, Rāmanāṭṭukara, Panniyūr, Rāyiranallūr, Painkaṇṇūr, Pūkkōṭṭūr, Alanallūr Mēltrikkōyil, Alanallūr Naraḷam, Polpuḻḻy, Karipōḍe, Peruvamba, Tṛpṛayār, Cēnnamaṅgalam, Uḻiyanūr, Kāmapuram, Kumaranallūr, and Nāvāykuḷam. Index no. A. 8, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, 39, 40, 53, 58, 62, 67, 71, 72, 75, 76 and 79. Index no. B 4, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 24. Index no. C. 2, 3, 4, 12, 14, 16, 21, 22, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34, 37, 40. 43, 44.

74. For the texts, see M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Cēravēndar Ceyyutkōvai*, II, pp. 207-42, 249-77.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-48.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-4. The 5th section of *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* is devoted to the lord of Tiruviṛṛuvakōḍe. M. Raghava Aiyangar supported the Koṅgu theory in *Āḻvār Kālanilai*, pp. 167–8, but changed his view later and identified the place as Tirumaṛṛakōḍe near Pattambi. Two fragmentary inscriptions of the Cēra period are found in this ancient temple. See Index no. B. 18 and C. 15.

77. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār is placed in the 8th century and Nammāḻvār in the 9th century by K. A.N. Sastri, *South India*, pp. 371-2. Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār being a Cēra king of Makōtai must be placed in the Cēra period. The question of his identity is taken up for discussion elsewhere. See Chapter XIII Architecture, Sculpture, Literature.

78. See Index no. B. 22. Trikkulaśēkharapuram temple inscription.

79. For the text, See M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Cēravēndar Ceyyutkōvai*, II, pp. 278-82.
80. *M.V.K.*, Sarga 13, Slōka 67.
81. *T.A.S.*, I, XVI, pp. 289 - 91.
82. Index no. A. 8, Ll. 1-48.
83. Index no. A. 80, L. 199.
84. Index no. A. 13, Ll. 13- 23. "Paṭārar uṭaiya nāḷpaṅkiṉukkun tiruccantaṉattiṉukkun nivēdyattiṉukkum oḻukkavikkum paṭāraraippiṭippāṉum tiruvakkirattiṉukkum".
85. Index no. B. 5, Ll. "Makiḻañcērittāyan cēntan tiruviḷakkun tiruvamirtun tiruvakkiramun tiruccannaṉamum tiruppukaiyum amaccān".
86. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 18, 339-40, 438.
87. Index no. A. 13, Ll. 23-40.
88. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 10-13 and 410-413.
89. Index no. A. 42, Ll. 1–2. "Paṭṭārakaruṭaiya tiruvamirtu nantāviḷakkuntiruvakkiramu māpāratamu pūmiyōṭamaiñña celavittiṉaiyum..." *Ibid.*, L. 4. "Tiruviḷakkum tiruvamirtu akkirattiṉu māpāritattiṉumivai ittilukkumuḷḷatu maṟṟonṟiṉu koḷḷavum koṭukkavum peṟār".
90. Index no. A. 68, Ll. 23-29. "Āṭṭaikkōḷ namakkāramum māpāratamum tiruvuḷḷam paṇṇiyaruḷiyār amaiccuḷḷurattiya kulaicēkara kōyilatikārikaḷ".
91. See *S.I.I.*, V,II, p. 534; see also Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, p. 176.
92. Index no. A. 80, L. 343-5. "Matilakattaṉṟu vakkāṇiccirukkum paṭṭakaḷ ōrōttarkkaiññāḻi cceytari koṭuppitu".
93. Vāsubhaṭṭa, *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, Preface.
"Tasya ca vasudhāmavatāḥ kālē kulaśēkharasya vasudhāmāvatāḥ
Vēdānāmadhyāyī bhārata gururabhavadādyanā madhāyī
Yam prāpa rāmācāryam dēvī ca girām purāṇaparamācāryam
Yamaśubha santōdāntam paramēśwaramupadiśānti santōdāntam
Jñānasamagrāmēyam nivasantam vipṛasattama grāmēyam
Samajani kaścittasya pṛavaṇaḥ śiṣyōnuvarttakaścittasya
Kāvyānāmālōkē paṭumānasō vasudēvanāmālōkē.
Kīrtimadabhrāntēna smaratā bharatasudhā madabhrāntēna
Jagadapahāsāyamitā pārthakathā kalmaṣāpahā sā yamitā".
94. According to tradition a certain Mahābhārata Bhaṭṭatiri and Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭatiri together paid homage to king Kulaśēkhara at the time of his coronation. See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 37.
95. Kulaśēkhara, *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, prologue. "Matimandaramathita Mahābhārata pārāvāra parigṛhīta jñānāmṛtasañcayasya".
96. *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, Part. I, Slōka 89. For details, See Eḷamkuḷam, 'Paṭṭattāṉam', *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 86-94.
97. See K.V. Krishna Ayyar. 'Kozhikode Taḷi' and M.G.S. Narayanan, "Taḷikṣētravum Paṭṭattāṉvum', *Tali Temple Kalasam Souvenir*, (Kozhikode, 1967). pp. 81- 85 and 95 - 101.
98. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 14-17. "Maṟṟēppātiyu mūvar cāttiraramiṛtu ceyvitu. Kiḻakku tiruppukai kāṭṭiyavāṟē cāttirarkku pūvuncantaṉamum pukaiyum viḷakkum koṭuppitu. Onṟaraittēṅgaiyum onpatin kaḻainu puḷiyum uḻakkuḻakkuppum cāttirarkku". It is

pointed out that a peculiar custom of feeding one, supposedly a student of Vedanta, exists in Tiruvalla even today. It was originally meant for a brahmacāri with Vedic scholarship though the rules are now relaxed. It must be a relic of the feast for Cāttirar instituted earlier. See *K.S.P.*, II, Annals and Antiquities, p. 73.

99. *Ibid.*, Ll. 409-10. "Tirumaṭaippaḷḷi nāḻiyāleḻunūṟṟu nāḻiyari aṭṭu tiruvamiṛtu ceyvitu. Pāti cāttirarkamiṛtu".

100. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam says that the number of Cāttirar came to one thousand. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, III, p. 245-6. This is an exaggeration. His argument that Śālais could not have been meant exclusively for Brahmins may be rejected in the absence of any supporting evidence.

101. Index no. A. 23, L. 5. "Uttamakkirattiṉu cāttirarai yeṛṛikkoṇṭu".

102. A record from Pārthivaśēkharapuram also describes the food of the Chātra as Uttamāgra. See *T.A.S.*, I, XVI. A. Pārthivapuram inscription. L. 2. "Chātrēbhyaḥ punaruttamāgramadadānnārāyaṇaḥ śārnginaḥ prītyai".

103. Index no. A. 27, Ll. 28-29 and 30-31. "Meṛṛāḷippuṛattu iravi irāmaṇamaicca uttamakkiram onṛu" "Neṭumpuṛaiyūṛ iyakkanayyan amaicca uttamakkiram onṛu".

104. For the text, see *T.A.S.*, I, I, pp. 1-14. The mistakes in Gopinatha Rao's edition have been corrected in Eḷamkuḷam, *Paścāttalattil*, pp. 92-113.

105. *Ibid.*, Li, 6-7. "Kāntaḷūr mariyādiyāl toṇṇūṛṛu aivar caṭṭarkku cālaiyuñceytān śṛīkōkkarunantaṭakkan".

106. For the Cōḷa epigraphic references and the controversy regarding the meaning of terms like 'Śālai', 'Kalam' etc. in which Dr. Hultzsch, Gopinatha Rao, Desivinayagam Pillai, Nilakanta Sastri and Eḷamkuḷam have presented their different views, see *S.I.I.*, I, no 146; *T.A.S.*, II, 1-6; *K.S.P.*, II, pp. 100-106; Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 180-90. F.N. 7; and Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 53-58. The present writer has undertaken a survey of the evidence and suggested a new comprehensive hypothesis regarding the character of Śālai or Ghaṭikai and tried to assess the role of Cāttirar or Chātra in the expansion of Aryan Brahmanical settlements and culture. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Kāṇtaḷūr Śālai-New Light on Aryan Expansion in South India' *Proceedings of I.H.C.*, Jabalpur, 1970.

107. *T.A.S.*, I, I, pp. 1-14. *Op. Cit.* Fourth Plate, First Side. LI. 2-4. "Iccālaikkuppeyta kalattil paviḻiyaccaraṇattāruṭaiya kalam nāṛpattaintu; tayittiriyaccaraṇattār uṭaiya kala muppattāṛu; talavakāra ccaraṇattār uṭaiya kalam patināḷu; inivarum kala mūṇṛu caraṇattārkkum oppatu". The terms paviḻiyaccaraṇam (Bhaviṣya), tayittirīyaccaraṇam, talavakāracaraṇam, etc. refer to different 'branches' (śākhās) of the Veda. The unpublished *Bhagavadajjukam Kramadipika* mentions pakaḻiyam as one of the 21 branches (śākhā) of Rigveda, and talavakāram as one of the 1000 branches of the Sāma Veda.

108. *Ibid.*, Ll. 4-7. "Pravēśakam ceyyumparicu. Vaiyākaraṇa mimāyappurōhitappumpa ppuviśṛam iḻan ṭṛairājyavyavahārattukku vēṇṭum ōttuṭaiyān itu satyam enṛu aivar cāttaraikkoṇṭu pancakkam ceytān pukavu peṛuvān". The term 'ṭṛairājya' used in Viṣṇupurāṇa is explained as meaning "Cōḷappāṇḍya kēraḷa dharaṇiṭṛayam", i.e. the three kingdoms of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kerala, see Sanku Ayyar, *Ajñāta bhāgaṅgaḷ*, p. 11.

109. *Ibid.*, Ll. 7-11.

110. *Ibid.*, Ll. 11-14 and Fourth Plate, Second Side. Ll. 1-2. Mukkālvaṭṭattu vaittu oru caṭṭaṉai oru caṭṭan piḻaikka ppēcuvāṉāyil perumakkaḷukku añcu kāṇam poṉṛaṇṭam iṭṭu cālai uṇpatu. Paṭaikkaḷattāl puṇ ceytān aṛattukkuppuṛattaṉāvatu. Caṭṭar paṭai-

kkaḷam piṭittu kkūṭṭattukku cellappeṟār---Eccūtu mukkālvaṭṭattiruntu poṟappeṟār. Poṟuvar aṟṟaikkalam iḷappatu. Caṭṭar veḷḷattikaḷai maṭattil vaittukkoḷḷappeṟār. Cālapōkamum tēva tāṉamum cattimukam inṟivilakkappeṟār".

111. Umakant P. Shah, 'Caṭṭānām Maṭham - A gleaning from Kuvalaya māla kaha', *A.B.O.R.I.*, Golden Jubilee Volume (Poona, 1968) pp. 63-70; A.N. Upadhye. 'The Kuvalayamāla Katha of Ratnaprabhāsūri', *Ibid.*, pp. 247-52. The Caṭṭa's maṭha at Vijayanagari or Vijayapuri in South India is described in the narrative. In one place the Caṭṭar were engaged in practising archery, sword and shield, daggers etc. Others were learning to paint or sing, or use musical instruments or stage plays and dances. Other groups were engaged in the study and discourse of Vyākaraṇa, Buddaha-darśana, Mimāmsa, Naiyāyika darśana, Amekāntavāda or Lokāyata. Still others were interested in the study of nimitha, mantṛa, yōga, anjana, kuhaka, dhātuvāda, jakhiṇi siddhi, darśana, rasāyanaśāstra, chanda vritti, nirukta, patrachēdya, indrajāla, lēpya-karma, kanaka karma, viśagara tantṛa, valaya, bhūtatantṛa karma etc.

112. The medieval maṇipṟavāḷam work *Uṇṇiccirutēvi* (13th century) describes the Caṭṭar in military dress bragging about their warlike exploits and composing songs in praise of a courtesan. Another work called *Uṇṇiyachi* (13th century) describes Caṭṭar as the lovers of the courtesan heroine, waiting upon her with presents and charms, trying to impress her with generosity, scholarship and prowess in warfare. *Uṇṇiyāṭi* (14th century) introduces the same type of military Brahmins as Caṭṭar leading a life of pleasure. *Candrōtsavam* (15th century) mentions eighteen Cāttira groups including six Vaiyākaraṇa groups, six Prābhākara groups, and six Bhaṭṭa groups identified by their village names.

113. Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba kingdom was a scholarly member of the Ghaṭika of Kāñci before embarking on his political career. The Pallava king Skandaśiṣya is said to have captured the Ghaṭika from a certain Satyasēna. The members of the Ghaṭika of Kāñci played an important part in the selection of Prince Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (731 -96 AD) to the Pallava throne. For details and analysis, see M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Kāntaḷūr Śālai - New Light on Aryan Expansion', *Proceedings of I.H.C.*, Jabalpur, 1970.

114. For details of Yatrakaḷi or Cāttirakkaḷi, see L.A. Ravivarma, *R.V.R.I.B.*, XI I, pp. 13-22: Attoor Krishna Pisharodi, *Kēraḷa Caritram*, I, (1925) pp. 43-5.

115. See *Uṇṇiccirutēvi* (13th century), *Uṇṇiyacci* (13th century), *Uṇṇiyāṭi* (14th century) and *Candrōtsavam*, (15th century). For a brief account of these medieval works, see U.S.P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷasāhitya Caritram*, I, pp.381-95. The heroine called Uṇṇiccirutēvi was the daughter of a dancer Naṅgayya of Cōkiram grāma and Rāyiran (Rājaśēkhara) the ruler of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu. Her house was full of admirers including Brahmins, merchants etc. The heroine called Uṇṇiyacci is the daughter of a dancer called Naṅgaipiḷḷai of Tirumurudūr. Her house was also full of astronomers, physicians, Brahmin warriors, merchants, etc. waiting for her favours. The heroine called Uṇṇiyāṭi was the daughter of Ceṟukara Kuṭṭatti and Kēraḷa Varma, ruler of Kāyankuḷam. She was also a dancer and her 'palace' was thronged by admirers belonging to the richer classes and castes. *Chandrōtsavam* describes an imaginary moon festival organised by the courtesans and their admirers from different parts of Kerala. Many of the courtesans may be identified as dancing girls attached to temples like Kaṇḍiyūr, Tiruvalla, etc. For details of Dēvadāsis in medieval kerala, See Eḷamkuḷam, 'Tēvaṭiccisthānam', *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 71-85.

116. For details, see Dr. N.M. Penzor, *Sacred Prostitution* (Oxford, 1906. Third Edition). See also A.S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas*, pp. 295-96.

117. The Śaivite Nāyaṉār, Sundara Mūrti, who was a friend of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, had a dancing girl of Tiruvālūr temple as his wife. Among the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, we find a woman named Āṇḍāl also. This lady considered herself to be the bride of Viṣṇu in the manner of the Dēvadāsis themselves.

118. K.K. Pillai, *The Śucīndram Temple*, (Madras, 1953), p. 279.

119. C. Minakshi, *The Pallavas*, pp. 278-81. See also 303of 1901, 278 and 302 of 1902.

120. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 558. See also *S.I.I.*, II, no. 66.

121. Index no. A. 8, Ll. 72-80. "Ciṟṟaṟaiyil naṅkaiyār koṭutta patintūṇippāṭu".

122. Index no. A. 27, Ll. 29-30. "Meṟṟālippuṟattu caṅgara naṅgacci akkiram onṟu".

123. Index no. A. 43, Ll, 4-10. "Tiripuvana mātēviyāyiṉa ciritaranaṅgacci uṭaiya pūmi cēralūrum cāttaṉūrum pāṭṭaviruttiyum maraṅgāṭum taḷikku kiḻakku kōyilukkuḷḷa purayiṭamēḻum kūṭa kīḻiṭṭil tiripuvana mātēvi āyiṉa ciritara naṅgacci āṇṭutōṟum koṭukkum pāṭṭanel cāntiviruttikkeḻunūṟṟu nāḷiyum cittiraiviḻuviṉuḷ koṭuppitu".

124. Index no. A.9, Ll. 10-12. "Kāntarpikaṟku naṅkaimārkum ariykku nūṟṟupattu nār kalam aympatināḷi." *Ibid.*, Ll. 13-15. "Naṅkaimārkkuttama madhyama adhamattināl niyatippaṭi āṇiyankoṭukkum paricu cattirattālirunāḷiyariyumirunāḷi naṭṭavaṉārkku cīvitam".

125. This is further supported by the use of the term 'taḷinaṅga' meaning naṅga of the temple in *Bhāṣā Kaṭualīya*, Adhikaraṇa II, Prakaraṇa 40: "Kūttukkum pāṭṭukkum kellāta taḷinaṅgamār". The caste suffix 'naṅgai' is used for the women folk of the Cākyārs and Nambiyārs and these ladies are assigned a part in the stage performance. They do not dance now but they take part in kūṭiyāṭṭam, a form of Sanskrit drama. A Naṅgayār in the role of Tapati of *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* is mentioned is *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśa*, (15th century), Slōka. 94.

126. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 436-8. "Tēvaṭiccikaḷ nālvarkkāy ppantirunāḷi mikku koṭṭumavaraḷkku nālppaṟai nel koṇṭu aṟunāḻiccai nel koṭuppitu".

127. *Cilappatikāram*, Canto XXVI, L. 125. "Paṟaiyūr kūttaccākkayan āṭalil mikaḷntavan".

128. Kiḻappaḻuvūr inscription of Parakēsarivarman, 6th year, mentions the payment of gold and paddy as 'koṟṟu' (livelihood) to Aḷayūr Cākkai for enacting 'Cākkai kūttu'. See no 250 of 1926. Tiruviḍaimarudūr inscription of Āditya II, 4th year, mentions remuneration for Kūttu to Tiruvalla Araccākkai, see no. 154 of 1895, *S.I.I.*, III, no. 202. Tiruvāḍuturai inscription of Rājarāja I, 9th year, who had the 'Cākkai kaṇi' of the village for acting seven 'aṅkams' (acts) of 'Āriyakkūttu' in the temple. See no. 120 of 1925.

129. Index no. B. 15, Ll. 95-6. "Cākkaimār virutti nakarūr vaṭṭattil cenkaiyūrāl kkoḷḷunnel pantirupaṟai arai".

130. Index no. A. 32, Ll. "Pattu kūttumāṭiccu".

131. Index no. A. 71, Ll. 78-9. "Tirukkūttum kūṭiccelvatu".

132 Index no. A 80, Ll. 270-1. "Viriccika ñāyaṟṟurōyaṇi nāḷkkāḷiyaṅkam kūttāṭumavaṉu irupattaimpaṟai".

133. For a list of the plays enacted by the Cākyārs of Kerala, see K.R. Pisharoti, *I.H.Q.*, I, 1925, pp. 338 ff. *Bālacarita* is a perfect stage play of a religious character, in five acts, dealing with the miracle of young Kṛṣṇa, and it is sometimes attributed to Bhāsa. For

a brief account of this drama, see M. Winternitz, 'Bhāsa and the Mahābhārata and Krishṇa Plays', *R.V.R.I.B.*, V, I, pp. 10-11. The fourth act of *Bālacarita* opens with Kṛṣṇa's attempt to jump into Jumna to suppress Kāḷiya and ends when he comes out of it with strange new flowers after driving out Kāḷiya. The maṅgaḷaslōka of *Bālacarita* beginning with "Śaṅkhakṣīiravapuh purā kṛtāyugē" is recited at the inauguration of a Kūttampalam (dance hall) or the first performance of a Cākyār.

134. For details of Kūṭiyāṭṭam, see U.S.P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷasāhityacaritram*, I, pp. 135-38. See also K.P.N. Pisharoti, 'Kūṭiyāṭṭattile Vidūṣakan', *Mathrubhumi* Weekly, 2nd July 1961; Dr. V. Raghavan, 'Kūḍiyāṭṭam', *The Hindu*, 8th Sept. '62; *Kalamandalam Annual*, 1967, pp. 17-24. In Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the text used is the Sanskrit play wherein the Vidūṣaka's passages, which in fact dominate the action, are specially inserted for Kūṭiyāṭṭam and spoken in Malayalam language. At first the over-all emotional aspect of a verse is depicted by the abhinaya of the eye alone according to Bharata's dictum and this is followed by vācikabhinaya, and then by padārthabhinaya, i.e., the use of hastamudra or signs with hands for each word of the verse. Dr. V. Raghavan points out the disproportionate length and vulgarisation characteristic of the Malayalam passages enacted by the Vidūṣaka.

135. It has been pointed out that *Kuṭṭanimatam* of Dāmōdara Gupta, minister of the Kashmir king Laḷitāpīda, 8th century, gives an account of the stage performance of Harsha's *Ratnāvalīnāṭika* from Slōka 379 onwards. This account shows that the action comprised of all the steps found in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, i.e., the detailed exhibition of word by word meaning, the addition of new passages, the use of the hastamudra, the recitation of parallel passages, the repetition of each passage three times, the employment of Sanskrit Prakrit and the regional language, and the frequent introduction of the dance. Even some of the technical terms of the Cākyārs like 'kamalaparivartam' are mentioned there although in different terms like 'sarōjavartanam'. These facts are brought out and the continuity of the Sanskrit theatrical tradition through Kūṭiyāṭṭam is clearly demonstrated by N.V. Krishna Varier, 'Malayāḷattil Nāṭakapṛasthānam', *Matrubhumi Weekly*, 21st Feb. 1960.

136. The terms 'uvaccan' and 'uvaccavari' are found in Pallava inscriptions also. See no. 152 of 1916; *S.I.I.*, I, p. 108.

137. Index no. A. 9, L. 10. See Note no. 122 above.

138. Index no. A. 47, Ll. 3, 5.

139. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 22-3. "Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷikku koṭṭumavakaḷ patiṉāṟiṉumēl pukkōrāḷku kaccaiyiṭṭu aivarkoṭṭuvitu".

140. *Ibid.*, Ll, 437-8. "Koṭṭumavaraḷkku nālpaṟai nelkkoṇṭu aṟunāḻiccai nel koṭuppitu". When each of the drummers got 6 nāḻi of paddy, 36 nāḻi would be sufficient for 6 persons.

141. *Ibid.*, Ll. 416-8. "Ciripalikku koṭṭumavaraḷkkum viḷikkumavaraḷkkum muppattu mūṉṟāḷkkum āḷvakai munnāḻicceytari".

142. *Ibid.*, L. 121. "Tiruvallavāḻ uvaccan irāyar kēcavan amaicca pūmi kāṭṭu ceṟukarai nūṟṟukkalamum". *Ibid.*, L. 619. "Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷikku koṭṭikaḷkku cīvitam".

143. *Ibid.*, Ll. 349-53. "Tiruvallavāḻ appaṉukku tiruppalikku pañcamaśabdam amaiccān kīḻumalai uṭaiya kaṇṭan kumaraṉāyiṉa māluvakkōṉamaiccān mukkālam śṛībalikku koṭṭuvān nālu ceṇṭaiyum oru timilai oru cēkaṇṭi oriṇai kkaittāḷamu miraṇṭu kākaḷamum oṉpatu paṇiyamaiccān māḷuvakkōn".

144. Index no. A. 46. LI, 12-13. "Pāticcōṟum nīrāṭṭupaḷḷikku pañcamaśaptan koṭṭi uvacca-kaḷ koḷvitu".

145. Index no. A. 64, Ll. 1-2. "Naṉṟuḻainātu vāḻinṟa maṇalmaṉṟattiyakkan śṟīkaṇṭan pañcamaśabda amaicca paricāvatu. Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷikku aiyvar koṭṭuvatu. Tiruppalikku nālvar koṭṭuvitu".

146. Index No. A. 80. u. 361-91.

147. These Brahmin (Nambudiri) families have been associated with the management of the temple till recently. Some of them still continue as aristocratic landlords in the region.

148. Index no. A. 80, Ll. 532-37.

149. *Ibid.*, Ll. 615-22.

150. Index no. A. 32. Ll. "Tirukkaṭittāṉattu uttirakaṇattārum niḻalum paṇiyum kūṭi vēṇāṭṭuṭaiya cirivallavan kōtaivarmmar amaicca uttira viḻa āṭṭāṇṭum kumpai ñāyiṟṟu kārttiyai koṭi nāṭṭi niyati munnāḻi nāḻiyāl nūṟṟunāḻi ari koṇṭu aṭṭiyūṇum kaṟiyum neyyumoṇṭāypparamaṇarai ūṭṭippattu kūttumāṭiccu paṇimāṉiṭattinku paṇṭu koṭukkum ariciyum koṭuttu nālāyiranāḻiyāl veṟṟilai koṇṭu niyatikkumiṭṭu pūtapaliyumtūki uttirattiṉā---".

151. Index no. B. 15.

152. Index no. A. 47, A. 64.

153. Index no. C. 42, Ll. "Perunneytal mukkālvaṭṭattirunnu tirunāḷkkaṇattārum potuvāḷ-um avirōtattāl kūṭicceyta karumamāvatu".

XIII. Architecture, Sculpture, Literature

The buildings of the Cēra period which survive today are not large in number and they have not maintained their original shape. Palaces and dwelling houses have been completely destroyed, including the Cēra palace of Makōtai.[1] The vihāras and churches have all perished and some temples are the only concrete monuments of the glory and splendour of that remote age.[2] Even these have undergone repairs and alterations in course of time. The cave-temples have been worked upon so that they look like structural temples today. The structural buildings have in several known cases been renovated from time to time.[3] The rigours of climate with a heavy monsoon, the use of laterite, brick and timber in construction, and the continuous habitation of the old sites, may be offered as explanation for the loss of Cēra monuments.

Fortunately, the foundations and the ground plan of several temples have remained unaffected. The plinth (adhiṣṭhāna) of the temple, up to a height of three to five feet, is often constructed in granite and there are the granite pillars and sculptured panels too. Sometimes a portion of the brick or laterite super structure has remained undisturbed. The inscriptions engraved on the granite plinth of the Śṛīkōvil as in Trikkaḍittāṉam, or the granite pillars of the Vātalmāṭam as in Cōkiram, help us to fix the lower limit in time for construction, at least of the lower portions of the building, with confidence.[4] These and other clearly dated specimens give us a chronological framework of the evolution of style and technique which may be employed in assessing the period of other structures. In some cases the dated inscriptions on stone slabs in the courtyard of the temple offer a rough guidance. Another clue regarding chronology is offered by the distinct characteristics of Cālukya, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa temple architecture and sculpture which are clearly noticeable in the style everywhere. Since conservative patrons generally refrained from taking liberties with the overall plan and foundations of a temple, the existing Cēra monuments, cannot be substantially different from what they were at the time of construction. Moreover, the principalities of Kerala in post-Cēra period were the successor-states of the Cēra kingdom

which did not have to suffer from large-scale foreign invasions capable of uprooting old traditions or planting entirely different ones.

Cave Architecture and Sculpture

Some of the rock-cut shrines of central and south Kerala may be listed as the oldest surviving specimens of architecture in this region. Those in Kallil near Perumbāvūr and Chitṛāḷ near Kuḷithuṛa were conceived as Jain temples though they were transformed later into Hindu temples.[5] There are also the Hindu cave temples at Irunnalakōḍde near Wadakkanchery, Tṛkkūr near Trichur, Kaviyūr and Tirunandikkarai.[6] The Kallil Jain temple is a simple cave cut into the rock, of which the back and side walls are used for iconographic relief sculpture. The fuller Pallava type of cave-complex with a veranda, rectangular pillared hall, and small square chamber behind it, are found at Kaviyūr and Tirunandikkarai. The additions of a maṇḍapa in front and rectangular cuṛṛampalam on three sides, with the rock walls as the fourth side, have converted Kallil, Chitṛāḷ etc. into cave-cum- structural temples. This technique may be seen at the Hindu shrines of Irunnalakōḍe and Tṛkkūr also. The outer buildings appear to have been conceived as an after-thought at a later stage. The 9th century inscriptions found at Chitṛāḷ help us to assign the architectural concept of the cave, derived from the Pallava and Pāṇḍya work, to the same period. The Pallava type of cave-pillars with three sections - the top and bottom cubes of solid rock and an intervening octagonal shaft - are present at Kaviyūr and Tirunandikkarai. Even the corbels with characteristic roll ornament (taraṅga) are found there. It is likely that Pallava techniques were transmitted to Kerala through the Pāṇḍyas, for such rock-cut shrines of the 8th century are known from the Pāṇḍya region.[7] All the cave-shrines of Kerala might have belonged to the period of 8th-9th centuries.[8]

The Pallava-Pāṇḍya tradition is unmistakable in the rock-shrines of Kerala. The plan, the pillars and the sculptures proclaim it. Therefore the cave technique was not the result of indigenous development and was evidently imported from outside. Moreover, there is no conspicuous development of the technique noticeable in Kerala. The size remained the same and execution was only cruder in comparison to those outside Kerala. Some of the caves like Tirunandikkarai and Irunnalakōḍe have an unfinished look, the exact reason for which remains obscure. At any rate, the popularity of the structural temple seems to have caused the neglect and abandonment of the cave technique.

It may be that major developments in sculpture centred on religion.[9] In Kaviyūr the niche to the left of the cave entrance contains a life-size figure of a dvārapāla, who is "limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left of the Trichinopoly Mahēndravarman cave".[10] He has tall

and conical headdress, picturesque locks of curly hair, traditional ornaments, and a cobra-entwined club on which he leans with an aggressive attitude. The corresponding figure on the right side, with jaṭāmakuṭa, hands crossed on his chest and head bent slightly in a respectful attitude, is identified as that of the donor and rightly compared to the Pallava chieftain in the rock-cut Śiva temple of Kuṇandar Kōyil in Pudukkōṭṭai.[11] The tall slender figure composed of cylindrical volumes and minimum clothing, has a "surging stance and commanding restraint" and there is clearly "nothing to distinguish this carving from any figure of the east coast". Even so this chieftain of Kaviyūr is "the gatekeeper of the future of Travancore sculpture".[12]

On the side walls of the hall in Kaviyūr there is in the north wing a well-executed image of Gaṇēśa with four hands as in the Ariṭṭipaṭṭi Pāṇḍya cave. In the south wing stands a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. The bearded man has his hair in top-knot fashion, arms akimbo, and a jug-like vessel in his left hand. The Travancore government archaeologist's comparison of the vessel to the Greek vase and the Mughal hukka is more fanciful than accurate since it is an ordinary kamaṇḍalu kept by sanyāsins everywhere.[13] This is perhaps the figure of the donee, probably the 'Kavi' after whom the village itself is named. Its work is naturalistic and crude.

The relief sculpture on the back wall and left side of the cave-shrine at Irunnalakōḍe is more complex and advanced. The Cochin government archaeologist identified the central figure on the back wall as representing Śankaranārāyaṇa in sitting posture, noticed half a dozen gods and semi-gods beside him, and a devotee with folded hands kneeling before him.[14] Actually the central figure is Śiva or Dakṣiṇāmūrtti in Sukhāsana with Akṣamāla, the crescent, and the snake. What the archaeologist took for Śaṅkha in the back right hand is completely worn out and shapeless and it may very well be a damaru and there is no other sign of Viṣṇu in the figure. He is dressed in loin cloth, plain Kaṭakas and Kaṅkaṇas adorn the four hands, a thick single-strand Yajñōpavīta runs across the body, and serpent coiled around the neck holds its hood raised against the face. The face itself is worn out and blank but the Jaṭāmakuṭa with crescent symbol is visible. The lord of the universe is seated in Sukhāsana on a high pedestal, full of dignity, the body slanting slightly to the right, the left leg placed on the right, the two back hands holding the Akṣamāla and Damaru, the front left hand dangling in lōla mode, and the front right hand fixed on the hip in Kaṭyavalambitahasta mode holding a Daṇḍa or Paraśu. He is relaxed but ready to spring into action at any moment when he finds anything wrong in the universe. No Tiruvācci is carved though the natural lines of the rock around the head are quite suggestive.

The artist has clearly exploited the violent contrast of horizontal and vertical lines to produce an effect of restrained vigour as if conflicting wild

forces are held in check by the Master of Dance in this little rock-kailāsa. A suppliant with crowned head is kneeling before him on the right side and behind him we discern the outlines of a female head with a Dhammilla headdress and calm face. Another crowned head is vaguely traced on the opposite side of the Pīṭha. The man and woman on the right may represent a royal couple, the donor and his wife. The other crowned head may be that of a minister or prince. The whole panel was undoubtedly conceived by a master artist with superb control over the medium. The group has affinity to that of Caṇḍēsānugrahamūrtti in Tiruvālīśvaram and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram temples.[15] However, the scene has more life and movement and simplicity of features within a complex frame of design.

On the left side of the wall is a vague outline of a Pallava type standing Viṣṇu figure with Karaṇḍamakuṭa, Cakṛa and Saṅkha, and a Tribhaṅga posture. The symmetry of the form is maintained with two hands uplifted and two hands lowered. It reminds one of the slender lyrical figures of Māmallapuram and bears a clear contrast with the typical Viṣṇu image with heavier and broader features from Niṛamaṇkara enthusiastically described by Dr. Stella Kramrisch and found repeated in several Kerala temples.[16]

At Tṛkkūr also the back and side walls of the rock-shrine contain relief sculpture. Since entry is restricted to Brahmins and no literature is available, it is only possible to rely on the account offered by the worshipping priest of the temple. According to this there is a Śivaliṅga in the centre with two royal figures on either side and a Gaṇapati figure in one corner. They are simple, slender, with few ornaments, three tier crowns, and thick single-strand yajnōpavīta falling over the right hand as in Cālukya and early Pallava sculpture.[17]

The Jain images of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and Padmāvati inside the cave at Kallil, and Mahāvīra on the façade of the cave, are carved in relief according to the prescription found in *Mānasāra*.[18] Though the Tīrthaṅkaras prove to be timeless in their ascetic abstraction, the Chauri-bearing Gandharvas have the simplicity and lyrical quality of Pallava sculpture. The same is true of the votive Jain figures on the rock wall overhanging the cave-shrine on the north side of Tiruchāṇattumalai at Chitṛāḷ. Gopinatha Rao has drawn attention to their conformity with *Mānasāra* description, the nudity, yogic posture, and contemplative mood of the male images, and the beauty and grace of the standing female figure in Tribhaṅga posture "exhibiting the ease and smoothness characteristic of severe schooling and self-assurance".[19] Stella Kramrisch and Sivaramamurthi have endorsed this view.[20]

There was also a tradition of painting which flourished along with sculpture in the rock-cut cave as indicated by the polished wall-surface but the only specimen so far discovered is in Tirunandikkarai in the Āy region. Even there it is almost completely gone except a few isolated fragments of the

body like faces and hands, and flowers, clouds, rocks etc, forming parts of the landscape. These are painted on a white ground, on which red and touches of green and yellow are still visible.[21] These fragmentary paintings are able to supply one more link in the golden chain connecting the Ajanta tradition of the Deccan with the Sigiriya tradition of Srilanka.

Temple Architecture

Surveying the land from north to south, a good number of temples have already been identified as products of the Cēra period. Though there are additions and alterations of the later period, the main structures retain the original form.[22] The basic plan of the temple is the same everywhere though the emphasis will be on different aspects at different places and times. In Kerala this basic plan is easily discernible since no complexity was introduced at any later stage.

The circular, square or rectangular, or apsidal Śṛīkōyil or sanctum sanctorum forms the centre of the temple.[22A] It has only one entrance with a Sōpāna or flight of steps covered with balustrades on either side. Within the outer wall of the Śṛīkōyil there is another wall of the same shape and the space between the two walls forms an inner pradakṣiṇapatha or circumambulatory running round the real sanctum called garbhagṛha which houses the idol. Sometimes there are two corridors of this type one inside the other. The garbhagṛha is low-roofed inside, but it has a vimāna or superstructure. In some cases the building is double-roofed though not actually double-storied, having one roof in the middle and another at the top also.

In some cases when the Śṛīkōyil is rectangular or square it has a projection of small square shape on one side in order to house the subsidiary deities. This type often bas a projection called mukhamaṇḍapa in front also. However, in most cases, the original purity of form is maintained in the Śṛīkōyil. There is always a Maṇḍapa or pillared hall in front of the Śṛīkōyil for the Brahmins to sit and recite the mantras or perform Namaskāra. The minor deities are often housed in separate shrines in the Tirumuṛṛam (courtyard) of the temple and a well is also provided there. Covering the Śṛīkōyil, Maṇḍapa, and minor shrines there is a rectangular Cuṛṛampalam which consists of long halls on the four sides. These are used for different purposes like store room, kitchen, dining hall etc., and for housing minor deities. The hall in front, partitioned into two halves by the entrance corridor, and known as Vātilmāṭam, is used for religious discourses or scholarly debate. Beyond the Cuṛṛampalam, the outer walls of which form the first Pṛākāra, there is a wider courtyard and occasionally a front Maṇḍapa and a few minor shrines and the whole area is encompassed by the second or outer Pṛākāra. The main

entrance often has a small Gōpura though it is not as big or significant as the Gōpura in Cōḷa and later Pāṇḍyan architecture.

Cēra temples differ from each other mainly in size and shape of the Śṛīkōvil. The circular type may be seen at Narayangaṇṇūr, Poṛaṅghāṭṭiri, Iriññālakkuḍa, Trikkākara, Aviṭṭathūr, Kaviyūr, Trikkaḍittāṉam, Tiruvalla, Dēvīdēvēśvaram, Pārthivapuram, Tiruviḍaikōḍe, Tirunandikkara, etc. The square type is noticed with equal frequency in Perumcellūr, Triccambaram, Kāḷiyampaḷḷi, Tiruvangūr, Cōkkūr, Talakkuḷattur, Tirumaṛṛakōḍe, Indianūr, Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi, Panniyūr, Cōkiram, Tiruvañcikkaḷam, Kīḻtaḷi, etc. The gajapṛiṣṭha or apsidal shape is rarer in the case of the chief shrines although it is noticed in Tirumaṇṇūr, Tripṛaṅgōḍe, Kulaśēkharanallūr etc. In addition to these, the subordinate shrines in several temples have an apsidal shape. There is an assumption that the circular shape is possibly older and that the temporary ritualistic huts of primitive tribes like Uḷḷāṭar and Malapaṇḍāram are among the shapes contributing to the circular Śṛīkōyil.[23] This is far-fetched as there is no point in looking for indigenous roots for an imported style. It is possible that when the temple concept developed at first it was influenced by the primitive patterns but this happened much earlier in places outside Kerala. Whether it is the circular or square or apsidal shape they were all brought to Kerala as part of a ready-made and full-fledged technique. All these forms have appeared in the Deccan and the East Coast earlier than the 9th century.[24] There may be some truth in Percy Brown's hypothesis regarding the development of the Hindu temple from the Buddhist Caitya with its circular and apsidal forms by a process of evolution.[25] However, this must have taken place during the Gupta age in central India and the Deccan from where it was transmitted to the South. The temple as an institution was an Aryan gift to South India. Dravidian elements in its form appear only in the modifications effected at a later stage.

Again there is the observation that the small maṇḍapa which is a projection from the rectangular or square Śṛīkōyil represents a less pure though more mobile form of the later period.[26] In fact, this might have been the earlier form and the separate maṇḍapa would have come later. The combined Śṛīkōyil-maṇḍapa form is found in Talakkuḷattūr, Tripṛaṅgōḍe, Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi, Panniyūr, Cōkiram etc. which belong to the 9th-10th centuries. As this form is noticed earlier in the Durga and Śiva temples at Aihōḷe and Bādāmi, the Arjuna and Sahadēva rathas and shore temple at Māmallapuram, and the temples of Vijayālaya at Mēlamalai and Pananguḍi, its adoption in Kerala along with the more common separate maṇḍapa need not cause much surprise or demand explanation. In fact, every form observed in Kerala in this period has its precedent in other parts of South India so that it is not possible to discuss a separate Cēra style of temple architecture. The Aryan Brahmin immigrants from Karnataka must have brought the Cālukya patterns of

temple construction with them and this appears to have been modified by contact with the Pallava-Cōḷa style. It is to be admitted that as in matters of religious faith, especially the temple-oriented Bhakti movement, Kerala of this period was not the leader but a follower among the group of Southern states in religious architecture also.

The division of the wall-space between tall slender pilasters and niches on the Śṛīkōyil at Talakkuḷattūr has a close resemblance to the pattern found in Vijayālaya Cōḷēśvara at Nārttāmalai.[27] The Kūḍus in pairs and the combination of Kōṣṭha and Pañjara shapes with their ornamental arabasque found in Trichambaram, Tirumaṇṇūr, Cōkiram, Paṛamban Taḷi etc. have close kinship with the patterns of the Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram temples of the Cōḷa empire.[28] The pilasters in most of the Cēra temples exhibit what is called the Cōḷa order of the capital, i.e., the Kalaśa and Padmabandha, the broad Palakai, and the bewelled corbel with the median band characteristic of early and middle Cōḷa style of architecture. In post-Cēra temples the duplication of members on pilasters and the protuberance called or Pūmuṉai or Puṣpabōtikai also make their appearance as in the rest of South India. The later Cōḷa forms of Kūḍu with a human face or empty space are found in Taḷippaṛamba, Triccambaram, Tirumaṇṇūr, Cōkiram, Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi, Paṛamban Taḷi etc. The plinth or Adhiṣṭhāna is conceived as in the rest of the Tamil country with the Kapōta, Kaṇṭha, Kumuda and Upāna as regular features.

Some more concrete examples would clarify the position further. In Cōkiram the Kūḍu bears resemblance to the Tiruvācci in the shape of a flower having flames or arabasques and this has a parallel in middle Cōḷa architecture.[29] The niches above the plinth in Cōkiram have, in addition to the usual square section of pilasters framing them, two round pilasters with a Kūḍu on top on either side and this arrangement is an exact copy from the Cōḷa temple at Tribhuvanam where it developed from earlier Pallava temples.[30] The Kōṣṭha-Pañjara-Kūḍu combination with additional circular pilasters in Cōkiram and Triccambaram Taḷi is obviously reproduced from Cōḷa temples like those of Śṛīnivāsanallūr Koranganātha shrine.[31] In Paṛamban Taḷi there is another special feature, a window (jālaka) in the recessed part of the wall, flanked by two semi-pilasters on either side and a Tōraṇa arch above, and this is probably drawn from Cōḷa buildings like Tirukkaṭṭalai Sundarēśvara temple and Tiruchendurai Chandraśēkhara temple.[32] Similarly string courses or friezes of Yalis or bhūtagaṇas above and below the plinth and above the upper cornice are noticed in many Cēra temples like Taḷippaṛamba, Paṛamban Taḷi, Tīrukkulaśēkharapuram and Tirunandikkarai and these were evidently copied from Cōḷa work in places like Tirukkaṭṭalai belonging to the reign of Āditya Cōḷa.[33]

In short, no departure from general norms can be pointed out as a peculiar development in Kerala. It is a pity that no detailed account of early tem-

ple architecture in Kerala exists today. A hasty survey by Stella Kramrisch, confined to old Travancore, and some isolated accounts of individual temples are the only sources of information other than direct personal observation.[34] Perhaps a comprehensive survey might still bring out some unnoticed aspects of style.

In the circumstances, the view that besides the Drāviḍa School of architecture there existed an indigenous Kerala school seems to be based on false premises as far as the Cēra period is concerned.[35] This impression was probably created by the outward appearance of early Kerala temples. Dr. Stella Kramrish and others have attached great importance to the roofing technique employed in the temples of Kerala. The low height of the building in relation to the girth, and the roof sloping down to cover a major portion of the structure have attracted notice.[36] It is true that the roofed temple is clearly much different from the contemporary Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya temples. However, if the building is visualised without the roof, a surprising resemblance between the Cēra temple and the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya temples would emerge. The ruined temples at Mānipuram, Cōkkūr, Panniyankara etc., where the roof is partly or fully removed, reveal this at one glance. Therefore it may be legitimately assumed that the common Drāviḍa tradition flourished in Kerala and that the low height and the long sloping roof were attempts to adapt such buildings to the climate of Kerala with unruly winds and heavy rains which are unkind to high mansions everywhere. The so-called Kerala School is responsible only for covering the product of the Dravidian tradition and it is not known whether this outer covering existed in the Cēra period or came only at a later stage. This roofing technique might have been developed in Kerala due to necessity or it might have been imported from the countries of the Far East through contact by the sea for trade and commerce. Whatever the origin, the similarity with the pagoda form in East Asia is unmistakable. Several observers have noticed it before.[37] A few more storeys, a few more openings or gavākṣa in the roof, and a greater curve at the edges - this would complete the picture. If anything the addition of this roof may be cited as the only significant change effected in the common Dravidian form of temple in Kerala.

The rigidity of the basic temple plan was broken by various means, by horizontal and vertical developments, in other parts of South India. This is denoted by the proliferation of huge pillared halls or Maṇḍapas and the complicated design of the gate towers or Gōpuras which dominated the entire scene.[38] However, the Maṇḍapas and Gōpuras of the Cēra period in Kerala, and even of the later period, did not exceed the proportions dictated by the original plan. Even the Kūttampalam (dance hall) occupied a corner without disturbing the harmony of the buildings on the site.[39] The relation of the Kerala temple to the imperial Cōḷa temple is that of the parish church to the

imperial cathedral. This refusal to grow and change may be interpreted as artistic stagnation. However, such conservatism could also be seen as the product of external circumstances. The sudden and disproportionate growth of Cōḷa architecture was the immediate by-product of successful wars of conquest which brought new resources and pooled them for the glory of the sovereign. Kerala did not have such a phase of history and this material background might have been responsible for the stagnation of architecture, the growth of which is closely related to wealth and social power. The typical Cēra temple was not a royal monument but a common centre of the Aryan Brahmin village.

It is from this temple plan of the rectangular field marked by four halls with rooms in them that the concept of the typical Kerala dwelling house called 'nāluketṭu' arose. The aristocratic dwelling house is just the temple without the sanctorum. Therefore, there is no reason to go to the Persian Caravanserais or the secular architecture of Rome in search of its prototypes.[40]

Temple Sculpture

It is much more difficult to determine the date of sculpture. If it is carved out of a building wall, the date of the base may be helpful. Otherwise only a comparative study of the style of work can provide guidance. Temples often changed their idols, either due to damage or suspected pollution, in times of emergency they were taken out and preserved elsewhere and sometimes replaced by new ones. Most of the surviving specimens of Cēra sculpture belong to the category of idols and when they are worshipped they are largely inaccessible. The historian has to rely mostly on images exhibited in museums or exposed for view in ruined temples.

The ruined Kīḻtaḷi temple of Cranganore, one of the Nālu Taḷi or four chief temples, has yielded a number of images.[41] A beautiful image of Gaṇapati with a broken prabhāmaṇḍala is found there.[42] It is a crowned, four-armed figure of Bālagaṇēśa.[43] It may be remembered that in Gupta and early Cālukya art Gaṇapati did not possess the additional pair of arms or a full-fledged crown and that even in early Pallava art he had only the beginning of a karaṇḍamakuṭa.[44] The Kīḻtaḷi Gaṇapati has a fully developed karaṇḍamakuṭa and śiraścakṛa, and thick plain single strand yajñōpavīta hanging loosely but not falling over the right hand as in early Pallava sculpture.[45] The huge belly has tended to shorten the legs. However, there is not much of ornamentation. It may be attributed to the 10th century. The beaded kaṇṭhi or chain around the neck, the kēyura or armlet with flower emblem, and the fan shaped tresses would suggest a touch of the Cālukya style. In several other Cēra temples like Poṛaṅgāṭṭiri, Tiruvangūr etc. the two-armed unorna-

mented variety of early Gaṇēśa with small crown and thick yajñōpavīta running over the right hand, assignable to the 8th - 9th centuries, could be observed.

The Kīl̲taḷi group includes the Saptamāta figures also. Most of them were broken and unidentifiable but one has been identified as that of Brāhmi.[46] Another is reported as a yakṣi but it can easily be recognised as Cāmuṇḍi of the same group by the spreading headgear and the skull yajñōpavīta.[47] Therefore, the rest may be identified as other members of this group.[48] They all represent good craftsmanship and the ease of a conventional style.

There are not many stone idols of Śiva in anthropomorphic form attributable to the Cēra period and the liṅgas are not of much use in the study of sculpture. A stone figure about 2½' in height represents the deity outside the first prākāra in Tripṛaṅgōḍe temple. He stands erect trampling down a small figure of demon, probably Apasmāra. Beside him is a small group consisting of a human figure embracing Śivalinga and another standing nearby. The chief deity of the temple is Śiva as the saviour of Mārkāṇḍēya and this group represents the purāṇic scene. It is executed in bas-relief on a single granite piece and is framed by a beaded ornamental arch which takes the place of a tiruvācci. The four-armed Śiva has a cylindrical perforated crown and typical Cālukya ornamental dress-foldings in front and sides, but the work on the whole is crude.

Some bronze images of Śiva and Pārvati have been found in Tiruvañcikkaḷam and Airāṇikaḷam temples.[49] The former temple has bronze images of Sundaramūrti and Cēramān Perumāḷ also. These may possibly belong to the Cēra period but it is difficult to determine the age of a bronze figure. Subrahmaṇya images of stone are installed in the Cēra temples of Payyanūr, Poṛaṅgāṭṭiri, Alanallūr, Paṛamban Taḷi etc. The Poṛaṅgāṭṭiri image is about 4' 6" in height with a plain three-tier jaṭāmakuṭa, plain round features, and thick yajñōpavīta. It resembles in many respects the Subrahmaṇaya image of Tittangudi Cōḷa temple.[50]

The Viṣṇu images are more numerous and more artistically executed than figures in Śiva temples. An old broken Viṣṇu image discovered from Tāl̲akkāḍ, with undecorated Pallava-type crown, the sacred thread passing under the right arm, kēyura, makarakuṇḍala, kāñci etc. has been described as a master-piece of art, quite proportionately designed.[51] The features belong to the Cēra period, but the stylization and the facial expression with well-marked pupils of the eye and full-blown lips would suggest a mixture of types, a transitional stage. It may be assigned to 11th-12th centuries. Another stone image of Viṣṇu has been discovered from the premises of Tiruvañcikkaḷam Śiva temple.[52] The portion below the knees and the tip of the mace in the left hand are missing. The cylindrical crown, the lose thread, and the moderation observed in dress and ornaments, would suggest an early period

of Pallava influence. Another Viṣṇu image has been unearthed in the course of the construction of a dam at Kārthikappaḷḷi in Badagara taluk, Kozhikode district. The standing Viṣṇu in Varadarāja pose holds discuss and conch in the upper hands, the bottom left hand being kept in kaṭyavalambita mode while the bottom right hand is poised in varada mode.[53] The long cylindrical crown and thick yajñōpavīta falling over the right arm denote the Pallava style while the beaded ornaments and broad face remind one of later Cālukya influence. This mixture of the two regional traits may be considered typical of Kerala, especially north Kerala.[53A] This image may be attributed to the 10th century in view of the comparative absence of stiffness and stylization characteristic of later Kerala sculpture.

A number of broken Viṣṇu images are found in 10th century temples like Triccambaram, Poṛaṅgāṭṭiri, Mānipuram, Cōkkūr, Talakkuḷattūr, Tripṛaṅgōḍe, Trikkulaśēkharapuram etc. Wherever they could be examined at close quarters without outer trappings, they were found to have single-strand yajñōpavīta, slender undecorated body, and ornaments which do not betray the finicky over-decorative style and conventionalism of the Hoysāla and Vijayanagar type. Fine pieces of early Pallava type Viṣṇu images were also noticed in some obscure places.[54]

An image of Santānagōpālakṛṣṇa in the circular shrine of the Mānipuram temple may be cited as an example of the fine specimen of Cēra work bearing the stamp of Cālukya style and possessing artistic significance. This idol may be attributed to the same period as the Indu Kota inscription in the temple. The perfect symmetry of the four-armed figure with the upward lines of the two upper hands and pītāmbara as well as the benevolent smiling expression - these make the Viṣṇu represent the high-water mark of Cēra stone sculpture. However, the movement and agility of the Cālukya period have come to a standstill, finding their fulfilment in a delicate balance. Here is the moment of poise not of struggle, of achievement not of exploration, of ripeness and sweetness not of anxiety and suspense. It may be observed that later work of the 14th-15th centuries, though more appealing to the ordinary eye on account of ornamentation and conventionalism, and representative of a local idiom of Kerala, is a departure from the classical norms of the Cēra period which were evidently borrowed from Pallava and Cālukya sculpture.[55]

Apart from sculptures in the round some of the Hindu structural temples contain relief sculpture assignable to the Cēra period as they figure on walls and foundations of datable edifices. Among these the granite figure of dvārapāla is worth noticing for the variety of style and posture. Some of them have simple, expressive faces, and inherent strength compressed in cylindrical volumes approximating the Pallava style. Others have perforated crown with a halo-like extension, broad face, beaded ornaments and fan-shaped tresses reflecting the Cālukya features. The first variety is found in

Trikkulaśēkharapuram, Mūḷikkaḷam, Tripṛaṅgōḍe, etc. and the second variety is found in Panniyūr, Cōkiram, Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi, Aviṭṭathūr etc. The resemblance between this last-mentioned group and the characters in Kathakaḷi cannot escape notice.

The miniature sculptured panels of granite in the niches of the wall also attract attention. The Pullūr-Koḍavalam temple exhibits the relics of nicely carved dancing figures in the koshtas of the shrine. Similar figures of slightly bigger size are noticed at Perumcellūr, Triccambaram. Kāḷiyampaḷḷi, Muduvallūr etc. Usually this panel is found in a long granite frame roughly about 4' x 2' in size. The space within is often divided into two or three compartments where different scenes from a story are sculptured. Though small, they are executed with great skill. A panel from the Muduvallūr temple shows in three compartments a woman and child, an archer and a god respectively.[56] The limited space is fully and cleverly exploited and the figures reveal the craftsman's imagination as well as professional expertise.

The Cōkiram Śiva temple with four 9th-10th century inscriptions exhibits a few panels of this type. They resemble the miniature Cōḷa sculptures of Kumbhakōṇam Nāgēśvara temple.[57] Each panel about 3' in height and 1' in breadth is divided into three sections of unequal size. A few of the figures may be identified in spite of their damaged and worn out appearance. The nearest niche to the left of entrance may be called the Kuṭakkūttu panel. It has three female figures in the top compartment who are looking down on the figure of a person, probably Lord Subrahmaṇya, performing Kuṭakkūttu dance in the middle compartment. The bottom compartment holds a balanced composition with two male figures, one playing flute and the other beating a drum, in accompaniment of the dance above. The nearest niche to the right of entrance reveals a Kāḷiyamardana panel with Lord Kṛṣṇa jumping into the water at the top, dancing in full form in the middle, and killing Kāḷiya at the bottom of the section. In one of the panels a chariot with a male and a female appears in the centre. This may be identified as the marriage procession of Dēvaki and Vasudēva. The other two compartments are highly damaged. In another panel the figure of Kṛṣṇa holds up the mountain at the top and two pairs of persons are shown in the remaining two. This is evidently the panel of Gōvardhanōdhāraṇa. Yet another panel depicts a Śiva linga with a crowned figure in the two upper sections and two crowned figures facing each other in the bottom section. This may perhaps represent Balabhadra's attempt to condemn the Liṅga which brought him and Śiva face to face.

A few of the granite balustrades on either side of the steps leading to the śṛīkōyil, known as the sōpāna, contain sculptured figures and ornamental design. Those at the Adbbuta Nārāyaṇa temple at Trikkaḍithānam have been noticed before.[58] They must be contemporary with the Bhāskara Ravi inscrip-

tions on the wall base and they represent the Kuṭaikkūttu and Kuṭakkūttu types of ancient Dravidian dance. The Kuṭaikkūttu panel represents a male dancer on a maṇḍapa. An attendant on his left holds an umbrella. Two other attendants provide the background music with mṛidangam and a pair of cymbals. A flock of hamsas are depicted on the roof of the maṇḍapa. The Kuṭakkūttu panel comes from the chisel of the same sculptor, exhibiting similar details and style. There is more agility in the dancer and the attendants, in the "agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head". Two kuṭams or pots each are balanced on the extended left arm and the bent right arm of the dancer, and "three or four pots are seen dangling in space, thrown up in quick revolutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall, and thrown up again in succession".[59]

The scenes are definitely conceived and executed by a major artist as evidenced by the clever exploitation of the limited space provided by the curve of the balustrade. The drummer's postures are adjusted to the makara motif, and the animation of the dance is evoked by the daring distortions of the dancer's body as well as the expressions and postures of the attendants. The crouching drummers and kneeling cymbalists are identified with the spirit of the scene. The Cōḷa order of the pilasters, exhibiting the middle phase of evolution, and the flowery design of the framework are noticeable.

There is a similar Kuṭakkūttu panel at the Kiḍaṅgūr temple attributed to the 11th century. Kiḍaṅgūr is one of the original 32 settlements though no early record has survived there. A critic has praised the "rhythm in the powerful action of the Kuṭakkūttu" while finding fault with the execution of the work and also the composition.[60] This would appear to be an unsuccessful imitation of the one described above.

It is quite likely that the balustrade sculpture at Trivikṛamamaṅgalam Viṣṇu temple in Manukulādiccamaṅgalam belong to the immediate post-Cēra period.[61] Tile name of the village itself is derived from Bhāskara Ravi's coronation name but the surviving records in the temple belong to the 12th century, and at any rate they are later than the known Cēra inscriptions in script and language.[62] The balustrade has three compartments. The central one shows a dancing girl and two mothers with babies. The two side-panels represent two varieties of dance. It is clear that the figure-sculpture is a development from the earlier period noticed above. The conventional network of floral design also suggests a later date and a further development from Cēra sculpture.

There are beautifully sculptured balustrade panels in several Cēra temples which have not received scholarly attention so far. The pair of dancers found on either side of steps of a subsidiary shrine at Trikkulaśēkharapuram temple at the capital may be cited as example. This temple with two Cēra inscriptions must have been constructed by the royal Vaiṣṇavite saint

Kulaśēkhara. The subsidiary shrine represents the same type of architecture and sculpture. On the left side of the sōpāna is a smiling danseuse on a raṅgamaṇḍapa with middle Cōḷa pillars and yāḷivari above the cornice. A pleasant faced male cymbalist is carved beside the pillar. Floral designs decorate the frame. The dancer is exhibiting the 'ghūṛṇita' posture in Bharatanāṭya.[63] On the right side is another danseuse in a similar setting accompanied by a smiling drummer. In one corner is a pūṛṇakumbha. The dancer is exhibiting the 'catura' posture.[64] In both panels the figures are simple, slightly elongated as in Cālukya and Pallava period and full of movement and grace. Another type of balustrade scene is represented by the sculptor at Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi where the temple contains a number of Cēra inscriptions from Kōta Ravi to Rāma Kulaśēkhara. The decorative motif here is a door with an arch of makaratōraṇa type above and pilasters and pūṛṇa-kalaśa on either side.

Commenting on a dvārapāla at Viḻiññam a critic has pointed out how there is evidence of Cālukya influence while the type is in the main akin to that of early Cōḷa.[65] There is not much difference between later Pallava and early Cōḷa art. So the statement is true of Kerala sculpture in general during this period if we add that middle Cōḷa techniques are also found at a later stage. There is no Kerala school or idiom as yet in sculpture as distinct from the fashions current in the Deccan and the rest of South India. Traditions from beyond the Western Ghats were taking roots in this country during the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries and it took some time before the peculiarities of the soil blossomed forth in the form of a Kerala sculpture.

Script and Language

The written language used for business transactions in this period has survived on copper and stone and the language of literature is revealed in several works of poetry and prose. In addition to those in Tamil a few works in Sanskrit also have survived. These writings, both ordinary and literary, mundane as well as creative, form another variety of the products of the age of which we are able to gain direct knowledge.

The Cēra epigraphs are composed mostly in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and rarely in what is known as Pallava Grantha or Southern Grantha.[66] Even in Vaṭṭeḻuttu text the opening words like 'Swasti śṛi' are invariably written in Grantha. Many Sanskrit names and words like 'Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara', 'Rājaśēkhara', 'Prakṛti', 'Brahmasvam', 'Dēvasvam', 'Īśvara' 'Śṛīvaiṣṇava', 'Brāhmaṇa', 'Rakṣābhōga', 'Jīrṇṇa', 'Sabha', 'Puruṣa', 'Ēkagrāma' etc. are often written in Grantha.[67] It is interesting to note that while Vaṭṭeḻuttu was the common script for Tamil in Cēra-Pāṇḍya region till the 9th century it came to be replaced after that time by the present Tamil script everywhere except in Ke-

rala.[68] The Tamil script which became current in the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms by the 10th century has not been employed in any Cēra inscription. This shows that in the matter of writing Kerala had started on a path different from that of Tamiḻakam even during the final phase of the Cēra period. Not only was the old Vaṭṭeḻuttu script retained but it was developed further. In the course of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries there occurred such quick changes in the shape of some letters that the date of a record may be fixed approximately by reference to the script alone. [69] After the Cēra period also Vaṭṭeḻuttu went on evolving and gradually developed into Kōleḻuttu and continued in use among certain classes, especially Muslims and Christians up to the 19th century. [70]

The use of the Southern Pallava Grantha script for those letters which were absent in Vaṭṭeḻuttu is found from the earliest Cēra inscription of the 9th century, i.e., the Vāḻappaḷḷi copper plate of Rājaśēkhara.[71] The present Malayalam script is a modified form of this Grantha, employed in Kerala during the Cēra period for writing Sanskrit, as demonstrated by its use in Sanskritic words and phrases. At some stage when the percentage of Sanskrit words in 'tatsama' form increased in the literary language of Kerala, the use of Vaṭṭeḻuttu must have become inconvenient and it must have been progressively replaced by the Grantha script.[72] Perhaps this may explain why the upper caste Hindu who employed more Sanskrit words and expressions in their literature adopted Grantha script earlier while the Christians and Muslims continued to employ Vaṭṭeḻuttu for a long time.

Scholars have explained the term Vaṭṭeḻuttu as indicating the round (Vaṭṭam) form of the script.[73] There is no truth in this contention since the letters are not strikingly round in shape when compared to any other script of olden times. The alternative explanation that it was called 'Veṭṭeḻuttu', i.e., the script of stone inscriptions (Vēṭṭtu or Kalveṭṭu) is more plausible.[74] However, the script would have been used both for inscriptions and manuscript at the same time and this would remove the basis of the title. In the circumstances it is more likely that it was called 'Vaṭa eḻuttu' (northern writing) since it was first introduced most probably by the Jains and Buddhists who came from the North to South India.[75] It was in Kerala alone that this form of writing survived after the 9th century on account of its adoption by the Cēras and their successor-states in this region.

The language of Cēra epigraphy was at first mistakenly described as Tamil.[76] Later on it was recognised that there was some difference between this and Tamil and scholars christened it as 'Western dialect of Tamil'.[77] However, this term ignored the fact that it was no dialect but a language employed in official records and transactions at the level of the court as well as the village temples in Kerala. The differences which are noticed between Cēra inscriptional language and contemporary Tamil used for literature and inscriptions

in the rest of Tamiḻakam can be explained in terms of the six 'nayas' (tendencies) formulated by Rājarāja Varma.[78] These six tendencies are found at work already in the earliest records of Makōtai Cēras and their scope goes on enlarging from century to century. The old Tamil forms and the new Malayalam forms are found simultaneously in the same inscription while the frequency of new forms increases gradually and reaches a point where the identity of a separate language is noticeable. In other words certain lawlessness is observed in the written language and this must be the reflection of changes taking place in the language spoken by the upper castes in Kerala, i.e., the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas etc. who were the authors of inscriptions. It is evidently much more than what can be explained in terms of regional dialectal variation or dēśyabhāṣa. This difference between standard Tamil and the language of the court and temple elite of Kerala could have been caused by the large scale immigration and settlement of Tuḷu-Canarese Aryan Brahmins, an event which may be described as the most important social phenomenon of the Post-Sangam age in Kerala. The changing form of the written language of epigraphy must have been following the pattern of their spoken language. However, there may be a time lag of about a century before the written language accepts and records the innovations of the spoken language. In this manner the development of a new dialect must have occurred in the 7th and 8th centuries even before the rise of the Cēras of Makōtai.[79]

In view of the organic relationship of this Cēra inscriptional language with modern Malayalam it could be called Old Malayalam. It is quite possible that spoken language being more advanced than the written language in this direction at least some popular poetry was composed in this period in the 'new' language. There is no reason why the tradition about Tōlan, the comedian of Kulaśēkhara Varma's court, which says that he wrote the Malayalam passages for the Vidūṣaka's speeches on the stage, should not be accepted as genuine.[80] However, it is probable that Old Malayalam of this period was deemed by contemporaries only as an 'apabhramśabhāṣa' (non-standard language) and was considered unfit for serious literature. This is inferred from the fact that Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār himself wrote in Tamil and Sanskrit and not in this new language. However, it is also significant that after the period of the Nāyanārs and Āḻvārs which came to a close before the 10th century, no serious work in Tamil was produced by Keralites for a long time. An independent linguistic tradition was fast growing in Kerala. Even if some poetic works were attempted in the new language they must have perished in course of time as they failed to be understood in a matter of one or two centuries in view of the quick development of language.

The earliest literary work which has come to light in Old Malayalam is *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam* by an anonymous author. The reference to 'Accu' as coin would show that it was composed after the 11th century. The operation of the

six rules also has advanced further in this work in comparison with the Cēra inscriptions. Therefore it is correctly assigned to the 12th-13th centuries.[81] It is likely that other works of the same or slightly earlier period have disappeared in course of time. If the birth of a separate dialect in the area started some time before the Cēra period in about the 7th- 8th centuries and it came to be used in epigraphy for official records in the 9th century, it may be suggested that the large-scale migration of Tuḷu-Kanarese Brahmins, their settlement in key positions, and their gradual rise to economic and social power, were the major sociological and racial factors behind this linguistic phenomenon. In other words the Brahmin settlements created not only a temple-centred oligarchy and temple oriented culture but also a new temple-language in which the Vidūṣaka speeches of Kūṭiyāṭṭam composed by Tōlan for performance at the Kūttampalam constituted the earliest literary venture.

Bhakti Songs

The hymn of Sundaramūrti on the Lord of Tiruvañcikkaḷam has already been mentioned in connection with the rise of Makōtai. Sundara's friend Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, who may be identical with Rāma Rājaśēkhara, was not only a king of Makōtai and devotee of Śiva but also a poet of considerable merit and the author of three *hymns - Ponvaṇṇattandādi, Tiruvārūr Mummaṇikkōvai,* and *Ādiyula* or *Tirukkailāyajñana Ula.*[82] The first sings the praise of the Lord of Cidambaram which the Cēra Nāyanār is stated to have visited along with his friend Sundara. The second is composed in three different metres in honour of the deity of Tiruvārūr, the birth place of Sundara, which the two friends visited together in the course of their pilgrimage. The third is believed to have been composed after the author had reached the mythical Kailāsa but it perhaps refers not to Lord Śiva as such but only to an iconographic representation of Śiva in some temple.[83] It gives an account of Śiva's procession through the city and the reception accorded to him by women of different ages. This reminds one of a temple procession through the streets of Dēvadāsis. As it is the first of the Ulas, a form of poetic composition which developed quickly in Tamil, is called *Ādiyula.*

These poems are said to follow the Sangam stanzas in their Akam portions, and are described as 'charming', and their style is stated to be 'elevated and dignified', and for these reasons they deserve to be widely known and studied.[84] These were composed to be sung by danseuses during festive processions of the deities. The history of the shrine is referred to and aspects of contemporary society like the religious and artistic life around the temple are often reflected in these works. Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār has incorporated two Kuṛals in the *Ādiyua* where he refers to the author of *Tirukkuṛal* as 'Paṇṭiyōr', i.e., the ancient one.[85]

A certain Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ (Governor of Vēṇāṭu) is mentioned as another Nāyanār or devotee of Śiva and his poem called *Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ Tiruvicaippa* contains the confession of a wicked man who came under the influence of other creeds and led a bad life and afterwards came back, like a despised dog, to Śiva in search of spiritual solace.[86] This ruler must have flourished after the formation of Vēṇāṭu as a district under the Cēra in 825 AD and before the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism under Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār in the second half of the 9th century. Therefore he may be tentatively identified as Ayyan Aṭikaḷ of Vēṇāṭu, the donee of the Syrian copper-plates. It is not improbable that the reference to other creeds had something to do with the advent of Christianity under the leadership of Mār Sāpir Īśō.

Kerala's contribution to Vaiṣṇava bhakti literature in this period consists of the works of the royal saint Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār.[87] He is known among Vaiṣṇavites as the author of *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* in Tamil and *Mukundamālā* in Sanskrit.[88] Several attempts have been made in the past to fix his age on the basis of internal evidence but it remains controversial.[89] However, it is known that his *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* was recited in Śrīrangam temple in 1088 AD.[90] This may be taken to mean that he had been widely recognised as a saint before the close of the 11th century. In fact there is indirect but reliable evidence to show that he lived before the 11th century.[91] The only Cēra king with the title of Kulaśēkhara known to epigraphy before this period is Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (844-c. 870 AD). Therefore the Āḷvār may tentatively be identified with this sovereign.

It is likely that Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār is identical with another Cēra king Kulaśēkhara who is the author of three Sanskrit works - a campūkāvya called *Āścaryamañjari*, and two plays called *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* and *Subhadrādhanañjayam* respectively. The preambles in the plays reveal that the three Sanskrit works belonged to the same ruler of Kēraḷakula who was Lord of Mahōdayapura and King of Kerala.[92] He is also described in the preamble to the first play as a great devotee of god - 'paramahamsa pādapankēruha pāmsu paṭala pavitrīkṛta mukuṭataṭa' - or literally one whose head is purified by the dust of the lotus feet of supreme devotees. This Sanskrit epithet is strikingly similar to the Tamil epithet 'toṇṭar aṭi ppoṭi' which Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār employs to describe himself in *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* and it reminds one strongly about the sentiment expressed in the second decade of the hymn. It reveals that the playwright was also a very pious man.[93] Other phrases like 'satata sannihita sarasīruhākṣa caraṇarajōvitāna virājīkṛta hṛdaya puṇḍarīka' and 'matimandaramathita mahābhārata pārāvara parigṛhīta jñānāmṛtasañcaya' found in the preamble to the second play bring out his devotion towards Lord Viṣṇu and his fascination for the *Mahābhārata*. Some of the other sentiments expressed by the Āḷvār and the dramatist and the imagery common to the work would also support their identification. For

instance, *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* expresses the revulsion for material pleasures and royal power and the poet only wants to be reborn as a crane or fish in the tank of Śṛīvenkaṭa temple.[94] An echo of this may be found in *Mukundamāla*.[95] The same sentiment is expressed in some passages of the Sanskrit plays also.[96]

Kulaśēkhara's *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, consisting of 105 stanzas, includes three decades on the Lord of Śṛīranga, one decade on the Lord of Tiruvenkaṭam, one decade on the Lord of Tiruviṛṛuvakōḍe, one decade on a gōpika's complaints about Kṛṣṇa's mischief, one decade on Dēvaki's motherly feelings for Kṛṣṇa from whom she was separated, one decade of lullaby to put Kṛṣṇa to sleep, and one decade on Daśaratha's lament about Rāma.[97] The poet also mentions his many titles like Kūṭalar Kōn, Kolli Kāvalan, Kūṭal Nāyakan, Kōḻi Kōn, Koṅkar Kōn, Kollinakarkkiṛai, Kūṭal Kōmān, and Kōḻiyar kōn in the Cāṛṛukkavis tagged on to the end of the decades.[98] According to one view these lines might have been composed by later poets when the works of Āḻvārs were collected and edited, since the self-glorification contained in them does not go well with the humility and detachment of the Āḻvār's tone.[99] The most popular part of *Tirumoḻi* is the second decade known as *'Teṛṛārum tiraḷ'* which was often used for regular singing at the time of worship in temples.[100] Some scholars have remarked that none of the sacred shrines in the Cēra country is even referred to by Kulaśēkhara.[101] However, others have suggested that Viṛṛuvakōḍe is the same as Tirumaṛṛakōḍe near Pattambi in North Kerala.[102] The 6th, 7th and 9th decades of *Tirumoḻi* admittedly reveal great powers of dramatic imagination.[103] The whole poem breathes the spirit of religious intoxication.

According to popular tradition, *Mukundamālā* in Sanskrit was written by the Āḻvār to be recited at Tṛkkulaśēkharapuram temple in the capital. It is a 'short lyrical poem of devotional fervour' composed in 'simple and natural' language.[104] Some scholars have refused to recognise this as the work of the Āḻvār.[105] It was not included among canonical books by Vaiṣṇavas, and the Vaiṣṇava commentators of *Nālāyiraprabandham* have not mentioned it. However, as pointed out earlier, the trend of thought is similar to *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* and the name and dynasty of the author as well as the tradition in Kerala support the view that the Tamil and Sanskrit hymns were composed by the same person. A Tamil inscription from Pāgān (Burma), attributed to the 13th century, speaks about the construction of a maṇḍapa for Viṣṇu and the endowment for a lamp by Rāyiran Ciriyan alias Kulaśēkhara Nampi of Makōtayar paṭṭaṇam in Malaimaṇḍalam and this record is prefaced by a Slōka from *Mukundamāla*.[106]

Perhaps the stōtras in praise of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Bhagavati attributed to the great Śankarācārya who is believed to have flourished during 788-820 AD had to be taken up earlier. However, though the famous *Soundaryalahari* was

certainly the work of Śankara, scholars are not agreed upon the authorship of other works like *Ēkādaśamañjari*, *Dvādaśamañjari*, *Śivānandalahari* and other devotional poems in Sanskrit which might have been composed either by the great master himself or by his immediate disciples. These works in simple and elegant language appeal directly to the head rather than the heart as in the case of the Nāyanārs and Āḷvārs. They are very popular in Kerala. Though Śankara himself was born in Kāladi in Kerala he seems to have had his education and intellectual development elsewhere, and he spent most of his active life in Kāñci and other places, outside Kerala. Therefore he may be considered more in the Indian context than as a Keralite.[107] Some of his disciples like Padmapādācārya seem to have been more closely associated with Kerala. A certain anonymous work named *Padmapādācārya Carita* of which a manuscript copy is found in Trichur Tekke Maḍham, states that the hero who was the immediate disciple of Śankara flourished in the time of a righteous and benevolent Kerala king named Kulaśēkhara.[108] This work narrates the biography of Padmapāda, a disciple of Śṛī Śankara.[109]

Philosophical Works

In the beginning of the 8th century, Daṇḍin, the court poet and scholar of Kāñci, the Pallava capital, has mentioned his Kerala friends, Matrdatta and his father Bhavarāta. It is stated that Bhavarāta was author of *Kalpasūtraṭīkā* and the performer of 33 sacrifices. His second son Matrdatta was proficient in 4 Vēdas and 6 Vēdangas. He was probably identical with the author of commentaries on *Śrauta Sūtra* and *Gṛhya Sūtra* of Hiraṇyakēśin.[110] Towards the close of the same century and the beginning of the 9th century came the great Śankara of Kerala who produced his distinguished works like *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* in Kāñci or some other great intellectual centre outside Kerala. Though his is the first name among the great philosophers born in Kerala, he was not exactly the product of Kerala since his field of work and study carried him to all parts of India, perhaps at a very early age.[111]

There is one philosopher who mentions a Cēra king as his patron by name. This is Sarvajñātman, the author of *Samkṣēpa Śārīrika* and *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*. He states in the preamble of the first work that he was a disciple of Dēvēśvara and that he was writing when king Manukulāditya of Kṣatriya race was ruling over the world.[112] The second work gives his guruparamparā for three generations, i.e., Śṛēṣṭhānandapāda, Dēvānanda pāda and Dēvēśvarapāda.[113] It is clear from this passage that the attempt to identify Dēvēśvara as Surēśvara, the disciple of Śankara, was entirely misconceived.[114] These two eminent philosophical works owe their origin to the Cēra king Manukulāditya's patronage.[115] Some scholars hold the view that Prabhākara the author of two commentaries on *Śabarabhāṣya*, called *Bṛhatī* and *Laghvī*

respectively, was a Keralite but this is not supported by any kind of evidence.[116]

Secular Literature

A special variety of narrative poems called yamaka kāya seems to have come into existence during this period in Kerala. A number of poets like Vāsudēva, Nārayaṇa and Ravidēva composed yamaka kāvyas in Sanskrit language. Their themes were borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The yamaka kāvya has alliteration either at the end of the second and fourth lines or at the end of all the four lines. Poems or portions of poems were conceived in this form even by earlier poets like Kāḷidāsa.[117] However, it was in Kerala that yamaka became a craze and was carried to absurd limits often crippling the poetic imagination. It was probably Vāsubhaṭṭa or Vāsudēva, the author of *Tripuradahanam*, *Śaurikathā* and *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayam* and the courtier of Rāma Rājaśēkhara and Kulaśēkhara, who inaugurated this fashion in Kerala.[118]

It is clear from the style that *Tripuradahanam* and *Śaurikathā* were early works and that *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayam* was his last and most mature work, his master piece. The poet states that he was the son of Ravi.[119] He was a disciple of Paramēśvara who was a Bhārata *guru* - probably a Mahābhārata bhaṭṭa - well versed in the Vēdas and favoured by the goddesses of wealth and learning at once.[120] The *Tripuradahanam* describes in three cantos, containing about two hundred verses in all, the destruction of the 'three cities' by God Śiva. There are three commentaries on this work in later period by west-coast Brahmins testifying to its popularity in this region.[121] The *Śaurikatha* depicts in six cantos the life of Kṛṣṇa, based on the tenth skandha of *Bhāgavata*. This too has provoked two commentaries.[122] The poet's interest in Śiva and Kṛṣṇa and his ability to narrate a story well are illustrated by these works which were actually the preparation for *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayam*. This poem gives the story of the *Mahābhārata* in eight cantos, called āśvāsas, containing about thousand slōkas, mostly in the Ārya metre. It begins from the marriage of Draupadi and ends with the glorious reign of Yudhiṣṭira who is the hero. The main sentiment is vīrarasa. In spite of alliteration, its literary merit is of a very high order. There are eight well known commentaries of the poem besides a number of Malayalam commentaries.[123]

The poet Nārāyaṇa, author of *Sītāharaṇam*, was a contemporary of king Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya.[124] This work is evidently based on the model of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayam*. It gives the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in fifteen cantos.[125] The poet's command of the language and great scholarship are exhibited in the effortless manner of yamaka, but the work is decidedly inferior to that of Vāsudēva.[126] There is another famous yamaka poem called *Naḷōdayam*, the

period and authorship of which have remained controversial. It deals with Naḷa-Damayanti story taken from the *Mahābhārata* in four cantos. The rule of alliteration is followed in all the four lines of a slōka. It is done with such persistence that according to one critic "the chief aim of the author is to display his skill in manipulating artificial metres and elaborate tricks of style".[127] There are nineteen commentaries of the poem.[128] Much of its popularity was due to the fact that it was taken to be a work of Kāḷidāsa. Some commentaries and manuscripts give the author's name as Ravidēva.[129] The preamble of the poem gives the name of the poet's royal patron as Rāma alias Rājāditya.[130] This enables us to place the work in the last quarter of the 11th century - a position supported by the style and technique which deserve to be viewed as a continuation and culmination of tendencies at work in the writings of Vāsudēva and Nārāyaṇa.

Apart from the yamaka poems there is another poetic work in prose named *Āścaryamañjari* by king Kulaśēkhara. It was written before his plays and it is mentioned by name in the first play as a previous work of the author.[131] It had received high praise from the contemporary Maharashtrian poet Rājaśēkhara.[132] However, it has not survived and we have only glimpses of the poem in extracts reproduced elsewhere.[133] It must have been a story in verse and prose belonging to the category of works called kathā. The known extracts reveal the author's rich imagery and perfect command of language.

Stage Plays

There are several plays in Sanskrit which the Cākyārs of Kerala have adopted for Kūṭiyāṭṭam stage. Among them are the works of Kāḷidāsa, Harsha and the Pallava king Mahēndra; a whole cycle of plays attributed to Bhāsa and known as *Bhāsanāṭakacakṛa*; and some plays which are definitely known to have been composed in Kerala such as *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra and two plays - *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* and *Subhadrādhanañjayam* - by the Kerala king Kulaśēkhara. Some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa, like *Bālacaritam*, might also have been the products of scholars in Kerala.

In *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* the author claims that his was the first drama from the South, and that it would surprise the scholars to find a drama coming out of the South.[134] There is a popular tradition that Śaktibhadra was a native of Ceṅgaṉṉūr and a contemporary of Śankara and this may well be genuine.[135] He was certainly anterior to Kulaśēkhara. The drama in seven acts recreates the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The dramatist has shown "real judgement where he deviates from Vālmīki in the construction of the plot". The drama takes its name from the miraculous crest jewel (*āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*) and ring given to Rāma and Sīta by the hermits. It may also indicate the adbhutarasa which is the dominating motif of the play. Scholars have expressed the view that it is

"the best of the Rama-plays".[136] All critics have praised the quickness of action which contributes to success on the stage.[137]

Though Śaktibhadra came earlier, it was Kulaśēkhara, the royal dramatist, who infused a new spirit into the classical Sanskrit theatre in Kerala and gave it a new lease of life which enabled it to survive in this part of the country while it perished in all other centres of India. That the dramatist Kulaśēkhara lived before 920 AD is clear from the reference to his early work by the poet Rājaśēkhara.[138] Similarly he could not have produced the dramas before 850 AD since he is stated to have been an admirer of the theory of Dhvani, propagated by Āṉandavardhana, courtier of Avanti Varman (855-84 AD) of Kashmir, which must have taken at least a decade to reach Kerala.[139] Therefore the dramatist may be confidently identified as Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (844- c. 883 AD) who was the patron of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa. He was also the famous Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār of Tamil Bhakti literature.

It has already been pointed out that Kulaśēkhara's early prose work *Āścaryamañjari* survives only in quotations. The drama called *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* borrows its plot from the *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparva, chapters 171-3) and develops in six acts the romance between Tapatī, the daughter of Āditya, and Samvaraṇa, the king of Hastiṉāpura, which culminates in the birth of a son, Kuru by name. The second drama called *Subhadrādhanañjayam* has for its plot the famous Arjuna-Subhadrā episode, based on the *Mahābhārata*. The growth of love between the two, culminating in Subhadra's abduction by the hero disguised as a sannyāsin, is treated in five acts of the drama.[140] Both plays make use of magic and supernatural elements to further the promotion of love by putting obstacles before it. In the first play the female demon Mōhinika is introduced and in the second another evil spirit and the Goddess Kātyāyani herself are brought into the scene. Both plays betray the poet's indebtedness to the *Mahābhārata* and the work of Kāḷidāsa, which he acknowledges in the prologue.[141] The element of humour is provided by the stock character of the court-jester called Vidūṣaka whose cowardice and preoccupation with hunger, and above all, the pretensions to scholarship, produce many interesting situations on the stage.[142] The author's devotion to Viṣṇu is evident in the Nāndi and Bharatavākya.[143] He also creates occasions to incorporate a hymn in praise of Vāmaṉa in *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*,[144] and another in praise of Bhagavatī in *Subhadrādhanañjayam*.[145] He makes use of double entendre for verbal jugglery in a famous Slōka in which a list of scholarly works can be found in a description of the old age of a person.[146] He mentions nine 'rasas' in the place of the earlier set of eight 'rasas' mentioned by Kāḷidāsa, Daṇḍi etc.[147]

By his own admission Kulaśēkhara was deeply attached to the *Mahābhārata* and was never tired of listening to the recitation of the poems of Kāḷidāsa.[148] He has incorporated his definition of good poetry in a passage

through double entendre.[149] Even though the scenes of the plays are visualised in north and central India, he manages to bring a reference to southern territories in the talk of a messenger.[150] An incidental reference to the cutting of the veins on the face by the surgical knife reminds one of the use of the same image in Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār's *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* though the context is not the same.[151] Some critics have observed that "Kulaśēkhara's dramas deserve a place among the classical dramas in Sanskrit literature".[152] There may be difference of opinion about their merit and originality but there is no doubt that Kulaśēkhara was responsible for giving a new stimulus and popularity to the Sanskrit theatre movement in Kerala. The new all-important role assigned to the Vidūṣaka in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the Keralite version of a Sanskrit stage play, vulgarised the literary form but made itself popular and kept the Sanskritic theatre alive in Kerala. Eventually it gave rise to the mono-act called Pāṭhakam by Cākyārs which in turn inspired Tuḷḷal by Nambyārs in later times.

There are two commentaries called *Vyaṅgyavyākhya* on the two dramas of Kulaśēkhara. The anonymous author claims in his preface to be the confidant of the royal dramatist who invited him to the court, and taking him aside, read out the plays, enacting each part, and requested him to prepare stage directions.[153] A pen portrait of Kulaśēkhara is presented in the preface of the commentary for the drama.[154] The commentator explains that the king had the dhvaṉi theory in mind while composing the work and that his commentary was intended to bring out the hidden meanings in the kāvya. The real merit of the two works lies only in the directions for the stage.

Some scholars have doubted the veracity of the statements about the dramatist in the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* commentaries and even questioned the contemporaneity of the dramatist and the commentator.[155] It has been argued that Kulaśēkhara, the dramatist, flourished in the early part of the 9th century and that therefore a contemporary reference to Dhvaṉi theory of Ānandavardhana produced in the latter half of the 9th century would have been impossible.[156] This is irrelevant as there is no concrete evidence to support the existence of a Cēra king Kulaśēkhara of Mahōdayapura in the beginning of the 9th century. There is no reason why Ānandavardhana's fame could not have reached the court of Mahōdayapura even during his life-time though his theories were misinterpreted. Another objection was based on the assumption that *Daśarūpaka* mentioned in *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* was the text of that name composed by Dhanañjaya in the 10th century.[157] However, this need not be the case because the eighteenth chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, describing the ten types of drama, was known as *Daśarūpaka*.[158] The understanding of the principle of Dhvaṉi is not very deep in the commentaries.[159] Still it is quite likely that the author was a contemporary and confidant of

the royal author who was keenly interested in following the new trends in Sanskrit literature and popularising them in Kerala.

Astronomy

The *Laghubhāskarīya Vyākhyā*, an astronomical work of Śankaranārāyaṇa produced in the court of Sthāṇu Ravi, has been mentioned already as a source of historical information.[160] The author himself has given the date of composition.[161] It is written in the form of a commentary on *Laghubhāskarīya* written by Bhāskara I (522 AD), a disciple of Āryabhaṭa the author of *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 AD).[162] The first slōka in the work is the invocation of Sthāṇu, a term carefully chosen to denote lord Śiva and king Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara at the same time.[163] In the second slōka he records his respect for five predecessors in the field, i.e., Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira, Bhāskara, Gōvinda and Haridatta.[164] In the third slōka he states that Bhāskara, whose work he had chosen for commentary, was himself the commentator on Āryabhaṭa who elaborated the system of Pitāmaha which was derived from Brahmā.[165] Śankaranārāyaṇa's own commentary was meant to be a summary and simplification of Bhāskara's work "for the instruction of children".[166] Bhāskara first wrote a Bhāṣya (commentary) on gaṇitakālakriyā and gōḷalakṣaṇa, then composed *Bṛhadbhāskarīya* on Gṛahakarmanibandhana, and then prepared a summary of it in eight adhikāras (chapters) for the enlightenment of less intelligent people.[167] However, though of Śankaranārāyaṇa has characterised all three works of Bhāskara as commentaries, the first alone is a commentary on Āryabhaṭa, the *Bṛhadbhāskarīya* and *Laghubhāskarīya* being works of a supplementary character, containing his original contribution.[168] The main object was to deal systematically with the modus operandi for determining the position of planets using the principles of arithmetical calculations enunciated by Āryabhaṭa. It has been claimed that "Bhāskara's work may be reckoned as the bed-rock on which rests the applied astronomy of the Hindus".[169] The *Laghubhāskarīya* deals with grahakarman or grahagaṇita, one of the three main factors that constitute gaṇita.

The courtier of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara has given his name as Śankaranārāyaṇa in the colophons at the end of all eight chapters.[170] The date of composition is indicated in terms of Śaka era and Kali era, and the regnal years of the sovereign.[171] But the Kollam era is not mentioned. Though the original work of Bhāskara used only the bhūtasankhyā or system of word-numerals, the Kerala commentator has employed this as well as the Kaṭapayādi system of letter numerals which was popular in Kerala and became the basis of numerous kalivākyas in circulation.[172] Śankaranārāyaṇa quotes profusely from Āryabhaṭa and occasionally from Gōvinda.[173] He takes the methods followed at Kollāpuri (Kolhāpūr) in Paithyarāṣṭṛa as the standard practice, thereby suggesting his own background of training in the old

Cālukya city of the Deccan.[174] His references to the Cēra king Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara, his court and buildings at Mahōdayapura, his discussions on details of astronomy and, incidentally, references to some events like a military expedition under the leadership of prince Rāmadēva and the birth of a son to the king Ravivarmadēva, have been pointed out elsewhere.[175] The progress of astronomy at the Cēra capital under the patronage of Sthāṇu Ravi is highlighted by the references to the rāśicakṛa marked by a yantṛavalaya, evidently a part of the observatory which king Ravivarma had established there.[176] The popularity of the science in the kingdom as a whole is indicated by the statement of the position of Jupiter in most of the temple inscriptions of the Cēra period and the mention of date, month, week-day, asterism etc. in some of them and the acceptance of Viṣu as the landmark in landlord-tenant relations also.

With regard to the quality of the work as a contribution to the field, the following observations of the editor may be reproduced here:[177]

> The commentary is not a mere textual interpretation of the original. It looks like a treatise on grahagaṇita using the *Laghubhāskarīya* for the purpose of authentication. Śankaranārāyaṇa is a master of the subject and an adept in clearly presenting the facts. On reading the original connected ideas rush to his mind and he presents them systematically without any unnecessary digression.

The passages dealing with 'aharganānayana' may be cited as example for this characteristic feature. In this context a brief explanation of the importance of the Śaka era for calculating kalidiṇa is followed by a discussion of its origin and its acceptance as the basis of astronomical calculations. Occasionally Śankaranārāyaṇa has also "treated matters which are very important in astronomy but left out in the original".[178] The editor cites his clear exposition of Trairāṣika in support of this view. Further he cites with admiration the treatment of the entire Kūṭṭākāraganita and the Bhūtasankhya system in simple stanzas and the incorporation of astronomical problems here and there.

History

Perhaps the most important aspect of contemporary literature is the composition of a historical work recording dynastic and local history, i.e., *Mūṣakavamśakāvya*. As already pointed out, this work of Atula, courtier of Śrīkaṇṭha alias Rāmakhaṭa Mūṣaka (c. 1020) is unique in India as a piece of purely historical literature. It is not only earlier than Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangiṇi* by about a century but also more representative of Indian outlook.[179] Its value as an important source of information regarding chronology, political history, cities, temples etc. has been discussed elsewhere.[180]

> The narration of events in this work in simple elegant Sanskrit is clear, straight forward, and, after the early chapters dealing with myths and legends, it is factual and specific, replete with names of real persons, regions, places, temples etc. Unlike Kalhaṇa the author has an orthodox and traditional view of life. He looks at history as the chronicle of events like the birth and death of kings, their wars and alliances and their achievements in the field of religious patronage. He betrays the attitude of a courtier in recording only the good and noble aspects of character in relation to ruling princes. This tendency to glorify and idealise does not, however, tempt him to suppress their misfortunes. For instance he describes the fight between Īśāna II Mūṣaka and his brother-in-law Cēramān Vijayarāga, the revolts of the chiefs of Bhaṭasthali and Marupura, and the murder of Jayamāni by the usurper named Vikṛamarāma.[181]
>
> The description of events like wars or the character of princes reveals the conventional style of the poet and a weakness for superlatives though he is not enamoured of rhyme and alliteration like other poets of the age. Puranic references and romantic figures of speech are characteristic of the diction.[182] Still it is clear from the account that the author based his work on a foundation of historical facts mentioned in some records or early chronicles. The theme is mostly legendary or fictitious in the first eleven sargas and mostly historical in the last four sargas. In form it is an extension and elaboration of the praśasti found in inscriptions outside Kerala. The work may be described as a worthy representative of the branch of literature known as vamśa kāvya.[183] The very fact that such a history was produced in one of the divisions of the Cēra kingdom shows that it was the general practice among Hindu kings to encourage court historians to maintain records and compile them later in the form of a kāvya.

On the whole the Cēra period in Kerala was highly productive in terms of literature both in Sanskrit and Tamil languages. This is evident from the spate of devotional songs and narrative poems, and the specimens of philosophical treatises, dramas, commentaries and the works in astronomy and history examined above. In quality, however, most of them are not to be classified as great literature except perhaps the hymns of Kulaśēkhara, the single drama of Śaktibhadra and the philosophical works of Śankarāchārya, the last mentioned group deserving to be treated more as products of South India than of Kerala. Innovations were largely confined to outward form as in the case of the Tamil Ula and the Sanskrit Yamaka kāvya. Creative work in Tamil appears to have ceased to come out of Kerala since the close of the ninth century and the fast development of a new Malayalam dialect from standard Tamil in this region might have been responsible for this phenomenon. However, the appearance of independent Malayalam literary works, apart from Tolan's Vidūṣaka passages in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, cannot be noticed dur-

ing the Cēra period. Perhaps the spoken dialect of Old Malayalam, already employed in epigraphy came to be used in serious literature only after it attained more maturity in the course of centuries. The Cēra period may truly be stated to have laid the foundation for a passionate love of Sanskrit learning and literature in Kerala, especially among the higher classes of the people. The most significant developments in the literary field may be summed up as the production and popularisation of Tamil and Sanskrit devotional songs and Sanskrit drama, the foundation of an intellectual tradition with emphasis on philosophy, astronomy and history and the gradual adaptation of the Western dialect of Tamil for use in records and literature.

Notes and References

1. The Cēra palace-complex was in existence even during the 15th century. A Maṇipravāḷam poem of that period points to the very spot near Tiruvañcikkaḷam temple where the Kulapuri (headquarters) of the Cēra king stood, mocking at paradise. See *Kōkasandēśam*, Slōka. 76. The Panankāvil palace at Kollam (Quilon) mentioned in two Cēra inscriptions (Index no. A. 71 and B. 11.) has been wiped out of existence.
2. The Śrīmūlavāsa vihāra of the Buddhists had most probably been swallowed by the ocean. See Chapter XII Religion and Religious Culture. The site of the Christian Tarisāppaḷḷi in Kollam (Quilon) has not been traced.
3. The Śiva temple of Tiruvañcikkaḷam, the family temple of the Cēras near the palace, contains records of the period of Rājasimha (11th century) on the base of a minor shrine outside the first prākāra. See Index no. A. 58. This helps us to assert that the temple already had its present size with several tutelary deities. However, the central shrine was completely reconstructed at the beginning of the 19th century as proved by all inscriptions. See *T.A.S.*, VI, II, pp. 191-2.
4. For Trikkaḍittāṉam, see Index no. A. 31, 32, 38, 42, 47, 64 and B. 19. For Cōkiram, see Index no. C. 18 and 19.
5. For details and photographs of the Kallil temple, see *T.A.S.*, II, II, p. 130 and Plate IX, Figures I, 2 and 3. For details and photographs of Chitrāl, see *T.A.S.*, I, XII, pp. 193–4 and Plates facing p. 194. See also *T.A.S.*, II, II, pp. 125-27 and Plate V, Figures 1, 2 and 3.
6. For notices of Irunnalakōḍe, see *A.R.A.D.C.* 1935-6, App. I, p. 29. For details of the same, See M.G.S Narayanan, 'Karinkallil Oru Kavita', *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, 1-9. There is no satisfactory account of Trikkūr cave temple. The present writer visited the place (26-11-'61) but its real character is obscured by the structural buildings attached to it. Brahmins alone are permitted to enter the ten-foot corridor which leads to the actual cave. For details of Kaviyūr, See *T.A.S.*, *V*, I, pp. I- 6, and Plates facing p. 4. Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4. He points out the similarity between this and the Pallava caves of Mahēndravarman, especially the Trichinopoly cave. For details of Tirunandikkarai, see *T.A.S.*, III, II, pp. 200-3.

7. The Narasimha cave-temple at Ānamalai in the Madura district was excavated in 770 AD by a minister of Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parāntaka, see *E.I.*, VIII, p. 318.

8. Gopinatha Rao attributed the Kaviyūr cave to the 7th century and Ramanatha Ayyar to the 8th century. See *T.A.S.*, V, I, pp. 1, 5, 6. Dr. Stella Kramrisch agrees with this view. See *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, p. 26. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions in the neighbouring Śiva temple belong to the middle of the 10th century. Therefore it would be a safe assumption that the cave-shrine preceded the structural temple although more precise dating is not possible.

9. *K.S.P.*, III, p. 146. The figure of a soldier with bow and sword is engraved in low relief on the back of a granite slab with a memorial inscription praising Raṇakīrti dated in the 27th year of the Pāṇḍyan king Māṟan Caṭayan (765-815 AD). It was discovered at Āramboḷi in South Travancore and transferred to the archaeological museum in Trivandrum. This figure is very clumsily executed.

10. *T.A.S.*, V, I, no.1, p. 4. See also C. Sivaramamurthi, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 78.

11. Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, p. 26.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

13. *T.A.S.*, V, I, no.1, pp. 4-5.

14. *A.R.A.D.C.*, II, II, ME (1935-36 AD), App. I, p. 29. See Photo in plate No. II. B.

15. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Plates no. XXI and XXII, Fig. 51 and 57.

16. Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, p. 28.

17. For details of this early variety, see *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, VII, no.2, p. 11.

18. See *Mānasāra*, Chap. 55, quoted in *T.A.S.*, II, II, pp. 118-9.

19. *T.A.S.*, II, II, pp. 126-7.

20. Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, p. 29. "The images of Padmāvati dēvi.... have all the ripeness and modelling and leisure of stance of images of the Goddess carved throughout India in the 9th century". Sivaramamurthi, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 78. "Early Cēra sculpture in cave temples closely resembling the Pallava and Pāṇḍya ones have similar form and poise".

21. Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, pp. 40-1.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 13. "The original plan and as a rule the stone socle of the individual temples in Travancore are complete to this day. Many a śṛīkōyil is raised above steps which are inscribed. The lateral carryings together with the inscriptions prove them to be centuries earlier than the present shrine which is a reconstruction identical in plan with the original building. Similarly the entire site plan of these temples of the 13th to the 18th centuries faithfully follows the prescriptions and practice of earlier centuries".

(22 A). See Photos in Plates no. I.A. and B. And No. II B for the three types.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 25.

24. See Cālukya and Pallava temples in K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 450-52, 457-63.

25. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, I, p. 19.

26. *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

27. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 699-700, 749, Plate I, Fig. I and 2. See Photo of Talakkuḷathūr in Plate no. I.B.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 710-11, Plate VI, Fig. 1 and 2.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 705.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 721.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 720, 21. See also S.R. Balasubramanyam, *Early Cōḷa Art*, I, Pl. 28, 34a, 43, 47, 53, 106.

32. *Early Cōḷa Art*, *Op. Cit.*, P1. 36a, 40a.

33. *The Cōḷas*, pp. 701, 705. See photo of Paṛamban Taḷḷi in Plate no. III. B.

34. For the details of Tiruvalla, see *K.S.P.*, II, pp. 57 ff. For Dēvidēvēśvaram, see *T.A.S.*, IV, I, p. 43. For Tirunandikkara, see *T.A.S.*, III, II, p. 201.

35. Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, p. 1. "In Travancore, two traditions of art co-existed. The one forms part of the Drāviḍa School of architecture, the other is indigenous. The Drāviḍa School of architecture, to the exclusion of any other style, is at home in South India on the East or Coromandel coast; at the extreme southern point of the peninsula it touches also the West coast of Travancore. Another indigenous school of architecture, sculpture and painting, by which the West coast of South India or Malabar is distinguished may be designated as the Kerala school".

36. *Ibid.*, p.15. "The portion of the building covered by the sloped roofs is more than four times the height of the visible perpendicular wall of the temple. Outside Malabar not even the highest superstructure of any temple of India ever rose to such proportionate heights. Outside Malabar the superstructure of stone or brick temples is as a rule not more than double the height of the walls and does not exceed thrice their height. The wall of the Kerala temples is very low in proportion to the girth of the temple and the total height does not exceed, much if at all, the height of the enclosing trees and palms".

37. K.G. Sesha Iyer, *The Cēras of the Sangam Age*, p. 142. "Architecture of the buildings on the Malabar Coast reproduces the distinctive features of the architecture of the Mongolian countries, particularly in temples." Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, pp. 15, 17. "The correspondence or seaborne inter-relation in Chinese and Kerala architecture await detailed study"; "Attention has frequently been drawn to the similarity of certain Nepalese structures and the buildings of Kerala." Krithika, 'The Temples of Kerala'. *The Hindu*, 21st Oct. 1962. "The ridges of the roof ended in concave curves. It increased the elegance of the building and was reminiscent of Chinese architecture".

38. See Sastri, *South India*, pp. 472-3.

39. For details of Kūttampalam in ancient India, see V. Raghavan, "Theatre Architecture in Ancient India", Part III. "The Evidence of Tamil Literature" *Trivēṇi*, vol. VI, no.1, July-August. (Madras, 1933). For details of Kūttampalam in medieval Kerala, see Clifford R. Jones, "Temple Theatre in Kerala-Kūttampalam", *Kalāmaṇḍalam Annual*, 1968, pp. 45-48.

40. V.K.R. Menon quoted by K.P.P. Menon, *Kerala*, 1, pp. 149-50. "The Persian Caravanserais, states Fergusson, 'have the usual form of a square courtyard surrounded by a range arcades generally two storeys in height...'. The houses of Pompeii resembled the same plan. The smaller houses with their miniature courtyards look so like a small Malayalee Nālukeṭṭu that it has been alleged that Kerala borrowed its secular architecture from Rome. It may be the other way".

41. *A.R.A.D.C.* 1935-36, pp. 3-4.

42. *Ibid.*, 1936-7. Plate no. XI. See photo in plate no. III.A.

43. For details of this variety, see C. Sivaramamurthi, *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, New Series, VII, no. 2, p. 22. See also Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, I, p. 52.

44. *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

46. *A.R.A.D.C.* 1952-53. Plate no XVI. Fig. no. 35.

47. *Ibid.*, 1936-7. Plate no. X.

48. For details of the Saptamāta group and their features, see Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 379-89. The seven deities are Brāhmi, Vaiṣṇavi, Indrāṇi, Chāmuṇḍi, Mahēśvari, Kumāri, and Varāhi.

49. *A.R.A.D.C.* 1925, p. 40; *R.V.R.I.B.*, IX, II, p. 134.

50. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Cōḷa Art*, I, plate no. 114.

51. *A.R.A.D.C.* 1926-7, p. 9. Plate IV. Fig. a and b. exhibited in Trichur Museum.

52. It was buried to half its height below a big banyan tree standing at the Western side of the temple. *A.R.A.D.K.* 1957-8, p. 2. Registered as No. 14/57 on p. 39 and listed as no. 95 in the Trichur Museum file.

53. *A.R.A.D.K.* 1958-9, p. 3. Plate II. Exhibited in Trichur Archaeological Museum.

(53 A). See Photo in Plate no. I, C.

54. For example the present writer found an idol of Viṣṇu in the small ruined granite-based circular shrine of Norōth near Bāluśśēri. It has a typical Pallava form but it is broken into three pieces. It has an arresting face, all calm sweetness and grace.

55. Stella Kramrisch bestows high praise on the Viṣṇu image at Niṛamaṇkara, 14th century. She observes the 'volume of inhaled breadth' which 'imparts supreme power to the face', 'power in the glance of the eyes', and 'squareness of face' - all of them specific traits of the physiognomy of stone sculptures as shaped by Kerala craftsmen'. This is acceptable but her lavish tribute appears to be misplaced in case of the 'broad and weighty' body and limbs which according to her are 'devoid of heaviness'. See

Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa, p. 28. In fact, it is found that heaviness is the curse of later Kerala wood carving and sculpture in stone. A comparison with Niṟamaṇkara Viṣṇu brings out immediately the superiority of earlier work as in Irunnalakōḍe cave temple and Mānipuram in the suggestion of grace and balance.

56. This formed part of a huge circular shrine covered with jungle discovered recently. There are some 11th century inscriptions also in the temple. See Index no. A 7 B, C.13. The said panel is now exhibited in the Department of History, Calicut University.

57. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 723.

58. A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar, Two sculptured panels at Trikkaḍittāṉam, *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 60. pp. 183-87. Plate facing p. 187.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

60. Stella Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kēraḷa*, pp. 27-8. Fig. 24.

61. *T.A.S.*, VI, I, pp. 58-60. Plate facing p. 59.

62. *Ibid.*, no. 44, pp. 60-62.

63. For details of this posture, See *A.R.E.* 1914, p. 75.
"Vartitā ghūṛṇita ssavyō
Hastō vāmaśca dōlitah
Svastikāpasṛtah pādah
Karaṇam ghūṛṇitam ca tad".

64. For details of this posture, see *A.R.E.* 1914, p. 74.
"Ancitasyāt karō vāmaś
Savyaścatura ēva tu
Dakṣiṇāh kuṭṭitah pādaś
Caturam tat prakīrtitam".

65. Sivaramamurthi, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 79.

66. For details of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet showing its development through tables, see Gopinatha Rao, 'Specimens of Vaṭṭeḻuttu Inscriptions', *T.A.S.*, XVI, pp. 283-303. For details of the Pallava Grantha alphabet showing its development and transformation into modern Malayalam script through tables, see Gopinatha Rao, 'The Grantha Alphabet', *T.A.S.*, I, XIV, pp. 212-18, 222-28 and 235-36. See specimens of writing in Plates nos. V & VI.

67. See Index no. A. 1, 6, 14, 43, 46; B. 11, 15; C. 4, 35.

68. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 7.

69. Though this fact is brought out by Gopinatha Rao in his tables (See *T.A.S.*, I, XVI, pp. 283-303) in a general way, the subtle differences have not been analysed properly. The differences in 'ka', 'ca', 'ya' etc. are quite significant even in terms of a few decades. Prof Eḷamkuḷam has taken into consideration the evolution of script in determining the age of inscriptions. The present writer examined the script in situ in the case of a great number of Cēra inscriptions and found it helpful in fixing the period in a relative sense.

70. Several Kōleḻuttu records of the 18th century from the Aṟakkal Muslim dynasty of Cannanore have been acquired by the Department of History, Calicut University in 1971. See also A. C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian* Palaeography, pp. 48-49.

71. See Index no. A. 1.

72. Tuñcattu Ezhuthachan, the translator of *Rāmāyaṇa* and several puranic works (16th century), is often considered the originator of the present Malayalam script. Actually this Malayalam script is only the old Southern or Pallava Grantha with minor changes. Perhaps Ezhuthachan started and popularised the habit of writing Malayalam in this Grantha script which was formerly used for Sanskrit alone. The Christians and Muslims continued to use Vaṭṭeḻuttu even after the 16th century. Their dialects and literature were comparatively less influenced by Sanskrit when compared to those of the Hindu upper classes. See Note no. 69 above.

73. A.C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, (1878), p. 52.

74. Dr. L.A. Ravivarma, *Āryadrāviḍa Bhāṣakaḷuṭe Parasparabandham*, (Cochin, 1932), pp. 8-9.

75. This new hypothesis is put forward by the present writer on the basis of the recent findings about the Tamil-Brahmi or Damili script formerly designated as the cave script of South India. The early cave inscriptions have supplied some of the missing links between Brahmi and Vaṭṭeḻuttu and thus established the northern origin of the latter. See T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Palaeography*, (Madras, 1967), pp. 201-311 and I. Mahadevan, 'Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions', *Seminar on Inscriptions*, (Madras, 1968), pp. 55-78.

76. *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 33, 34, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 62, 133.

77. *T.A.S.*, III, I, p. 2. It is called 'Malanāṭṭu Tamil' (Tamil of Malanāṭu) by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, (Kottayam, 1953), p. 62. This work provides a linguistic analysis of the Cēra inscriptions and post-Cēra literature of Kerala. For another detailed study of the linguistic aspect of Cēra inscriptions, see, Dr. A. Chandrasekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, (Poona, 1953). Following L.V. Ramaswami Ayyar this author calls the language 'Early old Malayalam'. This work adopts the scientific methodology of linguistics though it is defective in certain respects. For a critical appraisal, see M.G.S. Narayanan and P.E.D. Nambudiri, 'A Critique of A.C. Sekhar's Evolution of Malayalam', *Indian Linguistics*, XXXI, no.3.

78. A.R. Rajaraja Varma, *Kēraḷa Pāṇiṉīyam*, (Trivandrum, 1895; Revised Edition, Kottayam, 1970), pp. 57-80. The six tendencies are:
1) Aṉunāsikātiprasaram – Nasalisation of adjoining sounds.
2) Tālavyādēśam - Substitution of palatal sounds for dental sounds.
3) Svarasamvaraṇam - Contraction of vowels.
4) Puruṣabhēdanirāsam - Rejection of gender in verbs.
5) Khilōpasangraham - Retention of archaic forms.
6) Aṅgabhaṅgam - Mutilation of words.

The first four tendencies are well-attested; the fifth and sixth tendencies are questionable.

79. The views of scholars like Gundert, Āttūr Krishṇa Pisharōḍi, Appu Neḍuṅgāḍi. P. Govinda Pillai, Kēraḷa Varma and Rājarājavarma regarding the evolution of Malaya-

lam were formulated before the discovery and study of Cēra inscriptions and the last phase of Cēra history. Therefore they are almost completely irrelevant today. Even the theories of Uḷḷūr and Dr. K.M. George in this field have ignored the impact of the discovery of Cēra inscriptions and their implications for the development of a separate Kerala language.

Prof. Eḷamkuḷam was the first to bring a grasp of inscriptional language to bear upon the discussion of the origin of Malayalam language. However, he does not take advantage of modern methods of linguistic analysis and employs terms like 'Miśrabhāṣa' (mixed language) and 'Malanāṭṭu Tamil' (Tamil of Malanāṭu) in a loose manner. See *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 36-60. His assumption that 'Malanāṭṭu Tamil' had a separate existence at least as a dialect before the advent of Tuḷu-Canarese Brahmin colonisation does not rest on evidence. It may not be the mixture of Sanskrit and 'Malanāṭṭu Tamil' which promoted the growth of Malayalam as imagined by Prof. Elamkulam. The process of 'borrowing' and 'filtering' must have occurred for generations when Canarese-speaking Brahmins learnt Tamil after coming to the Kerala settlements and their descendants, who became native speakers of Tamil, studied Canarese, Prākrit and Sanskrit literature. This must have produced a Creole - 'Malanāṭṭu Tamil' or 'Western dialect of Tamil' - in course of time. When this Creole reached a certain maturity, it could be used for official records and popular literature. Fresh and detailed linguistic studies alone will bring out the real nature of the process by which Malayalam language came into existence.

80. For details about Tōlan and his contribution to theatrical literature, see U.S.P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, I, pp. 132-8.

81. Eḷamkuḷam, Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ, pp. 134-5. The whole of the 5th chapter in this work is devoted to the study of the language of *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīya*. For details about the text, see chapter on Police and Revenue.

82. For the texts, see M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Cēravēndar Ceyyūṭkōvai*, (Trivandrum, 1951), II, pp. 55-111, 112-35, 136-63. For the legendary life story of Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār and the background of his works, see Cēkkiḻār's *Periyapurāṇam*, Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār Purāṇam, Veḷḷānaiccarukkam. For discussion of the date and works of the Nāyanār, see *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 28, pp. 96-104; *R.V.R.I.B.*, VII, I, pp. 39-42. See also Chapter on Chronology and Chapter on Early Wars and Alliances. The two friends are depicted in paintings at the Cōḷa temple of Tanjore. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 740. They are sculptured on the west wall of the Cōḷa temple at Dārāsuram also. See *A.R.S.I.E.* 1920, p 107.

83. See *T.A.S.*, V, II, p. 104 and footnotes. The author suggests that 'Śivapura' mentioned in the poem could be Trichur (Tiruśśivapērūr). However, it may not be a proper name but simply a term indicating a Śiva temple. Perhaps the poet had Tiruvañcikkaḷam, the chief Śiva temple of the capital near the palace, in mind.

84. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, p. 112.

85. See stanza no. 752 of *Tirukkuṛaḷ* quoted in Ādiyula, verse No. 136-7; and stanza no. 1101 in verse no. 175-6.

86. *Cēravēntar Ceyyūṭkōvai*, II, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 165-8. Verse No.4 describes the episode.

87. The Vaiṣṇavite authors describe Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār as a Cēra says Manakkal Nambi: "Cēraḷar kōn enkaḷ kulacēkaran; Cēran kulacēkaran muṭivēndar śikhāmaṇiyē." See *K.S.P.*, I, p. 30.

88. For the Tamil text, see *Cēravēntar Ceyyūṭkōvai*, II, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 3-54. For the Sanskrit text, See V.V Sarma, *Mukundamālā* (Edited with commentary-Trivandrum, 1947); Kāvyamāla Series 1; Annamala University Series. 1.

89. For different views and arguments on the subject, see R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other minor Religious Systems*, (Poona, 1913), p. 49 ff; A.S.R. Ayyar, 'Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ', *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 29, pp. 104-14; K.R. Pisharoti, 'Kulaśkharas of Kēraḷa', *I.H.Q.*, VII, pp. 319-30; K.G. Sesha Iyyer, 'Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār and his Date', *Ibid.*, pp. 644-50; *K.S.P.*, I, pp. 32-7; S.V. Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, pp. 122-3; K.K. Raja, *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 1-8.

90. See no. 62 of 1892. See also *S.I.I.*, III, pp. 148-52; S.K. Aiyengar, *The Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in India*, p. 33; K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 639.

91. An undated inscription in Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār Kōyil at Mannarkōyil says that the temple was consecrated to the memory of Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ by Vāsudēvan Kēśavan of Mullappaḷḷi in Kerala. See *I.H.Q.*, VII, p. 648. The earliest inscription of the temple refers to the 4th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa (C.1015 AD). It is therefore evident that the Āḻvār lived before the 11th century.

92. The preamble to *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* says: "Yasya mukhakamalād agaḷad āścarya mañjarīkathāmadhudravah... tasya rājñah kēraḷakulacūḍāmaṇēh Mahōdayapuraparamēśvarasya śrīkulaśēkharavarmaṇah krtiriyamadhunā prayōgaviṣayam avatarati". The preamble to *Subhadrādhanañjayam* says: "Tapatīsamvaraṇa Sangahaṭanapaṭutarasya... tasya rajñāh kalamarāśipēśalakaidārikakēraḷādhināthasya śrīkulaśēkharavarmaṇo nija nibandhanamadya badhnāti budhahṛdayam".

93. See also *Mukundamāla*, slōka, 30.
"Tvatbhṛtya bhṛtya paricāraka bhṛtya bhṛtya
Bhṛtyasya bhṛtya iti mām smara lōkanātha".

94. See *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, IV, 1 and 2.
"Ūnēṛu celvat tuṭar piṛavi yānvēṇṭēn
Ānērēḻ vēnranatimaittiṛamallāl
Kūnēṛu cenkamiṭattanran venkaṭattu
Kōnēri vāḻum kurukāy piṛappēṉē".
"Ānāta celvat tarampaiyaṛkaḷ tancūḻ
Vānāḻum celvamum maṇṇaracum yān vēntēn
Tēnār pūncōlai tiruvenkaṭaccunaiyil
Mīṉāy piṛakkum vitiyuṭaiyēnāvēṉē".

95. See *Mukundamāla*, slōka 2 and 3.
"Naham vandē tava caraṇayōrdvandam advandahētōh
Kumbhīpākam gurumapi harē! Nārakam nāpanōtum
Ramyārāmā mṛdutanulatā nandanē nābhirantum
Bhāvā bhāvē hṛdaya bhavanē bhāvayēyām bhavantam".
"Nāsthā dharmē na vasunicayē naiva kāmōpabhōgē
Yad Yad bhavyam bhavatu bhagavan! pūṛvakaṛmānurūpam
Ētat prārthyam mama bahuśatam janma janmāntarēpi

Tvatpādāmbhōruha yugagatā niścalā bhaktirastu".

96. In addition to the passages from the two preambles quoted earlier the preamble to *Subhadrādhanañjayam* says: "Cētah pītāmbaraśca pratibhavam abhavah pādapīṭhīkarōtu". The Bharatavākaya in the same play says:
"Pradhvastadhvāntavṛttērjjaladhārapaṭala Śṛīimuṣaścakṛapāṇēr
Maitrī pātrībhavēyām tava janita jagaccakṛa Janmāntarēpi".

97. Some scholars have argued that the Āḷvār was a devotee of Rāma while the author of *Mukundamāla* was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, see K.R Pisharoti, *Mukundamāla*, (Annamalai University Series 1). Appendix, p. III. This artificial distinction based on the Āḷvār's reference to Rāma is invalid as the Āḷvār praises Kṛṣṇa as well as Rāma as indicated in the summary given above.

98. *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, I-II, II-10, III-9, IV-II, V-10, VI-10, VI-11, IX-11, X-11.

99. *Śendamil*, XXI, pp. 333-40 and 429-42. There may be some exaggeration in this title and the author could have taken advantage of poetic license. However in the middle of the 9th century, the Pāṇḍyas were considerably weakened and their constant wars and that the Cōḷas of Vijayālaya line had not yet emerged out of obscurity. The title 'Koḷḷinakarkkirai' Lord of the city of Kolli, might be referring to Koḍuṅgallūr, the capital of Kerala.

100. See Note no. 90 above.

101. S.V. Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, p. 122.

102. M.R. Ayyengar, *Cēravēndar Ceyyūṭ kōvai*, II, *Op. Cit*, p. 21. The name of this temple is clearly mentioned as 'Tiruviṛṛuvakōḍe, in an 11th century inscription recently discovered there. See Index no. B. 18. This would strengthen Ayyengar's opinion.

103. S.V. Pillai, *Tamil Language and Literature*, *Op. Cit.*

104. There are various editions. See Note no, 88 above. They vary sometimes in the number of slōkas also. The Kerala recension has 31 slōkas. The last slōka reads:
"Yasya pṛiyau śṛutidharau ravilōkavīrau
Mitṛē dvijanmavara pāraśavāvabhūtam
Tēnāmbujākṣa caraṇāmbuja saṭpadēna
Rājnā Kṛtā kṛtiriyam kulaśēkharēṇa".

There has been much speculation about the identity of 'Ravi' and 'Lōkavīra' but in the absence of more details it is bound to be inconclusive. See U.S.P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritṛam*, I. For details, see K.K. Raja, *Kerala's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 3 - 8.

105. K G. Sesha Iyyer, *I.H.Q.*, VII, p. 650.

106. See slōka No.3 quoted in Note no. 95 above. This is given in Grantha script and is followed by a passage in Tamil script and language. "Svastiśṛī. Tiruccelvam peṛuka. Pukkamāṉa arivaṭṭanapurattu nāṉātēśi viṇṇakar āḷvārkōyil tirumaṇṭapamunceytu tirukkatavamittu inta maṇṭapattukku ninrerikaikku nilaiviḷakku onṛumiṭṭēn malaimaṇṭalannāṭṭu makōtayar paṭṭanattu iraiyiran ciriyāṉāṉa cīkulacēkara naṉpiyēṉitu. Śṛī itanmam malaimaṇṭalattān." See E. Hultzsch, *E.I.*, VII, no. 27, p. 197.

107. For the details of Śankara, see K. Kunjunni Raja, 'On the Date of Śankarācārya and Allied Problems', *Adayar Library Bulletin*, XXIV, Parts 3-4. There are a number of biog-

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raphies like *Śankara Vijaya* and *Śankara Digvijaya* which are unhistorical. An undated Sanskrit poem called *Śankarācārya Caritam* which gives the popular Kerala version of Śankara's life has been reported from Iriññālakkuḍa. See *A.R.A.D.C.* 1924-5, pp. 70-2. The four maḍhas at Trichur are believed to have been founded by Śankara and presided over by four of his disciples, Padmapāda, Hastāmalaka, Surēśvara and Trōṭaka respectively. For the Kerala tradition about Śankara, See *Kēraḷōlpatti*, pp. 62-3.

108. *Padmapādācārya Carita* cited by Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 51. "Kēraḷādhipati śrīman / Asīd rājātidhārmikah Sa ca saṛvaguṇōpetō / Nāmatah kulaśēkharah".

109. For details, see U.S. Parameswara Ayyar, *Kēraḷasāhitya Caritram*, I, pp. 108-9. According to this, Viṣṇuśarma who came to be known as Padmapāda was the son of Vēmaṇṇa Brahmin house in Ālathūr grāma near Trikkaṇḍiyūr Śiva temple. He turned to trade and made a lot of money. He was robbed of his property and in utter disgust he wanted to commit suicide. At Kāśi he met Śankara, became his disciple, founded the Badaryāśrama in the Himalayan region, and died there.

110. See chapter X Social System, Note no. 42.

111. See Note no. 107 above.

112. *Samkṣēpasārīrika*, Colophon quoted in *T.A.S.*, II, III, p. 144.
"Śṛīdēvēśvarapādapankajarājassamparkapūtāśayah
Sarvajñātmagirānkito munivarah samkṣēpaśārīrikam
Cakrē sajjaṇabuddhivardhaṇamidam rājanyavamśyēnṛpē
Dhīmatyakṣaya śāsanē manukulāditye bhuvam śāsati".

113. *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*, Colophon quoted in *T.A.S.*, II, III, p. 145.
"Śṛīdēvēśvara pādapadmarajasā sadyah pavitrīkṛtāh
Sarvajñātma mahāmunih prakaraṇam cakṛē trikāndīkṛtam
Yastuctatpuruṣōvagachati sa vai bhūmaṇḍalē paṇḍitāh
Tadvattārkika duṛvidagdha damanē dakṣō mumukṣuṛbhavēt".

114. See Sadāśivabrahmēndra, *Gururatnamālika*, and Ātmabōdhendrasarasvati, *Sushama* quoted in *T.A.S.*, II, III, pp. 144-5.

115. The royal patron of Sarvajñātma was wrongly identified as the Cālukya king Vikṛamāditya II. See R.G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of Dekkan* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 86. For other details, see Chapter III Chronology.

116. See P.K. Narayana Pillai, *Mimāmsa in Kerala*, (Trivandrum), p. 7; V. Rajarajavarma, *Kēraḷīyasamskṛta Sāhitya Caritram*, I, p. 95.

117. Kāḷidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, Sarga IX.

118. For details, see Chapter III Chronology, Notes no 6 and 7.

119. *Tripuradahaṇam*, Preamble. "Matilalam asadyamitam puradahaṇam ravibhuvā samasadyamitam".

120. *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayam*, Preamble.
"Vēdanām adhyāyi bharata gurur abhavad adyānāmadhyāyi
Yam pṛāpa ramācāryam dēvī ca girām purāṇa paramācāryam
Yam aśubha santōdāntam paramēśvaram upadiśanti santōdāntam
Jñānasamagrāmēyam nivasantam vipṛasattama grāmēyam
Tilakam bhūmāvāhur yasyārthiṣu dattabhūtibhūmavahūh

Samajani kaścittasya pravaṇah sisyōnuvartakaścittasya
Kāvyānāmālōkē paṭumānasō vāsudēvanāmā lōkē".

121. For details of manuscripts, publication and commentaries, see K.K. Raja. *Sanskrit Literature, Op. Cit.* pp. 21-2, pp. 27-8.

122. *Ibid*, pp. 21-2, 29.

123. For details of manuscripts, publication and commentaries, see *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 24—7.

124. *Sītaharaṇam*, Preamble.
"Astyavatāra viramadastadhāpi bhūmēradhīśitā ravirāmadah
Sadvidhinā māyādyah sa manukulāditya iti ca nāmāyādyah".

125. For details of publication, see K.K. Raja, *Sanskrit Literature, Op. Cit.*, p. 205.

126. *Ibid.*

127. A.A.Macdonell, *India's Past*, 1927, p.93.

128. For details of manuscripts, publication and commentaries, see K.K. Raja, *Sanskrit Literature, Op. Cit.*, pp.22-3, 29-30.

129. *J.R.A.S.*, Extra Number, 1887, p. 337. A manuscript of the poem discovered by Paterson contained the commentary of Rāmaṛṣi (C. 1600 AD) which attributed the work to Ravidēva. Another manuscript from Tanjore mentions the poet as Ravidēva son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. See Note No. 125 above.

130. See chapter III Chronology, Note no. 76.

131. See Note no. 92 above.

132. Rājaśēkhara quoted in Jalhaṇa, *Sūktimuktāvali*, (1258 AD, Gaekwad Oriental Series, 1938). The Slōka 'attributed to Rājaśēkhara states that Kulaśēkhara Varma's *Āścaryamañjari* attracted critics even from a great distance.
"Durādapi satām citē/ Likhitvāścaryamañjarim
Kulaśēkhara varmagryaś / Cakārāścaryamañjarim".

Rājaśēkhara, the teacher and courtier of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj and of his son Mahipāla who started ruling in C. 915. AD, must have lived up to C. 920 AD. A great scholar, traveller, and author of several works in Prakrit and Sanskrit, he must have been born around 850 AD since he was evidently endowed with long life.

133. Sarvānanda quotes a passage from the work in Amaraṭīkāsarvasva (1159 AD):
"Kurangairiva kuśalavādibhih".
Rayamakuta gives another in *Amaratīka* :
"Pāṇiniprātyahara iva mahāpṛāṇa samāṣliṣṭo jaṣālingitaśca samudrāh".
The anonymous work *Śivakōśavyākhyā* has another line:
"Tarunijana ivādhigate śōbhānjano vasanta samayah prādurāsīt".

134. See *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, Prologue. "Nati: Ārya! Atyāhitam khalvētal, ākaśam prasūtē puṣpa. Sikatō tailam utpādayanti yadi dakṣiṇasya diśā āgatam nāṭakanibandhanam'. In view of *Mattavilāsa* by the Pallava king Mahēndra I (580-630 AD) and *Bhagavadajjuka* mentioned in his period, this statement need not be taken in a literal sense. Probably the poet meant by the term dakṣiṇa-diśa only the territory to the South of Kāñcīpura.

135. See P. Govinda Pilla, *Sāhitya Caritram*, pp. 318-20; U.S.P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, I, pp. 110-13. According to this a Brahmin called Śankara belonging to Ceṉṉikkara family in Koḍumaṇ (Kunnathūr taluk) was the real author of the drama and Śaktibhadra was a pseudonym. He met the great Śankarācārya at Ceṅgaṉṉūr and read out the play before him. When the master heard it without comment, he was frustrated and threw the copy into fire. Later on Śankarācārya was pleased to recite the whole text from memory explaining that his refusal to comment was the result of a vow of silence.

136. Prof. S. Kuppuswami (Ed.), *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* (Balamanorama Series No.9, Madras, 1926), Introduction, p. 12. "The best of the Rāma plays, perhaps barring Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*". Prof. M. Winternitz agrees with the view and adds that "as regards dramatic action and appropriateness for the stage, Śaktibhadra's drama surpasses even the *Uttararāmacarita*". See 'Śaktibhadra's Place in the History of Sanskrit Literature', *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, p. 5.

137. For details, see K.K. Raja, *Sanskrit Literature*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 208-11.

138. See Note no. 132 above.

139. A commentary of *Subhadrādhanañjayam* named Vyaṅgyavyākhyā, written by a contemporary and friend of the author, quotes the latter as declaring in personal talk that he wrote the two plays, keeping in mind the scholarly view that Dhvaṉi was the cause of merit in poetry.
"Dhvaṉiyuk kāvya saraṇih śastēti prōcyatē budhaih.
Ētasmād dhvaṉiyuktā sa racitā nāṭakadvayi".

Not only the idea but even the wording reminds one of Āṉandavardhaṉa's first Kārika "Kāvyasyātmā dhvaṉirīīti budhairyah samāmṉātapūrvah". Some scholars have argued that Dhvaṉi was known even before Āṉandavardhaṉa, but the grounds are not convincing. For details of the controversy, see A.S.R. Ayyar, *T.A.S.*, I, II, no. 29, pp. 104-14; U.S.P. Ayyar, *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, I, pp. 127-31; Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, I, pp. 35-55; K.K. Raja, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 15-18.

140. The plays have been published with Sivarāma's commentary in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series no.11 and 13 respectively.

141. The prologue to *Subhadrādhanañjayam* speaks of the royal author as 'matimandaramathitamahābhāratapārāvāraparigṛhītajñaṉāmṛtasañcaya', i.e., one who acquired the ambrosia of knowledge by churning the ocean Mahābhārata with the Mandara of his intelligence. It also states that he was fond of listening to the works of Kāḷidāsa. "Karṇau nah kāḷidāse pravahita racanāh karṇapūrīkriyāstam".

While the plots are borrowed from the epic, the pattern of the drama is taken from Kāḷidāsa. For example the second play opens with the entry of Dhanañjaya into the āśṛama following the model of Duḥṣanta in the first act of Śakuntaḷa. Like Duḥṣanta, this hero overhears the conversation of the heroine and her friends. While Duṣanta saves the heroine from a bhṛamara, Dhanañjaya saves her from a bhūta. The resemblance in form between the plays of Kulaśēkhara and Kāḷidāsa is so pronounced that according that to tradition Tōlan, the comedian of the court, made fun of the king by pretending to have been suddenly seized by the spirit of Kāḷidāsa Kavitā, protesting vigorously against her mutilation.

142. A passage from *Dhanañjayam* may be cited as an example of humour created by the Vidūṣaka's pretensions to scholarship which serves really to expose his ignorance. In Ankam V the Vidūṣaka says:

"Kim na tvayā śṛutō vāyunākāśēna cārabdham śarīram iti lōkāyatikāṇām siddhāntah". In fact the Lōkāyatika siddhānta excludes 'ākāśa' from the elements of the universe. Incidentally this reminds one of the passage in *Bhagavadajjuka* where the Vidūṣaka professes to explain the Śākya philosophy and gives an account of the Sānkhya philosophy by mistake.

143. See Note no. 96 above.

144. *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, Anka II.
"Vidūṣaka: Bhō samprāptah. Svō dēva mandiram tat praviśasya praṇamāvah.
Rāja: (Pravēśam rūpayitvā baddhānjalih praṇaman)
"Dhṛtāsādham śaśvacchuci śabaḷa kṛṣṇājinadharam,
Sukhābadha granthi kṛatuvaranuti vyāpṛta mukham
Dadhad brahmam sūtram kaṭitaṭa luḍhan mouñjiraśanam.
Hrasīyo vandēham vanaja nayaṇam vāmanavapuh".

145. *Subhadrādhanañjayam*, Anka V.
"Dhanañjayah : (Sapramōdam) Sakhē maivam vādīh.
Bruvatē mē rōmānkura danturitāṇi paramārtham
bhagavatim amunyangāṇi. (Savayasyah praṇaman baddhāñjalih)
Anghribhyām amba! pīṭhīkṛtamahiṣaśīro maṇḍalābhyām amubhyām
Aṣṭābhyah śliṣta mourvī valaya jhaṇajhaṇā nikvaṇēbhyō bhujēbhyāh
Kōṭīrēbhyaśca paścātkṛta kaḷama śikhā vibbṛamēbhyō namastē
Mūrchan mugdhēndulēkham kuṭila tanugaḷaccandrikā śekharēbhyah".

146. *Subhadrādhanañjayam*, Anka. III.
"Kañcukiya : Pātam jalatvēṇa samācaranti
Sadētihāsāspadatām avāptā
Mūrtih parāmēya puraṇatām mē
Kathā na vācyā paratantṛa vṛttiḥ".

While confessing that he is poor, weak, old, and dependant on others, he mentions, indirectly Patanjali, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Tantra and Vṛtti. As the commentator Sivarāma rightly pointed out, it serves only as an example of 'racanāvaicitrya' (variety in diction) without any improvement in sense.

147. *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, Prologue. "Sūtradhārah: Ārye! Adyāhām āryamiśrairajnaptah yathā bhavatā tāvad apūrvēsminnādirājakathā sanāthē tapatīsamvaraṇa nāmṇi nāṭaka navarasāṇi pṛayōga mrotantarani vayam payayitavya iti".

It may be remembered that Kāḷidāsa, following Bharata, mentions only eight rasas in *Vikṛamōrvaśīya*, II, 18. "Muninā bharatēna yah prayōgō bhavatīṣvaṣṭa rasāsṛayō niyuktah". Dandin (650 - 779 AD) also describes only eight rasas in *Kāvyādarśa*, Chap II, Verse 275- 91."Ihatvaṣṭa rasāyatta rasavattā smṛtā girām". Udbhata, a contemporary of Vāmāna and Dāmōdara Gupta in the court of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir in the last quarter of the 8th century was perhaps the first critic to add a ninth rasa called śāntarasa to the list in *Kāvyālankārasāra*, Chap. IV. "Navanāṭakē rasāh smṛtāh". Ānandavardhana of the 9th century popularised this view through his famous *Dhvanyālōka*. See A. Sankaran, Some Aspects of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit, (University of Madras, 1929) pp. 14, 25, 31, 84.

148. See *Subhadrādhanañjayam*, Prologue.
Sūtradhārah : "... Matimandāramathita mahābhārata pārāvāra
parigṛhīta jñānamṛta sañcayasya..." .
"...Karnau nah kāḷidāsapravihita racanāh
Kaṛṇapūrikṛīyāstām...".

149. See *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, Act VI.
"Parivṛddha rasānukūla bhāvam
Guṇavat prōjjvala sandhisampraharṣah
Lalitam lalitāṅgamaṅgabhājām
Tapatīsamvaraṇam tanōtu dīrgham".

150. *Dhanañjayam*, Act V.
Dirghādhvaga : "Mahārāja yudhiṣṭhirēṇa ajñaptēna mayā pāṇḍyajanapadē malayaśikharē kumāri tīrthē kēraḷēṣu sahya paṛvata prāgbhāgē gōkaṛṇē anvēṣvaṛṇavatira tīrthasthāṉēṣu anviṣya akṛtaṛthēṉa mayā pravista dvāravati".

151. *Ibid.*, Act II. P. 67.
Vidūṣaka : "Mukhasirāvēdhavajṛēṇēva tayā.
dṛḍhabaddagaḷasya mē katham vacana nirgamāh?"
Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi V-4. "Vāḷāl aṛuttuccuṭiṉum maṛuttu vanpāl Mālata katal nōyāḷanpōl...".

152. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 18.

153. *Vyaṅgyavyākhya*, preface quoted by T. Ganapati Sastri (Ed), *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, Introduction, pp. 1–2. "Kālēthēti vartamānē kasminscinagni prātarudhāya cūṛṇikāsaridvāri anuṣṭitapūrva sandhyēna dṛṣṭaparamēśvara mangalastha paramapuruṣēna prāptātma mandirāḷinda dēśa prakṣāḷita karacaraṇēna hasantikōdyat kṛśāṉusamita sitaruguṇena japadhyāṉāparēṇa mayā kēraḷēśvara vacanakāri kaścid brahmabandhūh samalakṣyata".

"Sa ca satkrta satkāro yathāvidhi sumānitah sampṛṣṭa kuśalapraśnah sādaram sthāpito bhuvi pṛṣṭāgamanahētuh samamavocadidam vacah davanta madhunā rāja samdidṛkṣuriti sma sah atha mayāmunā sahārūḍha khaṭva sayyā sampadita svādu vastu saukhyayā nāvā cūṛṇikā saridāvāhyamānayā satvaram mahōdayakhyām puram gamyatēsma ---".
Rahō narma vadan prāyān/Mantṛaśālām ananyagām
Athāvadat sukbāsīnam/Mām narēśāh prahṛṣṭavan
Racitādyā mayā vidvān/Kascinnāṭakadvayi.
Ēkam samvaraṇam nāma/Dhanañjayam itītaram
Dhvanilakṣaṇa samyuktā/Sā racitā nāṭakadvayi.
Dhaniyukkāvya saraṇi/Śastēti prōcyatē budhaih
Ētasmād dhvani yuktā sā/Racitā nāṭakadvayi
Draṣtavyā bhavatā sēyam/Nāṭyalakṣaṇavēdinā
Tam paśyannavadhāryaiṣa / Sadasadvēti kathyatām
Sādhuscēt prēkṣakō bhūyād / Bhavanasmin naṭastathā
Prayōga mārgam bhavatē /Darśayiṣyāmi tatvatah
Bhūyaścarōpayiṣyami/Rāgamētat kuśilavaih".
Iti tēna proktastaddarsita prayōga mārgōham ....".

154. *Ibid.*

"Atha tatra tathā gacchan /Apaśyam kēraḷadhīpam
Samāsīnam virāgantam / Madhyē nāgāriviṣṭaram
Kirīṭa makuṭa prōdyan/Maṇiśrīlabdbavaṛṇakam
Unnamra phālaghōṇāmśa/Bāhumūlōdarānivitam
Dūrādīrghākṣidorjjanghā/Yugaḷānata vigraham
Rāgarañjitadōh pāda / Padmayugmē dhṛtaśriyam
Ambhōjākṣari śankhādi / Rajacinhātta dīhpadam
Kuṇḍalodyanmaṇiśṛēṇi / Vidyōditamukhāmbujam
Kaṇṭha bhūdhvaṇi saundarya/Garhayal kambujaśṛīyam
Hēma kumkuma karpūra / Candanālipra vakṣasam
Nīla kauśēya vāsastvi/Dāharajjana cakṣuṣam
Param puruṣa nāmōdyal / Sallāpa kathayalkatham
Sankōcayantyam anyēna / Vāmabāhustam ambujam
Ankavikṣipta nakharam/ Sarvalōkapṛiyam nṛipam".

155. For the references to Dhvaṇi theory in *Vyaṅgyavyākhya*, see Note no. 153 above. For the rejection of the claim of contemporaneity, see Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, (second Edn.), pp. 54-5. This view was adopted by the author for two reasons. For one thing he assigned Kulaśēkhara to the beginning of the 9th century. Secondly, he felt that references to Bhōjarāja (11th century) and *Vaijayanti* (11th century) found in the text of *Vyaṅgyavyākhya* betrayed the period of its composition. We have already shown that there is no evidence to suggest that the dramatist Kulaśēkhara of Mahōdayapura was earlier than Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara. It is possible that the references to 11th century works in the commentary were the result of interpolation.

156. The date of *Ānandavardhana* has been fixed in relation to that of Avantivarman, king of Kashmir (857-884 AD), on the strength of a statement in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. "Muktākaṇah śivasvāmi kavirānandavardhanah
Pratham ratnākaraścāpuh sāmrājyēvanti varṃaṇah". Therefore it is possible that he and his work were known at least by about 870 AD in Kerala.

157. See *Vyaṅgyavyākhya*. "Nāṭakanāyaka lakṣaṇam sarvam daśarūpake drastavyam". This passage was dismissed as interpolation by Prof. K. Rama Pisharodi, *I.H.Q.*, V, p. 552; VII, p. 328. This view was followed by A.B. Keith, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III, p. 296; Winternitz, "Saktibhadra's place in the History of Sanskrit Literature", *Kuppuswami Sastri Presentation Volume*; and Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, p. 103. See Dr K.K. Raja, *Mātrubhūmi Weekly*, 11th Sept. '55.

U.S.P. Ayyar accepted the passage as genuine and accordingly placed the commentator and the dramatist himself after the period of Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka* at the close of the 10th century. See *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, I, p. 131.

158. Abhinavagupta at the close of his commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra* says: "Abhinavabhāratyām daśarūpakam nāma aṣṭadaśādhyayah samāptah".

159. T. Ganapati Sastri (Ed.), *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, Introduction, p. 4.

160. See chapter II Sources, under Literature, and chapter III Chronology, under Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara.

161. See chapter III Chronology, Note no. 19.

162. For details about Bhāskarāchārya I, see B.B. Datta, "The Two Bhāskarās", *I.H.Q.*, VI, (1930) pp. 727-36. The first writer in modern times to draw attention to the earlier

Bhāskara was H. Colebrooke in *Algebra with Arithmatic and Mensuration from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bhascara.* (London 1817). Commentaries on the works of this Bhāskara have been written by several Indian astronomers. The best known among them are *Karmadīpika* by Paramēśvara (1430 AD) *Prayōgaracana* by an anonymous author and *Gōvindaswāmīya* by Govindaswamin.

163. See Note no. 161 above.

164. *L.B.V.* Chap. I, P. I. Slōka 2.
"Ācāryāryabhaṭam varāhamihiram śṛīmadgurum bhāskaram
Gōvindam haridattamatra śirasā vakṣyē praṇamya kramāt
Bālānāmavabōdhanārthamadhunā vyākhyānibandham yathā
Muktva bhāskarabhāsitasya pṛthutām śastrasya samkṣēpatah".

The first three i.e. Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira and Bhāskara I are already famous while the other two, Gōvinda and Haridatta, are not so well-known. Haridatta has been considered as a Keralite and the author of *Grahācāranibandhanam* (683 AD) which expounds the theory of Prahita. See K.V. Sarma, (Ed.) *Grahācāranibandhanam*, (Kuppuswami Research Institute, 1954). He rejected the complicated Bhūtasamkhya system of numerals followed by Āryabhaṭa and replaced it with Kaṭapayādi system which is convenient and simple. Gōvinda was probably his disciple and the immediate guru of Śankaranārāyaṇa.

165. *Ibid.* P. I. Slōka. 3.
Atradau kila viśvasṛgvadanajam budhvēha paitāmaham
Tasmādāryabhaṭah prapañca rahitam svēnaiva nāmnākarōt
Tadvyākhyāna nibandhanatrayamalam śṛībhāskarōktam puna
Statrāpyalpatarasya samprati mayā vyākhyēyamārabhyatē.

166. See Note no. 164 above.

167. *L.B.V.*, Chap. I, pp. 1 - 2.
"Atra prathamatastāvad āryabhaṭasya gaṇitakāla-
kriyāgōḷalakṣaṇaśāstrasya bhāṣyam kṛtvā punar
grahakarma karmanibandhanam bṛhadbhāskarīyam nāma
kṛtva, punarapi samkṣēpenāṣṭadhikārakathita graha-
karmanibandhanam mandabuddhinam anugrahabuddhya
gururayam bhāskarahsvanāmasambandham upādidikṣhuh".

168. P.K. Narayana Pillai (Ed) *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya*, Introduction p. VII.

169. *Ibid.*, pp. VII- VIII.

170. "Iti śankaranārāyaṇiye vivaraṇē...".

171. See chapter III Chronology, Note no. 19.

172. See Note no. 164 on Haradatta. The kaṭapayādi system was wrongly attributed to Bhāskara earlier by Datta and Singh in *History of Hindu Mathematics*, I, p. 21. This was the result of some confusion about an interpolated passage in one of the manuscript copies. See P.K.N. Pillai, (Ed.) *L.B.V.*, Intn., pp. IX and X. The kaṭapayādi system is used for kalivākya in two records of 929 AD and 1075 AD from Narayankaṇṇūr temple, Ēḻimalai. See Index No. B. 83 and B. 21.

173. *L. B.V.*, pp. 16, 17, 18, 48 etc. and pp. 19, 36 etc.

174. *L.B.V.* Chap. III, p. 38
"Atraivāsmābhih paityarāṣṭrē kollapuryā viṣuvachchāyāyāh pañcadaśasankhyā sampādita rāśiprāṇah kaṭapayādyakṣarabadhah paṭhyantē -
Yamāsayābhiṇṇa kaṭardhalijjayā
Katham nviyam mābhajayah padārthakam
Kṛiyādayah kollapurī samuchchitah
Kramōtkṛamēṇaiva bhavanti rāśayah".

This passage led the editor to infer that the commentator was a native of Kollam (Quilon) in Kerala. See *L.B.V.*, Introduction, p. XI. This mistake was repeated by U.S. P. Ayyar, in *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, I, p. 165. It was corrected by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam in *Ēṭukaḷ*, (Second Edition), pp. 105-106.

175. See chapter III Chronology, under Sthāṇu Ravi; chapter IV Early wars and Alliances, under Rise of the Kingdom; and chapter VI Nature of Monarchy, under Royal marriages and succession.

176. *L.B.V.*, Chap, 3. p. 43. See Chapter VI Nature of Monarchy, Note no. 23. A Gōḷayantra is mentioned in the next Slōka of the text also.
Surapati disidṛṣṭam gōḷayantrādvilagnam
Ghanapaṭalaniruddhē bhāskarē Simharāśau
Gatavati daśabhagamścāparaśyārthayātam
Vadajhaṭiti ravēstvam nityakarmōkta kālam.

The 'yantravalayānkita rāśicakṛa' might be the same as the Gōḷayantra (sphere) or cakṛa (circle), instruments mentioned by Āryabhaṭa. Tbe Cakṛayantra was developed further and called Phalakayantra by Bhāskara. "This is an excellent instrument, calculated to remove always the darkness of ignorance and is the delight of clever astronomers". See Sukumar Ranjan Das, "Astronomical Instruments of the Hindus". *I.H. Q.*, IV, (1928), pp. 256-69.

177. *L.B.V.*, Introduction, pp. XI-XII.

178. *Ibid.*, p. XII.

179. Scholars are of opinion that Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangiṇi*, produced in Kashmir, was not the product of Indian tradition as that part of the country was much exposed to Persian and Chinese influences. See chapter II Sources, Note no. 25. The following differences are brought out by a comparative study of *Rājatarangiṇi* and *Mūṣakavamśa*.
a) While the first gives the story of several successive dynasties in a region, the second follows the fortunes of a single dynasty.
b) Kalhaṇa gives a long list of earlier authorities and inscriptions as his sources but Atula provides no such information.
c) Precise dates are mentioned by Kalhaṇa while the dates in Mūṣakavamśa have to be calculated with the help of outside evidence.
d) Kalhaṇa has a critical and independent attitude towards Kashmir, giving portraits of good as well as bad and foolish kings. Atula never mentions a bad quality in the family of his patron.
e) While Kalhaṇa discusses economics, politics and social groups and exhibits comprehensive view of history, Atula confines himself to political and military events and princely fortunes.
f) Political and moral instruction is part of Kalhaṇa's pupose but Atula is satisfied with narration with a view to glorification of the dynasty which he described.

The similarities between the two may also be observed here :
a) Both begin with legends tinged with the supernatural element but present reliable history when they come nearer to their own times.
b) Both give prominence to political history dealing with wars, revolts etc and attach importance to the foundation of cities and religious institutions.
c) Both subscribe to the orthodox Indian philosophical and socio-political views based on the acceptance of the Varṇāśramadharma. The superiority of learned Brahmins and the necessity of the monarchical system of polity are unquestioned. It may be remarked that while *Rājataraṅgiṇi* represents an exceptional work, *Mūṣakavaṁśa* illustrates the type.

180. See chapter on Sources, under Literature; chapter IV Early Wars, under Cōḷa Cēra Entente; chapter VII Divisions of the Kingdom, under Kōlattunāṭu; and chapter XII Religions and Religious Culture, under Co-existence of Creeds.

181. See *M.V.K.*, Sarga XII, Slōka (a 15-58; Sarga XIII. Slōka 6-12 and 26-38; Sarga XIV. Slōka 16-18.

182. For instance it is stated that the Cēdi king gave his daughter to Mūṣaka prince just as the ocean gave Lakṣmi to Viṣṇu and Surabhi gave Kausumi to the Pārthiva. See *M.V. K.*, Sarga XIII, Slōka 12. The Mūṣaka king burnt Marupura as the Pāṇḍava burnt Khaṇḍava forest in the fire of his rage. See Sarga XIII. Slōka 38. The temple of Śiva in Cēlūra was so high that clouds produced lightening by rubbing on the towers there. See Sarga XIII, Slōka 68. All these examples are taken from the historical portions of the kāvya.

183. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a type of gāthā known as anuvamśya since it gives the genealogy. The purāṇas also refer to the composition of royal genealogy called Vamśa. It is found that Vamśa and Vamśānucarita formed part of the characteristic features of every purāṇa. The continuation of this tradition in Buddhist literature is found in the Rājavamśa of the *Mahāvastu*, Buddhavamśa of the *Suttapiṭaka*, and the *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa* of Ceylon. Quasi-historical compositions like *Harivamśa* belong to the same category. The injunctions of Kauṭalya, Yājñavalkya, Brihaspati, Vyāsa etc that royal charters must mention the royal genealogy proves that such chronicles were maintained in the ancient archives. Besides *Aśmakavamśa* mentioned by Bhāmaha, *Śaśivamśa* mentioned by Kshēmēndra, and the earlier Kashmir chronicles mentioned by Kalhaṇa, later Works like *Rāṣṭaudhavamśa* of Rudra and *Nēpāḷa-vamśāvali* have been preserved. For details of this type of literature, see V.S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, (Bombay, 1963), pp. 14-21.

Glossary, Bibliography, Indices

Glossary

Abhiṣēkanāma	=	Coronation title.
Ācāri	=	Title used by carpenters, goldsmiths etc.
Accu	=	1. Mould. 2. Minted coin as in 'āṉai accu', i.e., coin with elephant figure.
Adhikāran (Adhikāri)	=	Official.
Adhikṛta prāsāda	=	Official residence.
Agnivamśa (Agnikula)	=	Legendary origin from fire, adopted by some Kṣatriya clans in later times.
Akampaṭi	=	Companionship, companion, retinue.
Akkāraṭalai	=	Sweet pudding offered to the deity.
Akkiram	=	Brahmin feeding.
Akṣamāla	=	Garland of Rudrākṣa.
Āḷ	=	1. Slave. 2. Person.
Āḷakōyil	=	Governing prince.
Āḷvār	=	Lord, master. This term is usually employed for the great devotees of Viṣṇu.
Amiṛtu (Amṛita)	=	1. Ambrosia. 2. Food offered to the deity.
Añcuvaṇṇam	=	Name of corporation of merchants, probably of the Jews.
Āṉai accu	=	See Accu.
Aññūṛṛuvar	=	Five Hundred organization or leader of the Five Hundred.
Antarāḷa	=	Literally intermediate. This term is applied to the temple-dwelling community in the sense that their caste status lay between the Brahmin and the Śūdra.
Apabhramśa bhāṣa	=	Non-standard language.
Arantai	=	Literally misery. It may be a term used for a war tax.
Aṛunūṛṛuvar	=	Six Hundred organization or leader of the Six Hundred.
Aṭikaḷ	=	Term of respect literally meaning feet. Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit pāda.

Aṭimai	=	1. Slave. 2. Serf.
Āṭṭaikkōḷ	=	Annual income, annual revenue.
Āṭṭaitiṟai	=	Annual tribute, annual tax.
Āyiram	=	1. Thousand. 2. The Thousand Organization or leader of the Thousand.
Bali	=	Ritual sacrifice in temple.
Bhāṇam	=	A kind of short play.
Bhāṣya	=	Commentary.
Bhaṭṭa (Paṭṭa)	=	Learned Brahmin.
Bhaṭṭākara (Paṭakāram)	=	Land assigned to Bhaṭṭa.
Bhaṭṭasthāna (Paṭṭattāṉam)	=	The status and privileges of Bhaṭṭa.
Bhaṭṭāraka (Bhaṭāra, Paṭāra, Paḷara, Piṣāra)	=	I. Deity. 2. King. 3. Servant of the deity.
Bhēri	=	Big drum used for proclamations etc.
Bhikṣa (Piccai)	=	1. Charity 2. Free meals for Brahmins.
Bhukti	=	Revenue district in the Deccan. Its counterpart in Kerala was known as 'Vāḷkai'.
Bhūtagaṇa	=	Demigods who accompany the deity in procession. Their figures are carved on the walls of temples.
Biruda	=	Title.
Brahmakṣatra	=	Land where Brahmins undertook the functions of Kṣatriyas also.
Brahmasvam	=	Brahmin property. Land owned by Brahmin families of village proprietors by hereditary right in certain villages.
Cākkai (Cākyār)	=	The sub-caste of actors who performed Sanskrit plays in Kerala temple.
Cakṛavartikaḷ	=	Supreme lord or sovereign.
Cālai (Śālai)	=	Hall or institution. This term was usually appended to other terms as in akkira cālai (Agraśāla-dining Hall), Āturacālai (Hospital) etc. The term cālai itself was employed for a peculiar Brahmin institution which functioned as a Vedic college.
Cāmarai	=	Fly-whisk.
Candrāditya kula	=	Luni-solar dynasty.
Candravamśa	=	Lunar dynasty.
Caṅgāti	=	Comrade. Probably derived from Caṅgātam (Saṅghāta) meaning a military band. These groups were bound by oath to fight and die for their master.
Cānrān	=	Chief.
Cānti (Śānti)	=	1. Routine worship in temple. 2. Temple priest.
Caram (Śaram)	=	Arrow, weapon.

Cārnavakaḷ	=	Companions, associates or relatives.
Caṭṭar (Cāttirar)	=	Pupils or disciples. Probably derived from Chātṛa meaning student of the Veda.
Cāttirakkaḷi (Yatra-kkaḷi Sanghakkaḷi)	=	A form of religious entertainment staged by the Cāttirar.
Catura	=	1. Square. 2. A pose in Bharatanāṭya.
Cavattai (Kaccam Uṭanpāṭu, Vyavastai)	=	Agreement or pact. Probably derived from Śapatha.
Cāvēr	=	Suicide squad. Soldiers who undertake to die in order to avenge a death or wipe off the shame of defeat in battle.
Cēkaṇḍi	=	Metal gong.
Ceṇḍa	=	Drum.
Cēramān (Kēraḷaputṛa)	=	Literally means 'Son of Cēra'. This term is used as a generaltitle of the Cera king.
Cērikkal	=	1. Colony or settlement of low class people. 2. Land belonging to the Crown.
Ceṛumar	=	An aboriginal tribe of Kerala.
Ceṭṭi	=	This term is probably derived from Śṛēṣthin. 1. Person belonging to the merchant community. 2. Title of the leader of a merchant corporation.
Campu	=	A kind of poetic composition partly in prose and partly in verse.
Cāraṇa	=	1. A semi-divine being. 2. Jain monk.
Curṛampalam (Nālampalam)	=	Group of four halls around the shrine arranged in rectangular shape.
Damaru	=	Miniature drum used by Śiva.
Daṇḍa (Taṇḍam)	=	1. Rod. 2. Punishment. 3. Fine.
Daśavargika	=	Group of soldiers or body-guards organised in units of ten.
Dāyāda	=	Heir, near relative.
Dēśya bhāṣa	=	Regional dialect.
Dēvadānam (Dēvasvam)	=	Property of the deity. Temple property jointly administered by Ūrāḷar or village proprietors.
Dēvadāsi (Tēvaṭicci)	=	Temple danseuse. The term literally means 'handmaid of the Lord'.
Dēvasvam	=	See Dēvadāna.

Dīnāra (Dīnāram)	=	Denarius. Roman gold coin from which the Sanskrit term Dinara was derived.
Dvārapāla	=	Gate-keeper. Two dvārapāla figures are usually placed on either side of the entrance to the Śrīkōyil in temple.
Eccilaṭippān	=	Sweeper of the dining hall.
Eḍatrāḷpāḍ	=	Chieftain of Eḍattaṛanāṭu.
Ēkagrāma	=	Single village. Unification of more than one villages into one.
Eḷunnūṟṟuvar	=	Seven Hundred organization or leader of the Seven hundred .
Emperumān (Empṛān)	=	Literally means 'my Lord'. This term is employed for temple priests in Kerala.
Ēṇi	=	Ladder.
Ēṇikkāṇam	=	Ladder fee. This is a form of tax collected from toddy-tappers.
Eṇṇāḷippaṛa	=	Paṛa holding eight Nāḷi.
Ēṛāṭi	=	Chieftain of Ēṛānāṭu.
Gaṇa (Kaṇam)	=	Trust or Committee.
Garbhagraha	=	Sanctum sanctorum. Inner shrine of the temple.
Gavākṣa	=	Triangular opening in the roof to contain sculptured figure.
Ghaṭaka (Ghaṭika, Kaḷakam)	=	An institution of Vedic Brahmins. Probably the Sanskrit word for Cālai (Śālai).
Ghūṛṇita	=	A pose in Bharatanāṭya
Gōpura	=	Tower. Gate tower.
Grāmakṣētra	=	Central temple of the Brahmin settlement in Kerala.
Grantha	=	Book.
(Pallava Grantha or Southern Grantha)	=	Script used in the South for writing Sanskrit. This was the parent of modern Malayalam script.
Granthavari	=	Chronicle.
Ilaccina (Lakṣaṇa)	=	Official seal.
Īḷavar (Tiyyar)	=	People of Īḷam (Ceylon). This term is used for the caste of toddy-tappers in Kerala. The term Tiyyar meaning islanders is also used for these people.
Iṛai	=	Tax, revenue.
Iṭaṅgaḷi	=	A measure holding four Nāḷi.
Iṭupaṭi	=	Wicket gate.
Jālaka	=	Window.
Jaṭāmakuṭa	=	Knot of hair in the form of crown.

Jīvitam	=	Literally life. This term is used for payment of livelihood or maintenance.
Kaccam	=	Agreement or pact. See Cavattai.
Kaikkūli	=	1. Fee. 2. Unofficial or unauthorised payment or bribe.
Kaittāḷam	=	Cymbals.
Kākaḷam	=	Trumpet, pipe.
Kalam	=	1. Pot. 2. A measure holding ten paṛa 3. Plate of meal. 4. Seat in the mess. 5. Weapon.
Kaḻañju (Kaḻañcu)	=	Weight used as a standard.
Kalaśa	=	Pot, vessel.
Kali era	=	Era calculated from the beginning of Kaliyuga. The Kali year 3101 is equivalent to the beginning of the Christian era.
Kalivākya	=	Chronogram. Words or combination of letters devised to indicate number of years or days of Kali era.
Kalveṭṭu	=	Stone inscription.
Kammāḷr	=	Community of skilled artisans like smith, carpenter, stone worker etc.
Kaṇam	=	See gaṇa.
Kāṇam	=	1. Weight which is one tenth of Kaḻañcu. 2. Right of tenancy.
Kāntarpikar	=	Musicians playing on instruments.
Kaṇṭhi	=	Necklace.
Kapōta	=	Technical term for a part of the plinth or adhiṣṭhāna.
Kappam	=	Tribute.
Kārāḷan	=	Tenant.
Karaṇam	=	Document.
Karaṇṭamakuṭa	=	Long cylindrical crown.
Kārāṇmai	=	Tenancy right.
Kārmuka	=	Bow.
Kāśu (Kācu)	=	Coin, probably derived from Karshapana.
Kaṭam (Kaṭan)	=	Loan.
Kaṭamai	=	Tax, obligation. Payment to the overlord.
Kaṭapayādi	=	A system of letter - numerals in which 'ka', 'ṭa', 'pa' and 'ya' stand for the number one.
Kaṭyavalambita hasta	=	A posture in which the hand is placed on the hip.
Kāval	=	Protection. Guard duty.
Kāval Virutti	=	Land assigned by way of remuneration for protection.
Kēraḷaputra	=	See Cēramān.
Kēyūra	=	Ornamental band on the upper portion of the arm.
Kīḻ	=	1. Below. 2. East.
Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ	=	Title used by Cēra princesses. The term Kiḻān literally means chief.

Kīḻiṭu	=	Subordinate property of institution.
Kīḻśānti	=	Subordinate priest.
Kīḻtaḷi	=	Eastern temple.
Kō, Kōil, Kōman Kōn, Kōnmai Kōyil	=	Lord. King. Overlord. The word Kōil or Kōyil was used in the sense of a) Palace and b) Kṣatriya prince also.
Kollam era	=	This is also called Malayāḷam Era (M E). It is calculated from 825 AD. It might have been associated with the foundation Kollam town.
Koṛṛakkuṭai	=	Royal parasol. Symbol of sovereignty.
Kōṣṭa	=	1. Non-vedic religious centre or monastery of Jains or Buddhists. 2. Fort, Town.
Koṭṭākara (Kōṣṭhāgara)	=	Store house.
Koṭṭi (Uvaccan)	=	Drummer.
Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ	=	Term of respect for prince. Probably this was reserved for Kṣatriya princes.
Kōyil Manuccar	=	Agents of the king.
Kūḍu	=	Ornamental design on the wall for enclosing a figure.
Kumuda	=	Technical term for a part of the plinth or Adhiṣṭāna.
Kuṇḍala	=	Ear ornament.
Kunnalakkōn	=	Title of the Zamorin of Calicut. This is usually explained as meaning 'Lord of hill and sea'. See Pūnturakkōn also.
Kūṛu	=	1. Share, status, position. 2. Loyalty.
Kuruṇi	=	A measure.
Kuṭai	=	Umbrella.
Kuṭaikkūttu	=	Umbrella dance.
Kuṭakkūttu	=	Pot dance.
Kuṭanāḻi	=	One Nāḻi per Kuṭam or pot.
Kuṭi	=	1. House 2. Family. 3. Mistress of the house.
Kuṭipati	=	Leader of a settlement or village consisting of a number of houses.
Kūṭiyāṭṭam	=	Term for Sanskrit play-acting.
Kūtta Cākkayār	=	Male member of the caste of hereditary actors and dancers in the temple.
Kūṭṭam	=	Meeting Assembly.
Kūttampalam	=	Temple theatre.
Kūtti	=	Dancing girl.
Kūttu	=	Dance, play.
Lāñchana	=	Characteristic mark or emblem.

Lōla	=	Leisurely posture with hand or palm freely hanging by the body.
Mādēvi	=	Mahādēvi. Senior queen.
Maṭha	=	1. Brahmin residence. 2. Monastery.
Mahājana (Mahattara)	=	Great men of the village. Village elders. They are called Perumakkaḷ in Tamil and early Malayāḷam inscriptions.
Mahāmāgha	=	Great Māgha. Māgha festival celebrated at Tirunāvāye once in twelve years when jupiter was in Karkkaṭaka.
Mahattara	=	See Mahājana.
Makara	=	A mythical animal with shape of a fish.
Maṉai	=	Respectable family house.
Maṉai Iṟai	=	House tax.
Maṅgalyam	=	1. Marriage. 2. Auspicious ceremony.
Maṇigrāma	=	Name of Corporation of merchants, probably of Syrian Christians.
Maṇṇān (Vaṇṇān)	=	Caste of Washer men.
Maulabala	=	1. Personal force. 2. Standing army.
Māpāratam	=	1. Mahābhārata. 2. Recitation of Mahābhārata in temple.
Marakkāl	=	A measure.
Mariyāda	=	1. Custom. 2. Convention.
Marumakan (Plural: Marumakkaḷ)	=	1. Nephew. 2. Son-in-Law.
Marumakkattāyam (Mātṛpāramparya)	=	Matriliny.
Matil	=	1. Fort. 2. Fortress wall.
Matilakam	=	Fortified town.
Mēl	=	1. Above. 2. West.
Mēl cānti	=	Chief priest.
Mēl taḷi	=	Western temple.
Mēnāyan	=	Supervisor.
Mukhamaṇḍapa	=	Maṇḍapa or platform in front of the shrine.
Mukkālvaṭṭam	=	1. Temple. 2. Temple premises.
Mūlabhṛtya	=	Personal servant. Member of standing force.
Munnūṟṟuvar	=	Three Hundred organisation or Leader of the Three Hundred.
Muṟaipuri	=	Ancestral home or capital.
Mūtta (Mutu)	=	Senior.
Nālampalam	=	See Cuṟṟampalam.
Nāḻi	=	A measure.
Nāḷpaṅku	=	Daily routine. Daily expense.

Nālukeṭṭu	=	Traditional Kerala house with four halls around the inner courtyard.
Nālu taḷi	=	1. Four chief temples of the capital. 2. Managers of the four chief temples.
Nambirāṭṭiyār	=	Feminine gender of Lord or Nambiran.
Nambūdiri	=	Common term for Kerala Brahmin.
Nāṉādēśikaḷ	=	Corporation of merchants.
Nandāviḷakku	=	Permanent lamp.
Naṅgacci (Naṅgai, Naṇgaiyār)	=	1. Respectable woman. 2. Dancing girl.
Nāṭṭār	=	Chief citizens or leaders of a place.
Nāṭu	=	1. District. 2. Land. 3. Chief or Governor of district
Nāṭu Vāḻi (Nāṭu Uṭaiyavar)	=	Governor of a district.
Nāyar (Nāyaka)	=	1. Leader. 2. Title of hereditary or nominated commander of soldiers. 3. Caste name of a class of Śūdra.
Neṭiya taḷi	=	Big temple.
Niḻal	=	1. Shadow. 2. Companion. 3. Agent of the ruling prince.
Nīrāṭṭu paḷḷi	=	Sacred bath.
Nivēdyam	=	Food offering to the deity.
Oḻukkam	=	Custom.
Oḻukkavi	=	Customary or daily sacrifice.
Ōṇam	=	Festival of Viṣṇu in the form of Vāmana. This is celebrated in the month of Ciṅgam all over Kerala.
Onpatināḻi paṛa	=	Paṛa holding' nine Nāḻi.
Ōraviyan	=	Painter.
Ōttu	=	Vedic study.
Palakai	=	Seat.
Palam (Phalam)	=	Fruit or Harvest.
Paḻam Kāśu	=	Old coin called Kāśu. Probably this term was used for the old Roman Dinara which continued in circulation.
Paḷḷi	=	Non Vedic shrine. This term was formerly applied to Jain, Buddhist or Christian religious centre. It is now used for Muslim mosques also.
Paḷḷikkuṛuppu	=	Sacred sleep.
Paḷḷittāmam	=	Garland of the deity.
Pañcamahāpāpa	=	Five great sins.
Pañcamaśabda	=	Five great musical sounds. Five musical instruments used in temple.
Paṇi	=	Workers. Employees.

Paṇikkar = Instructor. This was used as a title for military instructors in Kerala.

Pañjara = Ornamental case for a figure sculptured in the niche.

Pantīraṭi = Twelve feet time. Time is still measured by the length of the shadow in the countryside.

Paṛa = A unit of measure.

Paradēśa = Foreign land. A common term for any land outside Kerala.

Paraṭai (Paruṭai or Pariṭai) = Pariṣad, Committee.

Paṭakāram = See Bhaṭṭākāra.

Paṭavāram = One-tenth share.

Paṭārar = See Bhaṭāra.

Pati = Lord or chief. See Kuṭipati.

Patināḻippaṛa = Paṛa holding ten Nāḻi.

Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār = Eighteen chief residents of the place.

Pāṭṭam = Tenant's dues. The share of the landlord.

Pāṭṭamāḷan = Officer in charge of collecting the landlord's share.

Paṭṭar = See Bhaṭṭa.

Pērilamai = A measure.

Perumakkaḷ = Great men of the village. Village elders. Tamil equivalent for Mahājana.

Perumāḷ (Perumān) = The great one. This term is used for kings and deities.

Perum Kōyilakam = Great palace.

Perumutiyan = Chief storekeeper.

Perumtaccan = Chief architect.

Perumtaṭṭān = Chief smith.

Piccai = See Bhikṣa.

Poli = 1. Interest. 2. Contribution.

Poti = A measure.

Potuvāḷ (Putuvāḷ) = Secretary of the village assembly.

Pradakṣiṇa patha = Path of circumambulation.

Prākāra = Outer wall. Fortress wall.

Prāsāda = Mansion.

Praśasti = 1. Fame. 2. Introductory portion of grant or charter containing royal genealogy and achievements. 3. Charter.

Prāyaścitta = 1. Atonement. 2 Compensation.

Pulayar = An aboriginal tribe of Kerala.

Pūmunai (Puṣpabōtikai) = Bud-shaped projection used as decorative motif in sculpture.

Pūnturakkōn	=	Title of the Zamorin of Calicut. See Kunnalakkōn. Pūnturа may be the place of his origin, or a battle-field, or a port of great fame.
Puṛaiyan	=	Title of the Cēra.
Puraiyiṭam	=	House and compound.
Pūrvaśikha	=	Knot of hair in front of the head. This is peculiar to Brahmins of Kerala.
Puṣpabōtikai	=	See Pūmunai.
Rakṣābhōga	=	Protection fee.
Rāśi	=	Zodiacal house.
Sabha	=	Assembly.
Sādhukkaḷ	=	Respectable people.
Śālai	=	See Cālai.
Śālabhōgam	=	Property or income of the Śālai.
Sāmanta	=	1. Feudatory, Vassal. 2. A sub caste of rulers below the Kṣatriya.
Sambandham	=	Alliance. Marriage without ritualistic or legal sanction. A form of concubinage in which the Kerala Brahmins accepted women from the non-Aryan people of Kerala.
Sammatam	=	Permission. Favourable attitude.
Sankṛānti (Cankṛānti)	=	Transition from one house – rāśi, Zodiacal sign – to the other, transition from one [solar] month to the next.
Śānti	=	See Cānti.
Saptamāta	=	Seven female deities worshipped in every temple.
Sēnāmukha	=	Cantonment.
Ṣaḍbhāga	=	One-sixth revenue. This is the king's share in land.
Śṛībali	=	Daily offering in temple.
Śṛīkōyil	=	Central Shrine. The sanctum sanctorum is built inside the structure.
Śṛīvaiṣṇavar	=	Technical term for trustees of Vaiṣṇavite temple.
Sthali (Taḷi)	=	Shrine.
Sthānam (Tāṉam)	=	1. Seat. 2. Membership.
Sukhāsana	=	Easy posture.
Śulka (Ulku)	=	Tax or duty.
Svarūpam	=	Dynasty.
Taccan (Takṣan)	=	Architect or carpenter.
Taḷai	=	Footrest or fetter.
Taḷaikkāṇam	=	Fetter fee.
Talaiyār	=	Leader, Chief.
Taḷi	=	See Sthali. Temple or officer in charge of the temple.
Taḷiyātiri	=	Taḷi adhikāri or officer in charge of the temple.

Tampurān	=	Lord.
Tāṉam	=	See Sthānam.
Taṛa	=	Ward. Section of village.
Taṭṭaḷi	=	Metallic drum.
Taṭṭaṛa	=	Room with ceiling.
Taṭṭān	=	Smith.
Taṭukkuka (Vilakkuka)	=	Obstruct.
Tēva Nāḻi	=	Nāḻi measure of the temple.
Tēvaṭicci	=	See Dēvadāsi.
Timilai	=	A kind of drum.
Tiṛai	=	Tribute.
Tiru	=	Sacred.
Tīyyam	=	1. Evil. 2. Punishment. 3. Island.
Tiyyan	=	Islander. Term used for people from Īḻam or Ceylon. See Īḻavar.
Tōraṇam	=	Arch.
Traivarṇikar	=	People of the three upper castes.
Tribhaṅga	=	Body in three parts with the bends emphasised in figure sculpture.
Triśaraṇa	=	Three slogans of refuge in Buddha, Sangha and Dharmma, advocated by the Buddha.
Tulām	=	Balance.
Uḷkkuṭi	=	Tenure of houses.
Ulkku (Ulku)	=	See Śulka.
Uḷpāṭan	=	Sanctum keeper.
Upāna	=	A part of the plinth or adhiṣṭāna in temple.
Ūr	=	Village.
Ūrāḷar	=	Proprietors of the village.
Ūrār	=	Residents of the village.
Ūrāṇmai	=	Status of village elders.
Uṭanpāṭu	=	See Cavattai.
Uṭan Kūṭṭam	=	Group of body-guards in immediate attendance.
Uvaccan	=	Drummer. See Koṭṭi also.
Vakkāṇikkal (Vyākhyānikkal)	=	Discourse of religious texts with commentary and explanation.
Vaḷañciyar	=	Corporation of merchants.
Vāḻkai	=	Administrative unit smaller than Nāṭu. See Bhukti.
Vāṉavan	=	Title of the Cēra.
Vaṇikar (Vāṇiyan)	=	Merchant.

Vaṇṇān = See Maṇṇān.

Vārakkōlum Paiñcakkaṇṭiyum = Privileges granted by Sthāṇu Ravi to Mār Sāpir Īśō. These may be related to the maintenance of standards in weights and measures.

Vāriyar = 1. Village accountant in Brahmin settlements of Kerala.
2. A hereditary caste of temple servants in Kerala.

Vātalmāṭam = Platforms on either side of entrance corridor in temple.

Vaṭṭeḻuttu = Script in which the Cēra inscriptions are written. Derived from Brāhmi, this was used for writing Tamil in the Cēra-Pāṇḍya countries and continued in use for Malayāḷam in a decadent form until 18th century in Kerala.

Vaṭukappaṛai = Kettle drum, probably of Northern origin.

Vāyaṉam (Vāyiṉam) = Vehicle, cart.

Vēḷ = Chieftains of the Vēḷ country.

Veḷḷāḷar = Community of agriculturists.

Veḷḷōḍi = Vaḷḷuva aṭi. Chiefs of Vaḷḷuva Nāṭu.

Veṭi = Small boat.

Vidūṣaka = Court jester in Sanskrit drama. He is the most important character of Kūṭiyāṭṭam in Kerala.

Vilakkuka = See Taṭukkuka.

Villavan = Title of the Cēra.

Vimāna = Superstructure. Top member of a shrine.

Virutti (Vritti) = Land assigned in remuneration for service.

Viṣu = Equinox. The first day of the solar months of Tulā the latter considered as Mēṣa, beginning of the solar year. This day is celebrated as a religious festival by Hindus in Kerala.

Vitāṉam = Decoration.

Vyavastai = See Cavattai.

Yajñōpavīta = Sacred thread of Brahmins and Deities.

Yāḷi = Motif of mythical animal used in sculpture.

Yāḷi vari = Row of yāḷi sculptured on the walls of the shrine.

Yamaka kāvya = Sanskrit Poem with rhyme at the end of every line or every second line in a slōka.

Zāmorin = Title of the king of Calicut. They were descendants of the Cēra governors of Ēṛāḷanāṭu.

Bibliography

The present study is mainly based on primary sources - inscriptions of Kerala and the neighbouring territory supplemented by contemporary literature in Tamil and Sanskrit. The discovery and decipherment of Cēra inscriptions in the last fifty years made much of the earlier writing on Kerala history obsolete and not much has been written afterwards on history as such though limited studies on linguistic, literary, artistic, and socio-economic development have been carried out.

A. Primary Sources

I. Cēra Inscriptions: These epigraphic records are not all of them published, and even those which are published are often dated wrongly and interpreted defectively. The writer has relied on published texts with such corrections and additions as indicated in the Index to Cēra Inscriptions. (See pp. 435-501)

a) Annual Reports.

1. *Annual Reports of Archaeological Department, Cochin State,* (Trippūṇittuṛa, 1924-25; Trichur 1925 to 1948).
2. *Annual Reports of Archaeological Department, Travancore-Cochin State,* (Ernakulam, 1956 to 1970).
3. *Annual Reports of Archaeological Department, Kerala,* (Ernakulam, 1956 to 1970).
4. *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy,* (Madras, from 1887 onwards).

These contain notices and brief summaries and in rare cases texts and plates of inscriptions of Kerala.

b) Journals and Periodicals.

1. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III, IX, XI, XVI, XVIII.
2. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. III, XX.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. IV.

A few Cēra inscriptions (7, 2 and 4 respectively) are published here. These and other volumes contain a number of inscriptions from neighbouring regions of Pāṇḍya, Koṅgu, Āḷupa, Gaṅga, Rāṣṭṛakūṭa, Pallava and Cōḷa rulers in Tamil, Kannada, Grantha and Roman scripts with English translation, notes and plates.

4. *Kerala Society Papers,* (Trivandrum, 1928-32), Series 6, 11.

This contains 2 Cēra inscriptions, reproduced from other publications, in Malayalam and Roman script, with new readings, English translation, and notes.

5. *Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin*, (Trichur, 1930-49), Vol. VIII, IX.

The Cochin Epigraphical Supplement appended to this carries the text of 6 Cēra inscriptions in Malayalam script with English translation and notes.

6. *South Indian Inscriptions*, (Madras), Vol. III, V, VII, VIII.

This contains the text of 23 Cēra inscriptions in Tamil script with plates. Only Vol. III contains English translation with detailed introduction and notes. Inscriptions of neighbouring regions are published in these and the other volumes also.

7. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, (Trivandrum, 1910-38), Vol. I to IX.

There are 68 Cēra inscriptions in these volumes, in Tamil script, with English translation, elaborate notes, and plates. However, there is no chronological or geographical arrangement and they are clubbed together with hundreds of other inscriptions of different periods and places. The dates are often wrong, and the decipherment inaccurate or incomplete.

c) Books.

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2. Nayar, S. K. and Mahalingam, T.V., *Selected Malayalam Inscriptions*, (Madras, 1952)

This contains the text of 20 Cēra inscriptions, reproduced from other publications, in Roman script, with English translations and notes.

3. Sekhar, A.C., *Evolution of Malayalam*, (Poona, 1953).

This contains the text of 23 Cēra inscriptions, reproduced from other publications, in Roman script, with some alternative readings also.

4. Pillai, Eḷamkuḷam P. N. Kunhan, *Kēraḷabhāṣayuṭe Vikāsa Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, (Kottayam, 1953).

5. Pillai, Eḷamkuḷam P. N. Kunhan, *Cila Kēraḷa Caritra Praśnaṅgaḷ*, (Kottayam, 1955, Second Edn. 1963).

These contain the improved texts of 23 Cēra inscriptions - 18 and 5 respectively in Malayalam script, with corrections, Malayalam translation and elaborate notes.

6. Pillai, V. R. Parameswaran, Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ, (Kottayam, 1963).

This contains the text of 6 Cēra inscriptions, in Malayalam script, with some corrections, Malayalam translation and notes. It also includes the fragmentary text of one unpublished Cēra inscription.

d) Unpublished Inscriptions.

Though some inscriptions have been published several times with slightly different readings, the texts of 47 inscriptions have remained unpublished. Out of these 11 are not even noticed by the Government Departments in the centre and state. The present writer has deciphered the text and prepared the translation of these newly discovered inscriptions from originals and of 28 inscriptions noticed earlier from originals or estampages kept in the office of the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India, Mysore. The full texts of

the newly discovered inscriptions are available for reference at the Department of History, Calicut University, Kerala. For the remaining 8 inscriptions out of the list of unpublished records, the writer has made use of the summary given in annual reports where they are brought to notice. Unpublished inscriptions deciphered and used for the study: Index No A 15, A. 18, A. 21, A. 39, A. 40, A. 52, A 63, A. 79; B. 16, B 21, B. 24; C. 2, C. 4, C. 6 to 12, C. 21 to 23 and C. 26 to 29. Unnoticed Inscriptions deciphered and used for the study: Index No. A. 29, A. 53, A. 61, A. 66, A. 76, A. 78; B. 1; C. 13, C. 14,C. 24 and C. 25.

II. Literary Works: The early and contemporary or near-contemporary literary works used as primary sources for the study are mostly of uncertain date and some of them are of unknown authorship also. However, since they do not throw much light on the immediate personal and social context, they are used mostly for the study of general social conditions and religious or cultural institutions and influence.

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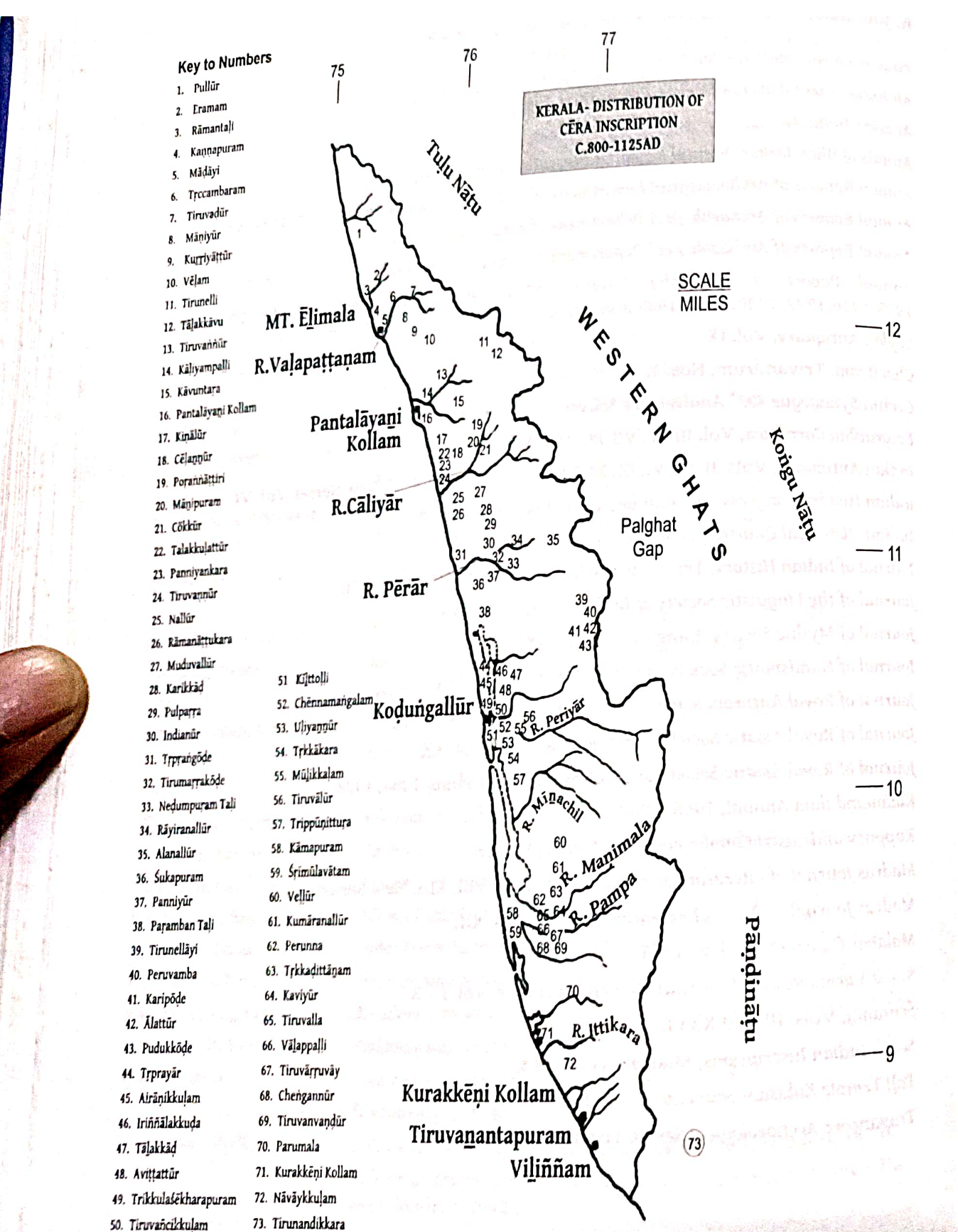
KERALA- DISTRIBUTION OF CĒRA INSCRIPTION C.800-1125AD
Key to Numbers
1. Pullūr
2. Eramam
3. Rāmantaḷi
4. Kaṇṇapuram
5. Māḍāyi
6. Tṛccambaram
7. Tiruvaḍūr
8. Māṇiyūr
9. Kuṟṟiyāṭṭūr
10. Vēḷam
11. Tirunelli
12. Tāḻakkāvu
13. Tiruvaṇṇūr
14. Kāḷiyampalli
15. Kāvuntara
16. Pantalāyaṇi Kollam
17. Kiṇāḷūr
18. Cēḷaṇṇūr
19. Poraṇṇāṭṭiri
20. Māṇipuram
21. Cōkkūr
22. Talakkuḷattūr
23. Panniyaṅkara
24. Tiruvaṇṇūr
25. Nallūr
26. Rāmanāṭṭukara
27. Muḍuvallūr
28. Karikkāḍ
29. Pulpaṟṟa
30. Indianūr
31. Tṛpraṅgōḍe
32. Tirumaṟṟakōḍe
33. Neḍumpuram Taḷi
34. Rāyiranallūr
35. Alanallūr
36. Śukapuram
37. Panniyūr
38. Paṟamban Taḷi
39. Tirunellāyi
40. Peruvamba
41. Karipōḍe
42. Āḷattūr
43. Puḍukkōḍe
44. Tṛprayār
45. Airāṇikkuḷam
46. Iriññāḷakkuḍa
47. Tāḻakkāḍ
48. Aviṭṭattūr
49. Trikkuḷaśēkharapuram
50. Tiruvañcikkuḷam
51. Kīḻttoḷi
52. Chēnnamaṅgalam
53. Uḻiyaṇṇūr
54. Tṛkkākara
55. Mūḻikkaḷam
56. Tiruvāḷūr
57. Trippūṇittuṟa
58. Kāmapuram
59. Śṛīmūlavāṭam
60. Veḷḷūr
61. Kumāranallūr
62. Perunna
63. Tṛkkaḍittāṇam
64. Kaviyūr
65. Tiruvalla
66. Vāḻappaḷḷi
67. Tiruvāṟṟuvāy
68. Cheṅgannūr
69. Tiruvanvaṇḍūr
70. Parumala
71. Kurakkēṇi Kollam
72. Nāvāykkuḷam
73. Tirunandikkara
75
76
77
Tuḷu Nāṭu
MT. Ēḻimala
R.Vaḷapaṭṭaṇam
Pantalāyaṇi Kollam
R.Cāliyār
R. Pērār
Koḍuṅgallūr
R. Periyār
R. Mīṉachil
R. Maṇimala
R. Pampa
R. Ittikara
Kurakkēṇi Kollam
Tiruvaṉantapuram
Viḻiññam
WESTERN GHATS
Palghat Gap
Koṅgu Nāṭu
Pāṇḍināṭu
SCALE
MILES
12
11
10
9
73

Index to Cēra Inscriptions

Table A - Records Dated with Regnal years and Royal names

No.	**A. 1**
Place:	Tiruvāṟṟuvāy in Vāl̲appaḷḷi village. Owned by Mūviḍattu Maḍham, Tiruvalla.
Material:	Copper plate; single plate with writing on both sides. 5 + 5 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭel̲uttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
Date:	King Rājaśēkhara, Rājarājādhirāja Paramēśwara Bhaṭṭāraka. Regnal Year 12, C. 830 AD. This king was immediate predecessor of Tāṇu Ravi (Coronation 844 AD) as per the testimony of Sanskrit poet Vāsubhaṭṭa, who claims to be the courtier of two kings, Rājaśēkhara and Kulaśēkhara.
Contents:	Temple Committee resolution in king's presence. Tiruvāṟṟuvāy Patiṉeṭṭu nāṭṭār, Vāl̲appaḷḷi Ūrār, and Rājaśēkhara dēva deciding on land grant for Muṭṭāppali (Daily Offering in temple).
Publication:	*T.AS.*, II, no.2, pp. 8-14. Photo, Tamil transliteration, English translation, and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 74-75. Malayalam transliteration of revised text, Malayalam translation, and notes.
Remarks:	Probably the earliest Cēra inscription. It begins with 'Namaśśivāya' in place of the usual 'swasti śṛi' and mentions the coin Dināra.
No.	**A. 2**
Place:	Kollam (Quilon); Owned by Old Syrian Christian Seminary, Kottayam.
Material:	Copper Plate; two plates with writings on both sides of the first plate and on one side of the second plate. 12+8+7 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭel̲uttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.
Date:	King Tāṇu Ravi, Ko. Regnal Year 5. Coronation 844 AD as per court astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa in *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhyā*, see Eḷamkuḷam, 'Sthāṇuraviyuṭe kālam', *Ēṭukaḷ*, pp. 95-106.
Contents:	Royal Charter. Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, Adhikārar, Prakriti, Maṇikkirāmam, Añcuvaṇṇam, and Punnaittalaippati grant serfs to Tarsāppaḷḷi, the church of Tarsa. Witnesses mentioned.
Publication:	*I.A.*, III, pp. 315 ff. Photo, Eng. Translation and notes; Gundert, *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 118. Eng. Translation; *T.A.S.*, II, no.9(I), pp. 62-70. Photo, Tamil transliteration,

Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, 'Tarisāppaḷḷippaṭṭayam', *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 13-17. Malayalam transliteration of revised text, Malayalam translation and notes.

Remarks: It reveals the Cēra patronage of Christianity and refers to royal dues and foundation of Kollam (Quilon) by Mār Sāpir Īśō who founded a church also there.

No. **A. 3**

Place: Iriññālakkuḍa; formerly lying in the courtyard of Kūḍalmāṇikkam temple. Now fixed on the bottom portion of the inside wall of the first prākāra.

Material: Stone; single slab of granite with writing on one side. Approx 3' X 5'. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language –Old Malayalam.

Date: King Tāṇu Ravi, Ko. Regnal Year 11, 855 AD. See Kollam Tarisāppaḷḷi inscription of the 5th year for date of coronation.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Iruṅkāṭikkūṭal Paraṭaiyār and Iḷaiyar meet and unanimously decide to lease out land for some purpose.

Publication: *R.V.R.I.B.*, IX, I, p. 43. Earlier version published in *R.V.R.I.B.*, VIII, II, p. 125. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: Textual correction by present writer from original - Read 'aṇaivatu' in place of 'araivatu' in L.12.

No. **A. 4**

Place: Tiruvāṟṟuvāy; Owned by Mūviḍattu Mēccēri Illam, Tiruvalla.

Material: Copper Plate; single plate with writing on both sides. 7+1 lines. Script – Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Tāṇu Ravi Kō. Regnal year 17, 861 AD. See Kollam Tarsāppaḷḷi inscription of the 5th year for date of coronation.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Tiruvāṟṟuvāy Sabhai and Aṭikaḷmār meet and unanimously finalize Āvaṇi Ōṇam feast arrangements with land donated by Puñcaippaṭakārattu Cēntan Caṅkaran.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 9 (III) pp. 85-86. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 76-7. Mal. transliteration of the revised text, Malayalam translation and notes.

Remarks: It contains the earliest epigraphic reference to Ōṇam in Kerala. The hypothetical letters in brackets inserted in the *T.A.S.* version to conform to rules of Tamil grammar are to be deleted.

No. **A. 5**

Place: Tillaisthāṉam, Tanjore dt., Tamilnadu.

Material: Stone; slab of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Tamil.

Date: King Rājakēsarivarman, Toṇḍaināḍu Pāviṉa Cōḷan Palyāṉai, Kō Kaṇḍan, and King Cēramān Tāṇu Ravi, Kō. Regnal years not mentioned. 844-5 AD. This Rājakēsarivarman was usually identified with Āditya Cola. For new identification and date see Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñcīpuram in Early South India History*, pp. 192-4

and also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Sthāṇuraviyuṭe Kālam- Cila Tiruttalukaḷ', *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 114-21.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Kadamba Mahādēvi, wife of Vikki Aṇṇan who was granted military honours jointly by Cōḷa and Cēra monarchs, donates sheep for maintenance of lamp in temple.

Publication: No. 286 of 1911. *T.A.S.*, II, No.9 (II a) pp. 76-7. Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *S.I.I.*, III, p. 89. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Evidence of Cōḷa-Cēra co-operation in military ventures in Gaṅga-Kadamba region.

No. **A. 6**

Place: Kollam (Quilon); Owned by Old Syrian Christian Seminary, Kottayam.

Material: Copper Plate; three plates with writing on both sides. 13 + 14 + 14 + 13 + 21 + 15 lines. Script – Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. The third plate contains a number of signatures in Kufic (10 lines) Pahlavi (18 lines) and Hebrew (8 lines) scripts. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Tāṇu Ravi? Close of the reign? C.883 AD. Coronation 844 AD. See Kollam Tarisāppaḷḷi inscription of the 5th year for date of coronation. Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇaṭu figures in the Kollam inscription of the 5th year as well as here but Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ, junior prince, also figures here.

Contents: Royal Charter. Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ Vijayarāgadēvar (royal representative), Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Tiruvaṭikaḷ (senior prince of Vēṇaṭu), Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ (junior prince of Vēnatu), Adhikārar, Prakriti, Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Punnaittalaippati, and Pulaikkuṭippati granting land and serfs to Tarsāppaḷḷi, built by Mār Sāpir Īśō, founder of Kollam (Quilon) and conferring privileges on Añcuvaṇṇam, and Maṇikkirāmam.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 9 (II), pp. 80-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, 'Tarisāppaḷḷippaṭṭayam' *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 18-24. Mal. transliteration, Mal. translation and notes. For the third plate which is omitted in both publications, See C.P.T. Winkworth and others, "Foreign Signatures on Quilon Plate", *K.S.P.* series 6, pp. 320-23.

Remarks: It gives proof of the status and privileges of trading corporations in Kerala.

No. **A. 7**

Place: Tirunandikkara; Courtyard of the structural temple.

Material: Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Tamil.

Date: King Kulaśēkharadēva and his son-in law Vijayarāgadēva. Regnal year not mentioned. C. 883 AD. Tāṇu Ravi had the title of Kulaśēkhara according to his court astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa and Vijayarāga acted as the royal representative according to the second set of Kollam Tarsāppaḷḷi plates. That Vijayarāga succeeded Tāṇu Ravi on the throne is clear from his titles Kēraḷarāja and Cēramānār in a Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription of Cōḷa Parāntaka, 29th year, 936 AD, which records a donation by his daughter. He may therefore be provisionally identified with Kōta Ravi who started ruling from 883 AD according to a Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of the 17th year of Kōta Ravi.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Tirunadikkarai Perumakkaḷ, Taḷiyāḷvān, and Kaṇakkār meeting to receive ten kaḻañcu of gold from Iravi Nīli alias Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, daughter of Kulaśēkharadēva and wife of Vijayarāgadēva, for Nandāviḷakku in temple.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, IV, no.36 pp. 144-5. Tamil transliteration Eng. translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Kaṇakkār' in place of 'Kanakkar' in Ll.1 and 3 (correction by the present writer from the original stone). This inscription establishes the relationship between Kulaśēkhara and Vijayarāga.

No. **A. 8**

Place: Cōkkūr, Puttūr village; Courtyard of the ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on three sides. 33 + 26 + 35 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal Year 15, 898 AD (Coronation 883 AD). See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date. Since Vijayarāga the son-in law of Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara whose daughter was alive in 936 AD is known to have succeeded the latter, Kōta Ravi may be taken to be the personal name of the king who had Vijayarāga as his title.

Contents: Temple inscription by the founder of institution. Karkkōṭṭupurathu Kaṭampan Kumaran makes land grant for the routine expenses like Nivēdya, Viḷakku, Śānti, Akkiram, Aṭai and Bali in Kumaranārāyaṇapura temple. Fine is prescribed for offences and Mūḻikkaḷavyavasthai is quoted. The third face of the stone seems to contain a separate inscription giving details of other, probably later, donations to the temple. Perumtaccan, Ciṟṟaṟaiyil Naṅkaiyār, Cēravannāṭṭu Ceṭṭiyār etc. mentioned there.

Publication: No. 13 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 173, p. 72. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'aḍaikku' for 'tuḍaikku' in L. 33. 'nivēdyappuṟattir' for 'nivēdyappuṟathatir' in L. 39, 'aḍayum' for 'tuḍaiyun' in L. 45 and add 'akkira' after 'Cānti' in L. 46. (correction by the present writer from original stone). This inscription is generally believed to contain the earliest reference to a naṅkai (dancing girl in the temple) but this is doubtful as the term occurs in the third face of the stone after the original inscription is completed. This is the earliest inscription so far discovered to refer to the Mūḻikkaḷavyavasthai or agreement of Mūḻikkaḷam quoted in records from all parts of Kerala. This was wrongly reported as belonging to Ponnani taluk in Malabar in *S.I.I.*, VII, p. 72 and the mistake was repeated in *R.V.R.I.B.*, I, p. 40 and Eḷamkuḷam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, (Second Edn.), p. 82.

No. **A. 9**

Place: Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi, Ticcūr village. Fixed into the half wall in the entrance corridor on the left side.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 14+26 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 17, Jupiter in Mithuṇa, 900 AD. The passage 'Kaliyugam nālāyirattumoppata' is found at the end of the inscription. This was deciphered as 'Kaliyugam nālayirattumuppata' and interpreted as Kali era 4030 by A.G. Warriar. Since that year did not agree with the position of Jupiter, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam suggested 4035, the last letters being assumed to have been lost or

damaged. However, there is no trace of additional letters even though there is enough space. The new reading offered by the present writer agrees with the position of Jupiter also. The Government epigraphists had ascribed some Kōta Ravi inscriptions to the 12th century on paleographical grounds but all of them contain the same script and language.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Nityavicārēśwarattu Taḷiyar, and Taḷi Adhikārar meeting in the presence of Kōtai Iravi, Governor of Veṇpolināṭu, to accept the land grant of Ukkiramaṅgalam and Iyāṉamaṅgalam for the routine expenses of the temple including payments to Kāntarpikan, Naṅgaimār, Karaṇan, Ōrviyan and Naṭṭuvaṉār. Fine is prescribed for offences.

Publication: Nos. 344 and 343 of 1924. A.G. Warrier, "Taḷi Inscriptions of the Cochin State", *I.H.O.*, IV, pp. 154-55. Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, VIII, pp. 43-45. Tamil transliteration. Parameswaran Pillai. *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 159-62. Mal. Transliteration of revised text, Mal. Translation and notes. Only the first 14 lines are given there. See also Elamkulam, *Praśnangaḷ*, II, pp. 57-8. Discussion of date.

Remarks: The two halves of the inscription are registered separately as Nos. 15 and 17 of 1106 ME in *T.A.S.* and nos. 344 and 343 in the *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1924 without observing their connection. The content, script and proximity of the slabs indicate that they are one. Read 'uttama madhayama adhamathināl' in place of 'tavaiyam anpathināl' in L.13. (Correction suggested by V.R. Parameswaran Pillaim. *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 159-62 and confirmed by the present writer from direct observation). Read 'Tirukkōyiluṭaiyar kuṛaiviṉāl' for 'Tirukkōyilu... tevinal' in L. 17 (correction by the present writer). Read 'puraiyiṭam' for 'ariyiṭam' in Ll. 24, 25 & 26. Read 'kaliyukam nālāyirattumoppata' in place of 'kaliyukam nālāyirattumuppata' in L.40 in all previous versions. (Correction by the present writer).

This is the only Cēra inscription before the Kollam record of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, (1102 AD) which gives both the regnal year and another era at the same time. It mentions Naṅgaiyār (temple dancing girls) as well Kāntarpikar, Ōrviyan, and Naṭṭuvan.

No. **A.10**

Place: Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple near the Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 26 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaṉṉi, Month of Vriscika, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Irāyiravar, Irupatteḻuvar, and the two Kuṭippotuvāḷ of Āvaṭṭiputtūr meeting in the temple and unanimously making provision for placing the Cērikkal of Cēramān Mātēviyar (Cēra queen) as a fief under Āvaṭṭi-puttūr. The respective rights of the Ūr Uṭaiyavakaḷ and Ūrāḷar are carefully defined and Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam is quoted. Witnesses mentioned.

Publication: No. 362 of 1927. *B.R.V.R.I.*, VIII, II, pp. 127-30. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *I.H.Q.*, IV, no. I, pp. 154-5. Eng. Transliteration translation and notes.

Remarks: Read "niyatimunnāḻiyāl irunāḻicceytaricikku āṭṭamum' in place of "niyamappaṭi... nāḻiyāl irunāḻicceytaricikkumuṭṭāṇṭu" in Ll. 6-7. Read "Kuṭikaḷaikkuṟaivitum" in place of "kuṭikaḷkkaraivitum" in L.15. Read "valayai paṟaiyavum" in place of "palacai paṟeyavum" in L.16. Read "mulavāyir" in place of 'mulaktira' in L.17. Read "cāntiaṭikaṭkkuṟaiviṉār" in L.22. (Corrections made by the present writer from original stone).

This is the only record mentioning a Cēra queen from Kerala. It is also the only record giving details of rights of Ūruṭaiyavakaḷ and Ūrāḷar in respect of a kīḻiṭu and one of the two records containing reference to 'Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam'. Mentions that the deed was first written out in an ōlai (palm-leaf) and then transcribed on stone.

No. **A. 11**

Place: Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple to the right of the Śrīkōyil a few feet away from the Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 28 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaṉṉi, Month of Vriscika, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. (Irāyiravar) Irupatteḻuvar and the two kuṭippotuvāḷs meet and unanimously decide probably on the assignment of lands for expenses of the temple. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: No.361 of 1927 – Unpublished. Copied from the site by the present writer and K.K.N. Kurup on 28th February '70.

Remarks: This is a record of the same year and month as no.10 above and the same set of people are mentioned but the purpose does not appear to have been the same.

No. **A. 12**

Place: Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple, a few feet away from the Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaṉṉi, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for a discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Irāyiravar, Irupatteḻuvar and the two kuṭippotuvāḷs of Āvaṭṭiputtūr unanimously make decisions regarding some plots which are made Kīḻīṭu of the temple. Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam is mentioned.

Publication: No. 360 of 1927. Unpublished. Copied from the site by the present writer and K.K.N. Kurup on 28the Feb. '70.

Remarks: This is a record of the same year as No.10 and No. 11 above by the same group of people, but apparently registering a different resolution.

No. **A. 13**

Place: Trippaṟaṅgōḍe. Originally the base of a pillar in the Śṛī Kṛṣṇa shrine of the Śiva temple; transferred to the collector's bungalow, Kozhikode, and later, following a

request from the present writer, transferred to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 25+26+27 lines. Script – Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Tiruppaṟaṅkōṭṭu Paraṭaimār, Ūr paṭṭār, Āḻa Kōyil, and Potuvāḷ, meeting in the temple and unanimously making decisions about the management and lease of the entire landed property of the temple the proceeds of which are to be used for all the routine expenditure. Tavarṉūr kaccam is quoted. Fine prescribed for offences.

Publication: No. 219 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, no. 783, pp. 337-8. Photo and Tamil transliteration. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 162-8. Mal. Transliteration, summary and notes. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 45-60, Mal. Transliteration of revised text, Mal. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is one of the three inscriptions referring to Tavaranūrkaccam, the other two being undated inscriptions of Cōkiram temple. The place name of Tavarnūr which gave the kaccam its name survives today in Tavanūr, a village between Tripṛa-ṅgōḍe and Cōkiram (Śukapuram) on the South bank of R. Pērār. The meaning of the Kaccam is interpreted by the present writer in the passage cited above.

Read Ūr pāṭṭār' for 'Ūr paṭṭar' in L.8; 'akkuru paṛaivitum' for 'pūkkuṉṛu-vinam' in Ll. 47-8, 'tuṭannai' for 'tuṭantai' in L. 74; 'Ūrāḷaṉāka kōyilmāṉiṭamāka' in Ll. 89-91. (corrections by the present writer from original stone).

No. **A. 14**

Place: Poṛaṅṅāṭṭiri, courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on four sides. Fourth face completely damaged. 27+25+25+2 lines. Script– Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta a Ravi, 17th year, for date. Name and year of the king are omitted in the published version.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Mūttār, Iḷaiyār, Koyil, Āḷākōyil, and the two Kuṭipotuvāḷs of Poṛaṅṅōṭṭūr, meet and unanimously decide to lease out Akanāḻikaiccelavu, Brahmasvam, Dēvasvam, and Paṛṛuvaḻi lands on behalf of the sabha. Fine is prescribed for offences. Mūḻikkaḷattu cavattai is quoted.

Publication: No. 11 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 171. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read "Kōkkōtai Iravikku cellāniṉṛa yāṇṭu irupatteḻu" in place of "Kō--- Vikku cellāniṉṛa------patteḻu" in Ll. 1-4. Read "Poṛaṅkōṭṭūr Mūthār" in place of "Poṛaṅkōṭṭūr amaiṅṅār" in Ll. 5-6. Read "Tankaḷuḻavum pēṛār" in place of "tavakaḷaḻivum peṛān' in Ll. 17-8. Read "ippaṇpu" in place of 'ippaṇṭu' in Ll. 31-2. Read "cavattai' in place of 'caṭattai' in Ll. 33-4. (corrections by the present writer from original stone on 7-12-'61 and checked with estampage in the Govt. Epigraphist's office on 22-5-'70). Mūḻikkaḷam agreement is cited.

No. **A. 15**

Place: Indianūr, near Kōṭṭakkal. Buried in front of balikkal in temple. Recently transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite containing two separate inscriptions, one on either side. 14 lines- Incomplete. Script – Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for date.

Contents: Pariṭaiyār, Iḷaiyār, Illamuṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ of Indianūr and the Kōyil meet in the temple to decide on utilization of land grant to the temple.

Publication: No. 287 of 1937. Unpublished. The present writer prepared the text from the original stone.

Remarks: This is the only slab so far discovered with inscriptions of two separate kings on either side of a single piece.

No. **A. 16**

Place: Trippūṇittuṟa. Originally part of the Western Cuṟṟampalam of Santāna Gopālakṛṣṇa temple; shifted to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur, after it was broken to pieces at the time of the fire in 1921 which burnt down the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 13 Lines. 5' x 2' x 1'. Script – Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 30, 913 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17the year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Piccaipparaṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ, meeting in the presence of Iravi Āticcan, who was Amaicci (Minister) unanimously regulate the affairs of the temple. Fine prescribed for offences. Written by Pūṇithuṟai Cāttan Kumaran.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, VI, no. 52, p. 64. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *A.R.A.D.C.* for 1927-8. Section II, pp. 11-12 and plate VII. Photo, Mal. Transliteration. Eng. translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 80-1. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This mentions the latest regnal year of Kōta Ravi so far discovered. The script was attributed provisionally to the 12th century by the Travancore Govt. epigraphists and the record itself to Kōta Ravi, brother-in-law of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva. However, it clearly belongs to the earlier Cēra Kōta Ravi of the Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription, 17the year, by script and language.

No. **A. 17**

Place: Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Madras, Tamilnadu. Built into the Verandah round the centrai shrine of Ādhipurīśwara temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Tamil Grantha and Tamil. Language- Sanskrit and Tamil.

Date: King Matirai Koṇḍa Parakēsari (Cōḷa Parāntaka I) Regnal year 29, 936 AD. Mentions Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga or Cēramānār Vijayarāga dēvar as the father of the donor but he may or may not have been alive at the time.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Iravi Nīli, daughter of Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga (Cēramānār Vijayarāgadēva), called Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ in the Tamil portion, donates gold for Nandāviḷakku in temple. Rate of interest specified.

Publication: No. 169 of 1912. *S.I.I.*, III, no. 103, pp. 235-6. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This inscription which gives Vijayarāga the titles of Kēraḷarāja and Cēramānār, clearly establishes that this prince mentioned as Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ (Royal representative) in the second set of Kollam Tarsāppaḷḷi copper plates of Sthāṇu Ravi and as the son-in law of Kulaśēkhara (this title of Sthāṇu Ravi is mentioned by his courtier Śankaranārāyaṇa in *Laghubhāskarīyavyākhya*) in a Tirunandikkara inscription, succeeded his father-in-law on the throne.

No. **A. 18**

Place: Kāvuntaṛa. In the compound of the Ūrāḷan of Kāvil temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 8 line. Incomplete. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 4. C. 943 AD. The Script and language suggest the early part of the 10th century. This king might have filled the gap or part of the gap between Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga (last known regnal year 30-913 AD) and Indu Kōta (coronation 944 AD).

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Kāvil Mūttār and Iḷaiyār making some agreement regarding expenses of Viḷakku, Nivēdyam, and Śṛībali in the temple.

Publication: No. 285 of 1937. Unpublished.

Remarks: This record introduces a Cēra king, who is not known from other sources. The present writer copied the text from the original stone. The second half is practically illegible.

No. **A. 19**

Place: Trikkākara. Left of entrance into the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines, each spreading out on several stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kēraḷa Kēsari, Perumāḷ. Regnal year Nil (damaged), C. 913 AD. This endowment for the routine expenses of the temple may belong to the time of the foundation or renovation of the temple. The earliest dated inscription from this temple belongs to the 10th year of Indu Kota, i.e. 953 AD. Therefore this record and the king mentioned there may be assigned to the period prior to 943 A.D, the starting point of Indu Kota's reign. The script and language belong to the early part of 10th century. This is the view of the Government Epigraphist also. It is likely that Kēraḷa Kēsari may be the coronation name of a king, probably Kōta Kōta whose record as found at Kāvuntaṛa.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Land is set apart for meeting expenses of Tiruvamirtu, Pūtapali, Oḻukkavi, Cānti, Paḷḷittāmam and Tiruvakkiram and for the payment of temple servants. Fine for default is prescribed.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, no. 46. pp. 186-8. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Engl. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record appears to contain the original endowment of Trikkākara Viṣṇu temple, one of the foremost Vaiṣṇava centres in Kerala, associated with Ōṇam celebration and mentioned by Nammāḷvār.

No. **A. 20**

Place: Mānipuram. Courtyard of the private temple in the compound of Makkāṭṭu mana, Paṟambathu Kāvu.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 23 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 3. 946 AD (coronation 943 AD). The name of the king is not found in the published version. See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāḷ and Paraṭaiyār make some arrangements with land set apart for akanāḻikai expenses of the temple and lamps there.

Publication: No. 12 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 172, pp. 71-2. Tamil transliteration. The royal name was deciphered by the present writer from the original stone. (7-12-'61).

Remarks: Read 'Swasti Śrī Kōvintukkōtai varmarukku' in place of '--------- n--------- nukku' in Li. 1-2. Read 'Potuvāḷum Paraṭaiyārum mānipurattu tēvarkku' in place of 'aṭaiyanum patuvanma--------- Tēvarkku' in Ll. 4-5. (corrections by the present writer from the original stone.) This is the earliest regnal year of Indukōtai found in inscriptions and the same year is found in another inscription at Pudukkōḍe also.

No. **A. 21**

Place: Pudukkōḍe. West passage of the Bhagavati temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines (incomplete) Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King. Indēśwaran Kōtai (Indu Kōta), Kō. Regnal year 3. 946 AD. (Coronation 943 AD). See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Contents beyond the first three lines illegible. Patiṉeṭṭunāṭṭār of Pudukkōḍe mentioned.

Publication: No. 354 of 1924, unpublished. The present writer examined the original and checked his text with the estampage in the Govt. Epigraphists' office, Mysore, on May '71.

Remarks: This, along with the previous one from Mānipuram, gives the earliest regnal year of the king found in inscriptions. This is one of the two inscriptions giving the name of Indu Kōta as Indēśwaran Kōta, which was probably his full name. The other one of the 17th year comes from Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi temple.

No. **A. 22**

Place: Tiruvanvaṇḍūr. Base of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Incomplete and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōtai, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 5? 948 AD? See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Munnūṟṟuvar of Nanṟuḷaināṭu and three others making some arrangements in the temple.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, no. 10, p. 34. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This damaged and incomplete inscription established the fact that terms like Munnūṟṟuvar are applied not to the body of three hundred as a whole as interpreted by scholars till now, but to one person, probably the leader of that body. It is clearly mentioned that Munnūṟṟuvar and three others made a group of four at the meeting in the temple. The earlier assumption had led some scholars to visualize democratic assemblies of three hundred, five hundred, six hundred etc. and consequently a republican government in Kerala.

No. **A. 23**

Place: Tirumūḻikkaḷam. East base of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa in the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 5, 948 AD. See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. The Śṛīkāryam (affairs of the temple) is regulated. Provision for Tiruvamirtu, Nivēdyam, Uttamākkiram for Cāttirar, and Tiruviḷakku are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, no.48, pp. 189-91. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 81. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This is the earliest inscription from the Mūḻikkaḷam temple, made famous by the Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam or agreement of Kerala. The original of the Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam has not been traced.

No. **A. 24**

Place: Trikkākara. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indēśvaran Kōta (Indu Kōta), Kō. Regnal year 10 (5 + 5), Jupiter in Mīṉam, Month of Mēṭam, 953 AD. See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Record of gift of lamp and land by Catiraśikhāmaṇi alias Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ, probably a Cēra princess (also called Perumāṭṭiyar) for Nandāviḷakku and Tiruvakkiram. Fine is prescribed for default by the Uḷpāṭan.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, no. 36, pp. 169-171. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 81-2. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

Remarks: Read 'irutuṭam neyyum' in both the published texts in place of 'irutulām neyyum' in Ll. 7-8. (correction by the present writer from the original).

This inscription confirms the fact, noticed earlier in the case of the wife and daughter of Vijayarāgadēva, that Cēra princesses were known by the general title Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ.

No. **A. 25**

Place: Trikkākara. South base of the proper right of entrance into the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 7 lines, each spread over all the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōta (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 16 (11 + 5) Jupiter in Ciṅgam, 959 AD. Veḷḷiyāṉpaḷḷi Pōḻan Cāttan, a witness in this record and in another Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 17th year, must be the father of Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi Cāttan Kumaran who figures as witness in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 13th year. (A Series) 975 AD. See Index No. A. 30. Panṛitturutti Kaṇṇan Pōḻan, a witness, must be the father of Panṛitturutti Pōḻan Kumaran of Bhāskara Ravi, year 31, (B series) from the same place. See Index No. A. 45. These and the similarity of script and language go to establish that Indu Kōta was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravi (A series- initial year 962 AD). For other instances of witness identity in Indu Kōta and Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions, refer Trikkākara inscription, of Indu Kōta, 17th year and Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 146-148 also. The latest regnal year mentioned for Indu Kōta is seventeen. He came to the throne when Jupiter stood in Mithuṉam. Therefore, his accession to power may be placed in 943 AD on the assumption that he did not have a long rule beyond the 18th year of his reign.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Kaṇṇan Puṛayan, governor of Kālkkaraināṭu, surrenders land partly as gift and partly in return for gold from the Uḷpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkālkkarai. The proceeds of the land are to be used for Tiruvakkiram, Ārātinai, Kānci, Nandāviḷakku, etc. by leasing it out to tenants. Fine is prescribed for offences and witnesses and the scribe are mentioned. Mūḻikkaḷam kaccam is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.* III, no. 35, pp. 161-9. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 84-5. Mal. Transliteration and notes (Extracts only).

Remarks: This inscription provides the clue to the date of Indu Kōta through witnesses' names. It also helps to identify the period of other inscriptions where the king's name is not mentioned or the regnal year is doubtful.

This inscription illustrates the procedure of purchase of land by the temple. Read 'Pūmiyum pulaiyaraiyum' in place of 'pūmiyum puṉaivareyum' in *T.A.S.*, and 'pūmiyum karayum' in Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, in Ll. Read 'akkira' in place of 'akkiram' in Ll. 2 &3. Read 'muḷḷu muyiru mūrkkapāmpum' in place of 'muḷḷu muyiru makkavamaiyum' in L.4. Read 'amaccuḷḷuṛutta' in place of 'amaccuḷḷumaṛṛa' in L.4. Delete 'r', 'ka', 'cu' and 'm' put in brackets in T.A.S. version to suit the Tamil grammatical rules in Ll. 5 and 6. (corrections by the present writer from the original).

No. **A. 26**

Place: Trikkākara. Outside base of the south and east curṛumaṇḍapa of the temple.

Material: Stone, Blocks of granite. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 17. Month of Dhanu. This portion and the portion showing position of Jupiter are damaged but Kaṇṇan Puṛaiyan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu, Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi Pōḻan Cāttan, one of the witnesses, and Kumankottu

Iravi Kuṇṛappōḷan, the scribe who appeared in Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year, appear in this too. Moreover the term 'Kaṉṉi' may be made out with difficulty in the passage related to Jupiter position. Therefore, the record may be attributed to the 17th year when Jupiter stood in Kaṉṉi. 960 AD.

Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan caṅkaran, a witness in this record, figures as witness in another Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, (A series) also thus confirming the assumption that Indu Kōta was immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) who came to throne in 962 AD. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅkaran Tāmodaran appears in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 31 year (B series).

Contents: Temple committee resolution, Kaṇṇan Puṛaiyan, governor of Kālkkarainātu, surrenders to the temple, in return for payment of gold by Neṭiya taḷi Cōḷacikāmaṇi, plots of land exempting them from the payment of all dues to nāṭu, Vāḻkai and Pati. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, no. 37, pp. 171-3. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This inscription is also helpful in fixing the period of Indu Kōta in relation to Bhāskara Ravi. Read 'Kaṉṉiyil viyāḻan' in place of '.....viyāḻan' in L.1. Read 'nāṭṭiṉum vāḻkkaikkum patikkum' in place of 'nāṭṭiṉum vaḷkkaikkum paṇikkum' in L.4. (Corrections by the present writer from original).

No. **A. 27**

Place: Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi. Built into the half wall of the entrance corridor of the temple on the left side.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 20+18 lines. Second part highly damaged. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indēśvaran Kōta (Indu Kōta), Kō. Regnal year 17 (11 + 6). Jupiter in Kaṉṉi. 960 AD. See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16 the year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Nityaviyārēśvarattu Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār and Adhikārikaḷ meet in the presence of Maṇalmaṇṛattu Iyakkan Intirāyi Kōyil, Governor of Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu, in the shrine of Perumānār Pāṇṭan Cēnnan and unanimously decide to lease out some land for Akkiram to Ukkiramaṅgalam Pāṭṭamāḷumavan. The mode of serving Akkiram and the means of overcoming difficulties are elaborated. Fine is prescribed for offences. Donors of Uttamākkiram including Mēṛṛaḷīppuṛattu Caṅkara Naṅgacci are mentioned by name.

Publication: Nos. 341 and 342 of 1924. Nos. 6 and 13 of 1106 ME from cochin. *T.A.S.*, VIII, p.43 and p.41. Tamil transliteration. The two portions presented as two separate inscription without observing their connection.

Remarks: Read. 'Iyakkan Intirāyi' in place of 'Iyakkan------' in L.4 (First stone). Read 'ari ulvvaiypiccu' in place of 'ari ulava vaiypiccu' in L.12. Read 'ārātikkumaṭi kaḷaikoṇṭu' in palce of 'ārātikkumatikkekkoṇṭu' in Ll. 12-13. Read 'irukkūṛu paṛaiyum' in place of 'irukappaṛaiyum' in L.17. Read 'kuṛai paṛañña kēḷpiccu' in place of 'kuṛai patiñña kalpiccu' L.19. Read 'muṭṭiraṭṭiyāl' in place of '.....yal' in L.21 (Second stone). This inscription mentions a shrine of Perumāṉār Pāṇṭan Cēnnan, perhaps related to Pāṇḍya king Cēnnan or Jayan-

tavarman. Brings out the importance of Viṣu in the months of Appiśai and Cittirai. It mentions Uttamākkiram (for Cāttirar) and Caṅkara Naṅgacci (dancing girl of the temple.)

No. **A. 28**

Place: Trikkākara. Built into the outside wall of the south base of the first Pṛākāra on the right of entrance to the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 5 lines which spread across the wall space moving from stone to stone. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (varma) Kō. Regnal year 6 (2 + 4), (A series). Jupiter in Iṭavam, 968 AD. (Initial year 962 AD). Some Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions reckon the regnal years from an initial year with Jupiter in Dhanu; some others from an initial year with Jupiter in Mēṭam; and in a few others the Jupiter position is uncertain. They all belong to the same period as illustrated by the similarity of script and language. Therefore, the present writer has classified them into Series A, B and C for the sake of convenience, assuming that the two beginnings correspond respectively to an actual succession in childhood and a formal coronation at a later stage. The Bhaskara Ravi inscriptions of Series A, B and C are listed separately for easy reference, disturbing their chronological sequence to some extent. For the initial year of Series A, refer discussion of date of Perunna inscription of the 14th year, 976 AD.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Uḷpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkālkkarai hand over gold donated by Ciṟumaṟṟappuḻai Kōtai Kēraḷan for Akkiram to four brothers and accept as security their joint-family property which they are to cultivate as tenants of the temple, considering the rent as interest for the permanent loan. Rate of interest is indicated. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.* III, no. 42. pp. 179-182. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 86. Mal. Transliteration and notes (Extracts only).

Remarks: The donor, Ciṟumaṟṟappuḻai Kōtai Kēraḷan, appears in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 31st year, (B series) also. Perumaṉaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan Caṅkaran, a witness in this record, is the same person who appears in another Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 17th year – a fact which establishes the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. Perumaṉaikkōṭṭattu Caṅkaran Tāmōtaran, who appears in a record of the 31st year, (Series B- Index No. A.45) must be the son of this person. This inscription throws light on a permanent loan system by which gold of the temple was transferred to tenants in return for annual dues. The coin 'Paḻankācu' is mentioned.

No. **A. 29**

Place: Pantalāyaṉi Kollam. The upper frame of the Śṛīkōyil entrance in Taḷi temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 25 lines? (21 + 4?) It appears that two lines at the beginning and two lines at the end are built over in the present structure. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi? Regnal year 11 (2 + 9) (A series?). Jupiter in Tulām Month of Mēṭam. AD 973. The first two lines containing the name of the king are built over but since the position of Jupiter in the 11th year agrees with the records of

Bhāskara Ravi (A series) this record may provisionally be assigned to him. The character of script and language agree.

Contents: Temple inscription. The consecration of a temple in presence of Amaiccuḷḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ is recorded along with an endowment in gold for its maintenance.

Publication: Nil. This record was recently discovered and deciphered by the present writer on information from Ramachandran of Eḷayiḍathu house.

Remarks: This record brings out the date of establishment of the temple. The orthographic and linguistic features are of late 10th century supporting the identification of the king with Bhāskara Ravi (A series) based on the position of Jupiter in the 11th year of the reign.

No. **A. 30**

Place: Trikkākara. Outside wall of the east base of the curṟumaṇḍapa of the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 9 lines, each of them spread over the stones and the last line built over. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 13 (2 + 11) (A series). Jupiter in Makaram, 7th day, Month of Vriścikam, 975 AD. The year portion was wrongly deciphered as 23 (2 + 21) by the Government Epigraphist of Travancore. See Perunna inscription 14th year (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Uḷpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkālkkarai lend gold and receive land as security nominating the owners themselves as tenants of the temple paying fixed annual dues. Mentions the Śṛīvaiṣṇavas. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (D), pp. 38-40. Photo, Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikketir orupattōrāmāṇtu' in place of 'Iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikketir irupattorāmāṇtu' in L.I. Read 'paḻankāyaiṉoppata' in place of "paḻankāyaiṉopatu' in L.2. (Corrections by the present writer from the original stone) Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi Cāttan Kumaran who figures as witness here is the son of Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi Pōḻan Cāttan who figures in the same capacity in two Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year. This establishes the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. This presents another instance of permanent loan of gold from temple in lieu of share in cultivation. The coin 'Paḻankācu' is mentioned. Śṛīvaiṣṇavas are mentioned. The year portion was wrongly deciphered as 23 (2 + 21) by the government epigraphists of Travancore. This mistake was pointed out by Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 144. F.N. It is clear from the photo published in *T.A.S.* also.

No. **A. 31**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam. West and south base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines, each line spreading over the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varman), Kō. (A Series). Regnal year 14 (2 +12), 976 AD. This inscription does not indicate the position of Jupiter and as such it cannot be directly ascertained whether it belongs to series A or B. However, this inscription

of the 14th year which mentions the appointment of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, as Governor of Nanṟuḷaināṭu, must be placed in the same year as the Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, which mentions this Governor in the dual capacity cited above. Therefore, it really belongs to Series A and is treated as such for calculation of date. See Perunna inscription, 14th year (A Series for discussion of date).

Contents: Royal order. The Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ (royal representative) appoints Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, as Governor of Nanṟuḷaināṭu also, fixes the annual dues from Tirukkaṭittānam, and orders the institution of Akkiram with the balance. Fine for violation of the order is prescribed.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no.7, (A), p. 33. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (incomplete). *T.A.S.*, V, no.56, pp. 176-8. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is the only record so far discovered which mentions the appointment of the governor of a province. The fixation of annual dues from the temple is also worthy of notice.

No. **A. 32**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam. Upper face of the narrow Upāna (lowermost stone member) of the base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on the narrow surface projecting outside. 1 line spread out on the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 14? (2 + 12?) (A series) 976 A.D? The regnal year portion is damaged and there is no mention of Jupiter position. However, the mention of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu and Nanṟuḷaināṭu, as the ruling chieftain, and the reference to the decision to continue the festival instituted by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, suggest that the record was produced immediately after the death of Śrīvallavan Kōta and the appointment of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa as governor of the province. This latter event is mentioned in Trikkaḍithānam record of the 14th Year, (No. 31) cited above. Therefore, this record belongs to A Series and is taken as such for calculation of date. See Perunna Inscription, 14th year (A Series), for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee Resolution. While (Gōvarttana) Mārttāṇḍa was ruling over Nanṟuḷaināṭu, Uttirakkaṇattār of Tirukkaṭittānam, Niḻal and Paṇi decide to continue the Uttiraviḻa instituted by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, even year in the month of Kumbham, with the usual routine of flag hoisting in Kārtikai, Brahmin feeding, Kūttu for ten days etc.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, II, no. 61, PP. 187-9. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, Praśnaṅgaḷ, II, p. 138. Mal. Transliteration, Mal. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record establishes the Śrīvallavan Kōta-Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa sequence in Vēṇaṭu which confirms the dating of Bhāskara Ravi based on astronomical data since the Māmpaḷḷi copper plate gives a firm date - 149 ME or 974 AD in the governorship of Śrīvallavan Kōta. This is also one of the few records referring to the performance of Kūttu in temple.

No. **A. 33**

Place: Perunna, base of the central shrine

Material: Stone. Block of granite. 2 lines running through the stones. (Beginning and end damaged or displaced.) Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 14 (2 + 12) (A Series). Jupiter in Makaram, 29th of Mīṇam, Sunday, Puṇartam nakṣatṛa. The King's name is not in the text which begins with the regnal year. However, the mention of a governor of Vēṇaṭu who ruled over Nanṛuḻaināṭu makes it certain that it refers to Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, feudatory of Bhāskara Ravi, mentioned as such in several inscriptions. Therefore, it is inferred that the king is Bhāskara Ravi, over-lord of Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa.

This record must be later than 149 ME (973 AD) when Śrīvallavan Kōta was the Governor of Vēṇaṭu. See *E.I.*, IX, p. 234 ff and *T.A.S.*, IV, no. I, pp. 1-11. Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa is posterior to Śrīvallavan Kōta as a Trikkaḍithānam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, mentions the former in the present tense and the latter in the past tense. Swāmikkaṇṇu Pillai calculated that the record could belong to 1060 AD but this makes Bhāskara Ravi's rule project into the period of Rāma Kulaśēkhara. Eḷamkuḷam has rejected this date. His new date, 976 AD, agrees with all the astronomical data. It also suits the Śrīvallavan Kota-Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa sequence. Therefore the initial year of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions (A series) must be placed in 962 AD.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Perunneytal Ūr, Potuvāḷ and Kīḻkkuḷaṅgarai sabha and Nārāyaṇan ciritaran of Pantāvūr meet in the presence of the governor of Vēṇaṭu ruling over Nanṛuḻaināṭu also. The rest is damaged.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no.7 (B), p. 34. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation, and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 40-5. Mal. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This short inscription with full astronomical data provides the basis for calculating the initial year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) Inscriptions.

No. **A. 34**

Place: Cochin. Owned by the Jewish synagogue of Mattancheri, Cochin.

Material: Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides of the first and one side of the second plate. 28 lines (9 + 10 + 9). Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varman), Kō Kōnmai Koṇṭān Kō. Regnal year 38, (2 + 36) (A series) 1000 AD. This inscription does not mention the position of Jupiter. However, Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, who became governor of Vēṇaṭu after Śrī-vallavan Kōta in the 14th year of Bhāskara Ravi (976 AD), is found in this record of the 38th year also. If this record is placed in the B Series and dated 1016 AD it will be necessary to assume that Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa governed for an unusually long period of 42 years. Moreover, the Cēra capital had already fallen to the enemy before that date. Therefore, it is more appropriate to place the record in the A Series and assign it to 1000 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14th year (A Series for discussion of date).

Contents: Royal Charter. While staying at Muyirikkōḍe, the sovereign is pleased to grant Īssuppu Irappān (Jospeh Rabban) a copper plate giving him Añcuvaṇṇam and

other privileges and exempting him from all payments made by other settlers at the same time extending to him all the rights of other settlers. These are given in perpetuity to all his descendents. The document is attested by the governors of Vēṇaṭu, Vempalanāṭu, Ēṟāḷanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Neḍumpuṟayūrnāṭu and Commander of the forces and signed by the official scribe.

Publication: *E.I.*, III, p. 68 ff. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, pp. 32-4. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text, Mal. Translation and notes. There has been a long controversy over the date and content of these plates, which were among the first few from Kerala to attract the attention of scholars. For a history of the Plates and a history of the studies related to plates, see Gopinatha Rao, 'Some Inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi', *T.A.S.*, II, p. 31; Walter J. Fischel, 'The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of cochin on the Malabar Coast', *The Cochin Synagogue 400the Anniversary Souvenir*, pp. 126-150; (this was reproduced in *Charitram*, no.1, pp. 9-28); M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Jewish Copperplates of Cochin'. *Charitram*, no. 3. For early attempts at decipherment, interpretation and dating, see *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 137; *Ibid*. New series, V, p. 42.

Remarks: This record brings out the status and importance of the Jewish colony in the Cēra Capital and the relationship between the king and Jews in the period of the Cōḷa invasion. It gives the names of some of the chief feudatories of the Perumāḷ and proves that the ancient name of Muciri persisted in Muyirikkōḍe.

No. **A. 35**

Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines each running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal 42 (40? + 2) (Series A) 1004 AD. Jupiter in Mīṉam. The regnal year portion is damaged. It reads 'nālppat..... ṇṭaikketir iraṇṭāmāṇṭu', the intervening letter or letters being irrecoverable. This makes it 'Forty... + second year.' However, the mention of Jupiter in Mīṉam shows that it can either be 42nd year of A Series or 48th year of B Series. If we take it to belong to the B Series, it is to be dated in the 63rd year of the king (1026 AD). Since the last known regnal years are 58 of A Series (1020 AD) and 43 of B Series (1021 A.D.) and further extension is highly improbable, this record may safely be assigned to the 42nd year of A series and dated 1003 AD. See Perunna inscription of 14the year (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Kuvalāyiṉi Kōvinnan Kuṉṟappōḻan donated gold which Neṭiyataḷi Puṟaiyan invested in land in such a way as to be able to meet the expenses of a three day feast for Brahmins and Śṛīvaiṣṇavas. The provisions for the feast are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (L), pp. 46-8. Tamil transliteration. Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record enables the calculation that there were 25 Śṛīvaiṣṇava Brahmins attached to this temple.

No. **A. 36**

Place: Tirunelli. Owners not to be traced.

Material: Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides. 10 + 9 + 8 + 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 46 (A Series). Jupiter in Ciṅgam. Month of Makaram. 1008 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14th year, (A Series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Caṅkaran Kōta Varman, alias Aṭikaḷ Puṟaikiḻār, Niḻal and Paṇi make a land-gift to temple for conducting feast in the temple, handing over the land to Ūrāḷar, Sanyāsikaḷ and Yōgikaḷ and making it a 'Kiḻiṭu' of Puṟaikiḻānāṭu Aiññūṟṟuvar. Mūḻikkaḷattu kaccam is quoted. The land was purchased from Karaiññanūr Sabha in return for payment in gold Kācu.

Publication: *I.A.*, XX, pp. 285-90. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 175-80. Mal. Transliteration and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, 1963, Appendix II, pp. 308-9. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text; last seven lines omitted.

Remarks: This record proves the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Puṟaikiḻānāṭu (North Kottayam in modern times).

No. **A. 37**

Place: Tirumūḻikkaḷam. Base of the Vātilmāṭam

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines each of them running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 48 (48 + 0). A series. 1010 AD. This record does not contain any mention of the position of Jupiter. However, since records of the B Series are known only up to the 43rd year, 1021 AD this record may safely be placed in the A series and assigned to 1010 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14th year, (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr of Tirumūḻikkaḷam and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple decide unanimously to lease out the Cērikkal lands donated by Manukulādiccan. Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (K), pp. 45-6. Photo. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Mūḻikkaḷakkacca' in place of '...li...la kacca' in L. 2. Read 'iraṇṭukuṭiccamaiñcitarum' in place of 'iraṇṭukuṭikkamaiñcitarum', 'iruṅgāṭikkūṭalum' in place of 'iruṅgkāṭi kaṇṭālaum' and 'paraṭaiyārum' in place of 'ūrvāriyarum' in L.3. (corrections by the present writer from original stone). The gift of Manukulāditya is mentioned, but this Manukulāditya was left unidentified until the present writer brought out the Pullūr Koḍavalam inscription of the 58th year (A series) which provides that Bhāskara Ravi had the little of Manukulāditya.

No. **A. 38**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam, West base of the central shrine of the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 1 line running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma) Kō. Regnal year 48. A Series. Jupiter in Tulām. This has been wrongly attributed to the 2nd year and 1st year in *T.A.S.*, V, no. 62, p. 190 and Eḷamkuḷam, Praśnaṅgaḷ, II, p. 46 respectively. (The position of Jupiter would not suit the interpretation.) If 48 is taken to be the number of days in the first regnal year - it is unusual to speak of days beyond a month - and not as the num-

ber of years, the position of Jupiter (Iṭavam) given in the Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, would be out of place. Moreover, 'tulāttil viyāḻam niṇṛa' will not go with the statement of the day. (On the hand the position of Jupiter in Tulām agrees with the 48th year of Bhāskara Ravi (A series) inscription.) See Perunna inscription 14 year (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Muḷakkāṭṭu Iyakkan Kōvinnan, making provision on Chitra Viṣu day for Nandāviḷakku and Tiruvamirtu for 12 Brahmins on every Amāvāsi day in the temple. The nature of the transaction is not clear as a big plot of 400 kalam, yielding 4800 paṛa of paddy considerably out of proportion with expenses involved, is mentioned in this connection. Perhaps this conveys the idea that he had already returned the big 400 kalam plot which he had taken up earlier on lease.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7, (J), p. 45. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, V, no. 62, p. 190. Tamil transliteration of revised and fuller text, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 46. Mal. Transliteration of extracts and notes.

Remarks: The Last sentence of the text may be reconstructed as 'iccelavu nanṛuḻaināṭṭu munnūṛṛuvarum celutta kkaṭavar' in the place of 'iccelavu....nūṛṛu....celutta....' and the record completed. (Correction by the present writer from original stone).

No. **A. 39**

Place: Pullūr. Courtyard of the Koḍavalam temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Manukulāditya. Regnal year 58. A Series. Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka. 1020 AD. The regnal year was misunderstood as 55 by the Govt. Epigraphist. *A.R.I.E*, 1963-4, no. 125. See Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, (A Series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Kuḍavalattu Ūrāḷar install the inscribed stone showing 3 kaḻañcu as the amount of Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) fixed by royal order to be paid to the sovereign.

Publication: No. 125 of 1963-4. It has not been officially published. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthāna-śilakaḷ*, pp. 69-78. Eye copy, Mal. transliteration, translation and notes. See also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Identity and Date of king Manukulāditya', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1969.

Remarks: The date portion was read by the Govt. of India Epigraphist as indicating the 55th year probably by deciphering the text as 'aiympattayyāmāṇṭu' in LI. 5-6. The present writer corrected it from original stone as 'aiympatteṭṭāmāṇṭu' which gives the 58th year and also suits the position of Jupiter in 'Karkkaṭaka' of the Bhāskara Ravi (A series) inscription. This short inscription has revealed the identity of Bhaskara Ravi Manukulāditya. Scholars like R.G. Bhandarkar, S.V. Venkateswara Ayyar, Prof. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam and S. Sanku Ayyar had previously identified Manukulāditya with different other kings. The present identification helps the dating of Sanskrit philosopher poet Sarvajñātma and Sanskrit Yamaka poet Nārāyaṇa. This record also proves the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Kōlattunāṭu in the northern part of Kerala, the fact of which was doubted by scholars before. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, 'The Identity and Date of King Manukulāditya', *Op. Cit.*

No. **A. 40**

Place: Eramam – Site of the ruined Cālappuṛam temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on three sides. 15 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma). Regnal year 58. A series. Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka. 1020 AD. This king's name was confused by the Govt. Epigraphists who took the name of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Rāmakaṭa Mūvar in Ll. 5-7 as that of the sovereign. This error is copied by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri and Eḷamkuḷam also. The year, mentioned as 'the year opposite to the year 58' was taken to be the year 59 by the Govt. Epigraphist. However, this means only 58 stated in conventional style. See Perunna inscription 14th year, (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: While Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Rāmakaṭa Mūvar was governing the nāṭu, the Taḷi of Cālappuṛam, Vaḷañciyar, Nānātēyar, Paṇimakkaḷ, together make an agreement probably in connection with some gift from Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati of Kaṭappāppaḷḷi.

Publication: No. 523 of 1930. It has not been officially published. It was mentioned as a record of the 59th year of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Irāma Kuṭa Mūvar, king of Mūṣaka. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 79-92. Eye copy Mal. Transliteration and transla-tion and notes.

Remarks: This inscription confirms the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Kōlattunāṭu and establishes a Bhāskara Ravi-Kaṇṭan Kāri-Rājēndra Cōḷa synchronism. This triple synchronism is useful in confirming the finding about the period of Bhāskara Ravi, the Cēra-Cōḷa relations of this period, and also in getting a firm date for *Mūṣakavamśakāvya*, the earliest known work of territorial history in Sanskrit literature. Kaṇṭan Kāri of this record may be identified with Śṛīkaṇṭhan Kartha of the Kāvya. References to Vaḷañciyar and Nānātēyar also provide a link between Kerala and the Cōḷa empire.

No: **A. 41**

Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines, each one spread out on several stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 58 (A Series). Jupiter in Ciṅgam. 1020 AD. See Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year (A Series), for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Uḻpāṭan, Perumutiyan and Potuvāḷ o Tirukkālkkarai Tēvar decide that Cālavēli Kēraḷan Pōḻan, tenant of the temple, may be entrusted with some more land for Nandāviḷakku and that another person Iravi Kōvinnan may be entrusted with certain other items of routine. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (M), pp. 48-9. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation, and notes.

Remarks: The 58th year is shown as Karkkaṭavyāḻam in Pullūr inscription and Ciṅgavyāḻam here. This is quite natural since the same regnal year might consist of the months of two calendar years. This is the latest known record of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series).

No. **A. 42**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam. North and West walls of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines, each on spreading over all the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 13 (6 + 7). (B. Series). 991 AD. Jupiter in Iṭavam, Month of Tulām. See Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year (B Series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ meet in Tirukkaḍithānam temple and unanimously make arrangements for the cultivation of land set apart for Tiruvamirtu, Nandāviḷakku, Tiruvakkiram, Māpāratam etc. The service tenure of the Śānti is fixed. The terms of the tenants of the lands are laid down. Restrictions are imposed on the Ūrāḷar and Paraṭai. Fine is prescribed.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (c), pp. 34-37. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is one of the few records which mention the institution of Māpāratam, i.e. the appointment of a scholar to recite *Mahābhāratam* in the temple. It also speaks about the three year term of Śānti, the dates of payment of the rent and steps to prevent the abuse of the power of the Paraṭai.

No. **A. 43**

Place: Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi. Half wall in the entrance corridor through the Vātilmāṭam on the left side.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 18 (16 + 2). (B Series) 996 AD. Jupiter in Tulām. The regnal year was read as 13 (11 + 2) in the Government Epigraphist's version and consequently Prof. Eḷamkuḷam assumed that the position of Jupiter demanded the postulate of a Bhāskara Ravi different from the author of Series A and B. see Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, (B series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār and Adhikārikaḷ of Nityaviyārēśvaram meet in the temple and unanimously decide to accept as Kīḻiṭu all the lands in the Cērikkal belonging to Tiripuvaṇa Mātēvi alias Ciritara Naṅgacci and to afford it protection as part of the temple. Fine is prescribed for offences against the arrangements by Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār, Adhikārikaḷ and Akappotuvāḷs and their accomplices.

Publication: No. 348 of 1924 *T.A.S.*, VIII, no. 33 (IV), p. 40. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'patiṉāṟāmāṇṭaikketirāyiraṇṭāmāṇṭu' in place of 'patiṉorāmāṇṭaikketirā iraṇṭāmāṇṭu' in L.1. 1-2. Read 'irunnu' for 'iruntu' in L.4 and 'uṭeya' for 'uṭaiya' add 'pāṭṭanel' for '.....nel' in L.9. Read 'vilakkuvitum poruḷ kavaruvitum ceyum' in place of 'nilakkovilum....vota, caiyum' in Ll. 12-13. Add 'tam atikāran' for '...atikāran' in L. 15. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record brings out a rich dancing girl with a high-sounding double name - Ciritara Naṅgacci alias Tribhuvaṇa Mātēvi - suggestive of a royal personage. It is significant that the chief queen of Uttama Cōḷa (Death C. 985 AD) predecessor of Rājarāja Cōḷa I, had the same title.

No. **A. 44**

Place: Trikkākara. Outside base of Curṟumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 21. (2 + 19). (B Series). 999 AD. Jupiter in Kumbham. Month of Makaram. The regnal year was correctly deciphered by the Travancore Govt. Epigraphists at first but in the second and fuller edition, it was wrongly put as 31 (2 + 29). See Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 147-8. See Tirunelli copper-plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, (B series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Mākkaṇṇappaḷḷi Kaṇṭa Nārāyaṇan receives gold from Ciṟumaṟṟappuḷai Kōtai Nārāṇan and undertakes to supply regularly the ghee necessary for the Nandāviḷakku instituted by the latter. Witnesses are cited and Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam is quoted. If the gold is ever returned, provision is made for investing it on land again.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (G), pp. 41-2. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (Fragmentary). *T.A.S.*, III, no. 43. pp. 182-4. Photo, Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record brings out the practice of donating gold and investing it on land with the help of temple authorities for specific offerings in temple. Ciṟumaṟṟappuḷai Kōtai Nārāṇan, the donor, appears in another Trikkākara record of Bhāskara Ravi, 31st year, (B Series 1010 AD) also. Neytalmaṅgalattu Kēyavan Tēvan, the Śānti who appears as witness here, must be the same person who appears in another Trikkākara inscription o Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, (A series- 1020 A.D.) also.

No. **A. 45**

Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 31 (2 + 29), (B Series), 1009 AD. Jupiter in Dhaṇu, 20th of Vṛścika, (expired). See Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, (B Series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee Resolution. While Paṉṟitturutti Pōḻan Kumaran was governing Neṭumpuṟaynāṭu and Kālkkaraināṭu, Putillattu Nārāyaṇan Tēvan agreed to pay the ghee for lamps due from two other persons, putting forward his share property as guarantee. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, 7, (H). pp. 42-44. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'inney' in place of 'innel' in L.3. Read 'vāṇa nāḷ' in place of 'vāṇanare' and 'Uḷpāṭan' in place of 'urepāṭan' in L.4. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone.) Paṉṟitturutti Pōḻan Kumaran, Governor of Neṭumpuṟaynāṭu and Kālkkaraināṭu mentioned here, must be the son of Paṉṟitturutti Kaṇṇan Pōḻan mentioned in a record of Indu Kōta, 16th year, from the same place. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅgaran Tāmōtiran, a witness in this record, must be the son of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan Caṅgaran, who appears in the same capacity in records of the same place belonging to Indu Kōta, 17th year, and Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, (A Series) – a fact which confirms the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. Ciṟumaṟṟappuḷai Kōtai Nārāṇan who figures as a witness in this record appeared

as donor in a Trikkākara inscription of the 21st year (B series) also. Cirumarṟappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan, another witness of this record, has appeared before in a Bhāskara Ravi inscription of the 6th year, (A Series – A.D. 968) also. Since there is a gap of 42 years between the two records it is likely that the second record refers not to the same person but a younger brother or a grand-son with the same name.

No. **A. 46**

Place: Tirunelli. Owners not to be traced.

Material: Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. 29 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 43 (2 + 35 + 6), (B. Series), March 1st, 1021 AD. Jupiter in Tulām, Month of Mīṉa, Wednesday, Uttṛam nakṣatra. It has already been pointed out that correspondence of witnesses of A and B series of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions from Trikkākara prove that all these records belong to the same period and the script and language agree with this inference. The astronomical data like position of Jupiter, month, date, weekday and nakṣatra given here enabled Swāmikkaṇṇu Pillai to calculate the date. It will be seen that 1st of March, 1021 is the only date that suits all these details in the period of 10th-11th centuries. See *T.A.S.*, II, pp. 49-50; and Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 47 also. Thus the year 978 AD must be taken as the initial year. The present writer infers that Bhāskara Ravi came to occupy the throne as a child in 962 AD and that the year 978 AD witnessed his formal coronation, so that his regnal year were counted in both ways by the people.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Kuñcikkuṭṭavarman alias Vīrakkuṟumpuṟaiyār, Mūttakūṟṟil Eḻunūṟṟuvar (Niḻal) Paṇiyuṭaiya Nāyan (Paṇi), Ūr (Nāṭṭār) and Ūriṭavakai Veḷḷāḷar (Pṛakṛiti) meeting unanimously in the temple, set aside a cērikkal for Tiruvamirtu and Nandāviḷakku. The mode of distribution of the rice after worship is detailed. Fine for offences prescribed. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned. Gifts of ornaments to the temple by the governor also enumerated.

Publication: *E.I.*, XVI, no. 27, pp. 339-45. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 170-75. Mal. Transliteration and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, 1963, App. 1, pp. 307–8 Mal. Transliteration of revised text.

Remarks: The fullness of astronomical details presented here enabled the calculation of date. This record gives the latest date in Bhāskara Ravi's reign. The text gives the meaning of Eḻunūṟṟuvar as Niḻal and shows that they are attached to the senior prince thereby proving the mistake in interpreting terms like Eḻunūṟṟuvar, Aṟunūṟṟuvar etc as connoting democratic assemblies.

No. **A. 47**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam, South base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 26 (2 + 24), (C Series) 988 AD? 1004 AD? This inscription is placed in C Series in the absence of any mention of the position of Jupiter. However, Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, appointed simultaneously as Governor of Naṉṟuḻaināṭu, in the 14th year, (A Series) is men-

tioned here also. Therefore, there is a greater likelihood of this record belonging to the A Series though it is not certain. See Perunna record of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, (A Series) and Tirunelli record, 43rd year, (B series) for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. While Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, was ruling over Nanṟuḷaināṭu, the Paraṭai of Tirukkaṭittānam, Kaṇattār, Potuvāḷmār, Munnūṟṟuvar of Nanṟuḷaināṭu, Paṇi Ceykiṉṟa Neṭumpuṟāṭṭu Kuṉṟan Kōvintan and Ūrmaṇṟattu Iravi Irāman made arrangements to protect the property of Tirukkōyiluṭayār Koṭṭikaḷ (Temple drummers) from encroachment or mortgage. Fine is prescribed. The writing was caused by the Uvaccakaḷ (drummers).

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (E), p. 40. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (Fragment only); *T.A.S.*, V, no. 57, pp. 178-80. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Transla-tion and notes.

Remarks: This is a unique record in the form of a protective order, probably issued on the basis of some complaints made by the drummers to the temple committee.

No: **A. 48**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi. Regnal year 26 (2 + 24) (C series) 988 AD? 1004 AD? The text contains only the regnal year but not the name of the king. However, the content is related to the previous record (A. 47.) The same group of Tirukkōyiluṭaiyār appears in both. While the former preserves a judgment in favour of these people, the present record registers a contract with them for the supply of ghee. Therefore, we may confidently attribute this to Bhāskara Ravi though the series cannot be determined in the absence of Jupiter position. See 14th year, A Series and 43rd year, B Series for date.

Contents: Temple inscription. It is ordered that the two branches of drummers of Nārāyaṇa-maṅgalam are to supply oil at specified time. Fine is prescribed.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7, (F) pp. 40-1. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'iraṇṭu tuṭaivu eṇṇai' in place of 'iraṇṭu paṭai a eṇṇai' in Ll. 2-3. Read 'aṭṭiya' in place of 'muṭṭiya' in L.6. (Correction by the present writer from original stone.)

No. **A. 49**

Place: Perunna. South base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 5 limes each running across the stone. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 33 (2 + 31). C Series. 995 AD? 1011 AD? This record mentions a year when Jupiter stood in Iṭavam and it appears to be a reference to an earlier transaction being ratified and committed to writing on stone in the 33rd year. However the Government Epigraphists and Eḷamkuḷam took this to be a reference to the position of Jupiter in the year of the inscription. The latter, therefore, attributed the record to a new Bhāskara Ravi whom he described as Bhaskara Ravi III. In fact, the statement will not bear such interpretation. The position of Jupiter in the year of the record is not stated. See Perunna

record of Bhaskara Ravi, 14th year, and Tirunelli record, 43rd year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Royal Order. Perunneytal Ūr, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ agreed in the year when Jupiter stood in Iṭavam to pay a fixed amount as annual dues to Nanṟuḷaināṭu. It is now stated that they will pay the same amount to the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ of the ministry and nothing more. Two persons bringing the royal order sanctioning this procedure caused it to be inscribed on stone.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, 7 (I), pp. 44-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 149-50. Discussion of date.

Remarks: This record throws light on the nature of the relation between king and temple corporation.

No. **A. 50**

Place: Tiruvangūr. Balikkal in front of the shrine.

Material: Stone. Two stones with writing on one side. 2 lines each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 35. (C Series) 997 AD? or 1013 AD? The regnal year portion is deciphered as 'muppattain...' in the government Epigraphist's version but it is clearly 'muppattaiñcu' or thirty five. The position of Jupiter is not mentioned.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Makaḷur Nārāyaṇan Kēcavan built a balikkal and instituted regular expenses of Nāḻi rice.

Publication: No. 16 of 1901. S.I.I., VII, no. 176, p. 75. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This short two sentence record is the first so far discovered which leaves out the personal termination in Mal. Language. Read 'muppattaiñcu' in place of 'muppattain...' in L.1. (correction by the present writer from original stone.)

No. **A. 51**

Place: Pantalāyaṉi Kollam. Block of granite built into the steps of the tank at Jamāttu paḷḷi, and another lying outside.

Material: Stone. Two slabs with writing on surface in both and one side of the lose stone. 41 lines (19 + 17 + 5). Highly damaged and incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi. Regnal year? (2 + ?) C Series. This record is to be placed in Series C as the regnal year and the position of Jupiter remain unknown. The name of the King was not deciphered in the Government Epigraphists' version.

Contents: Royal charter. Purpose uncertain. Only a few words like Pantalāyaṉi, Kōyil, Vaḷeñci (yar), Maṇikkirāmam, Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ, Aṭṭikkuṭuttaruḷiyitu, Nakarattiluḷḷōr etc can be deciphered.

Publication: No.3 and 4 of 1091; *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 162, p. 69. Tamil transliteration. Remarks: Read '...kkaraniravikkuccellāniṉṟa' in place of '...ravikkuccellāniṉṟa' in Ll. 1-2. Read 'Pantalāyaṉi' in place of 'Panta....' In Ll. 110-11. Read 'nakarattiluḷḷōr' in Ll. 34-5. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record proves that the place name Pantalāyaṉi was in existence even in the 10th century. It is one of the few records to mention 'Vaḷañciyar' in Kerala. It was probably a royal charter given by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ to the founders of the Vaḷañciyar community in

Pantalāyaṉi Kollam. Its position inside a Muslim mosque, considered to be one of the original mosques in Kerala, suggests that the nakaram belonged to the Muslims or included them or came into their possession at a later stage.

No. **A. 52**

Place: Tirumaṟṟakōḍe, near Pattambi. Door frame of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on one side. 29 lines. Partly damaged in the bottom portion. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Ravi Kōta, Kō, Year 8, 1028 AD? Cōḷan Parakēsari Varman (Rājēndra Cōḷa) is mentioned in the text. Therefore, it belonged to the early part of the 11th century. This Ravi Kōta, who is mentioned in a Panniyankara inscription also, was probably the immediate successor of Bhāskara Ravi. Perhaps he possessed the coronation name of Rājasimha.

Contents: Records the gift of gold equivalent to 40 Paḻamkāśu to the temple by Cōḷa Muttaraiyan named Cēkkiḻān alias Śaktiñjayan of Kāvanūr, from Melur Kōṭṭam in Toṇḍaināṭu, who was carrying out the orders of Cōḷan Parakēsarivarman. Mentions the name of the temple as Tiruviṟṟuvakkōṭu. Refers to Mūḻikkaḷa Kacam also.

Publication: Nil. A wooden frame had concealed the major part of the writing when the present writer visited the temple in November, 1961. The temple authorities kindly removed it in 1971 to enable a view of the text of the inscription. The first one line, covered by a granite beam, was recently exposed by scrapping the stone and this revealed the name of the sovereign.

Remarks: The record is important in several ways. It confirms the connection between Kerala and Rājēndra Cōḷa mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions. By bringing out the old name of the temple as Tiruviṟṟuvakōḍe it strengthens the view that this is the temple praised by Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār of Kerala. The name of the king in the opening passage settles the question of the name of the Cēra king who succeeded Bhāskara Ravi in Kerala. See Index no. C. 15 also.

No. **A. 53**

Place: Panniyankara. Courtyard of the temple. This was lying buried under the ruins of the Vātilmāṭam and was brought to light recently.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Incomplete. Partly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Ravi Kōta. Regnal year Nil. (damaged) C. 1028 AD. The script and language suggest the early part of the 11th century. This king is evidently the same as Ravi Kōta of Tirumaṟṟakōḍe inscription. For details and discussion of date, see no. A.52 above.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Atikārar of Panṟiyankarai and Āḷa Kōyil unanimously deciding on the lease of certain lands. Perumānaṭikaḷ and a capatai (agree-ment), probably of Mūḻikkaḷam are mentioned.

Publication: This record was discovered, deciphered and published by the present writer. On the basis of his report the Archaeological department of Kerala has copied it recently. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 122-136.

Remarks: This record introduced a Cēra king who was not known from other sources and his date has been subsequently fixed in the light of a Tirumaṟṟakōḍe inscription.

(No. A. 52) This Ravi Kōta must have had the title of Rājasimha. For information about Rājasimha inscription, see No. A. 54 to 58 also.

No. **A. 54**

Place: Tāḻakkāḍ. Compound of the Christian church.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on both sides. 39 lines (25+14). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājasimha Perumān Aṭikaḷ. Regnal year 3. 1024 AD? (The Madras Government Epigraphist took the two parts of the record as two separate inscriptions but actually there is no difference in content, script, or language. The present writer examined the original stone). See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index no. A. 56, for discussion of date.

Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Mūttār, Iḷaiyār, and Paraṭai of Tāḻaikkāṭṭūr, the two Kuḍippotuvāḷs, Ūrvāriyar and Potuvāḷ of Irunkāṭikkūṭal meet in the presence of the king and decide to exempt two families of Maṇikkirāmattār from certain taxes and to extend the privileges of such exemption to new-comers within the Kaccam also. Mentions Perumāṉaṭikaḷ. The boundaries of the land granted unanimously by the Ūrār for shops to be erected by the Vaṇikar (Merchants) who were settled in Tāḻakkāṭu are mentioned. The rights and privileges of the four merchants in regard to taxes and dues are also specified here.

Publication: No, 358 and 359 of 127. Partly published. *T.A.S.*, VIII, no. 33, III, pp. 39-40. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: The growth of a small bazaar founded by the village assembly is portrayed here. Maṇikkirāmattār and their trade and some taxes like Pandalkkāṇam, Taṭṭaṛakkūli, Ōṇanel and Paṭaiyaṇinel are mentioned. The last two incidentally bring out the popularity of Ōṇam festival and the entertainment called Paṭayaṇi. Read 'Paṭaiyaṇi' in place of 'Panniṭai' in L.22 (Second side) found in the summary given by the Govt. Epigraphist. (correction by the present writer from the original stone.) The location of the stone in the Christian church probably suggests that it was an early Christian settlement and that the Maṇikkirāmam was a Christian Corporation.

No. **A. 55**

Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. Script-Tamil Language – Tamil.

Date: King Jaṭāvarman Sundra Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai). Regnal year 14. 1034 AD. Cēramāṉār Rājasimha mentioned. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa, 24th year (No.56), for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Cēraḷan Mātēviyar Āticci, queen of Cēramāṉār Rāciṅga tēvar, donate a lamp and 16 coins to Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar Āḻvār at Muṭikoṇṭa... in Rājarājappāṇḍināḍu.

Publication: No. 392 of 1916. Unpublished.

Remarks: This record mentions the Cēra queen Āticci, probably a Cōḷa princess.

No. A. 56

Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Language-Tamil.

Date: King Parakēsari Varman alias Uṭaiyār Rājēndra Cōḷadēva (Cōḷa Rājēndra I) and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa viceroy at Madurai). Regnal year 24 of the Cōḷa king and Regnal year 15 of the Cōḷa Viceroy. For discussion of the Cōḷa dates, see K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 203. Since the reign of Bhāskara Ravi must have ended in or about the 59th year, (1021 AD) which yields the latest of his records, Cēramāṉār Rājasimha mentioned in this record may be assumed to have come to the throne in that year or about that time.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift by Rājēndra Cōḷa to temple built by Cēramāṉār Rājasimha. Mentions that the Cēra king built the temple called Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar, evidently in honour of Rājēndra Cōḷa.

Publication: No. 112 of 1905. Unpublished.

Remarks: This record proves that Cēramāṉār Rājasimha who built a temple in Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya territory in honour of the ruling Cōḷa monarch was feudatory of that sovereign.

No. A. 57

Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Built in at the end. Language-Tamil.

Date: King Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai), Regnal year lost. C. 1036 AD. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index no. A. 56 for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift to the temple. Mentions Cēramāṉār Rājasimha.

Publication: No. 114 of 1905. Unpublished.

Remarks: This inscription confirms the feudatory status of the Cēra in relation to the Cōḷa sovereign.

No. A. 58

Place: Tiruvañcikkuḷam. Base of the sub-shrine outside the first Pṛākāra at the Western entrance of the temple.

Material: Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. Slightly damaged. 5 lines, each of them running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language–Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājasimha. Regnal year Nil. C. 1036 AD. The king's name and regnal year are not directly mentioned in this record but the Peruntaccan (chief architect) is mentioned as 'Irāyiṅgapperuntaccan', i.e., the chief architect of Rājasimha. It was the custom for the royal architects, goldsmiths, carpenters, merchants, etc. to be known by the king's name. See Mannarkōyil inscription on of Rājēndra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index No. A. 56, for discussion of date.

Contents: Royal Order. Amaiccuḷḷuruttti Kōyil Aḷḷikārikaḷ orders that he is pleased to grant a paṟṟiyām to the chief architect of Rājasimha. The Revenue payment is fixed and fine is prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 225 of 1905, S.I.I., V, No. 799, p. 340. Tamil transliteration, T.A.S., VI, II, no. 138, p. 141. Tamil transliteration. The Cochin Government Epigraphists had discovered only 3 lines but the Madras Government Epigraphists added two more. However they found only meaningless fragments of words here. The present writer has made corrections and filled up the gaps from the original stone.

Remarks: Read 'amaiccuḷḷuruttṟkkōyilatikārikaḷku. Itaiyīṭu oḷḷoruttan ākil itaiyīṭum viṭṭakāravanēnu. Ippuṟaṟam akanāḻiyaiyoṭu okku' in Ll. 3-5 after 'pon'. This record brings out the manner of remuneration for the architects for the repair and reconstruction of temple.

No. **A. 59**

Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Language - Tamil.

Date: King Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍyadēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai), Regnal year 16, 1037 AD. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 203 for discussion of the Cōḷa date. As Cēramāṉār Rājasimha is mentioned in 1036 AD and Cēramāṉār Rājarāja in this record of 1037 AD it may be assumed that the reign of the former ended and that of the latter started in that year.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Gift of land to the temple. Mentions the donor Cēramāṉār Rājarājadēva. He finds the kāṇi-kaḍan due from a Brahmin settlement to the temple called Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar too high, gives them more land and reduces the amount of revenue.

Publication: No. III of 1095. *E.I.*, XI, p. 292 ff. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 581. English summary and notes.

Remarks: This record gives the clue of the date of Cēra king Rājarāja by referring to a definite point in his reign in terms of the regnal year of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya. It also confirms the status of the Cēra king as the feudatory of the Cōḷa.

No. **A. 60**

Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine in Gōpālaswāmi temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Incomplete. Script- Tamil. Language – Tamil.

Date: King Māṛavarman alias (name lost) Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai, probably successor of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva) and Cēramāṉār Rājarājadēva. Regnal year (lost) c.1040 AD? This Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy must have started in C. 1040 AD. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 203.

Contents: Not clear. Built in at the end. Mentions Cēramāṉār Rājarājadēva.

Publication: No. 113 of 1095, *E.I.*, XI, p. 292 ff.

Remarks: This record also gives a hint about the period of Cēra king Rājarāja by referring to a year in terms of the regnal year of Māṛavarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya who seems to

have succeeded the first Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Viceroy Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya sometime after 1037 AD and about 1040 AD.

No. **A. 61**

Place: Trichambaram. Base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Two blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājarāja, Kō. Regnal year 4 + ? 1040 AD.? See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa, Index no. A. 57, 24th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. The portions after the name and regnal year of the king are almost illegible. Seems to refer to the construction of the shrine.

Publication: Nil. This was discovered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: This record shows that Kōlattunāṭu where the temple is located was part of the territory of the Cēra sovereign.

No. **A. 62**

Place: Tiruvaṇṇūr, Kōzhikōḍe. Courtyard of the temple. This was transferred to the Collector's bungalow and recently, following a request from the present writer, shifted to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājarāja, Kō. Regnal year 8 (4 + 4). C. 1044 AD? The name of this king is deciphered as 'Vāḷa irāmar' (Vāḷa Rāma) by the Govt. Epigraphists and interpreted as Bāla Rāma by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam. The present writer deciphers it as 'Iṟai Irāyar' and considers it as the Malayalamised form of Rājarāja. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index no. A.57 for discussion of date.

Contents: Royal Order. Pāliyattu Kaṇṇan Kaṇṭan, Governor of Rāmavaḷanāṭu, Paṇi Uṭaiyavakaḷ, Aṟunūṟṟuvar and Niḻalōr make an agreement cancelling a new gold levy introduced by Kanaiyapaḷḷi Yakkan Cellan, prohibiting all future levies by the governor and his men, and placing the Dēvaswam and Brahmaswam as Kīḻīṭu of Aṟunūṟṟuvar. The Aṟunūṟṟuvar is enjoined to light a lamp, supervise the worship and protect the property of the deity like those of Tirukkuṇavāy. The Uḻpāṭan has to manage the property and the Aṟunūṟṟuvar has to set right anything reported by the Potuvāḷ. The defaulters were to be considered as offenders against Tirukkuṇa-vāy. Fine is prescribed for offence.

Publication: No. 220 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 784, p. 388. Photo and Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read "Iṟai irāyar' in place of 'Vāḷa irāmar' in L.1. Read 'cenṟatu' in place of 'cenu' in L. Read 'celavinuḷ pukku vilakkuvitu poruḷ' in place of 'celavinu akkōyil kanmipporuḷ' in Ll. 13-14. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This inscription, besides introducing the name of Rājarāja, introduces the name of a province called Rāmavaḷanāṭu and the rules of Tirukkuṇavāy, probably the famous Jain centre near Koḍuṅgallūr, the Cēra capital where Iḷankō Aṭikaḷ, the author of *Cilappatikāram*, resided.

No. **A. 63**

Place: Indianūr, near Kōṭṭakkal. Buried in front of balikkal in temple. Recently transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides, the other side bearing an inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year, also. 10 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājarāja, Kō. Regnal year 8 (4 + 4). C. 1044 AD? The name of this king is deciphered as 'Vāḷa irāmar' by the Government Epigraphists. The present writer deciphers it as 'Iṟai Irāyar' and considers it as the Malayalamised form of Rājarāja. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index No. A. 57 for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūrār of Intiyanūrpotuvāḷ, Kuṇṟil Kōyil, and Aṟunūṟṟuvar meet and take a decision in relation about the tenancy of a piece of land, the management of which is entrusted to the Potuvāḷ.

Publication: No. 286 of 1937. Unpublished. The present writer copied it from original stone.

Remarks: This is a rare case where inscription of two separate kings are found on either side of a slab of stone. The Aṟunūṟṟuvar, evidently of Ēṟāḷanāṭu, are mentioned for the first time.

No. **A. 64**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam. Wall of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines, each of them running across the stones Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Ravi Rāma, Kō. Regnal year 2 (2 + 0). C. 1050 AD. Jupiter in Mīṉam, month of Karkkaṭaka. This king must be assigned to the middle of the 11th century in the light of the script and language of this inscription. Ravi Rāma could be the personal name of Rājāditya who is mentioned as Rāma alias Rājāditya in the preamble of Ravidēva's Yamaka kāvya named *Naḷōdaya*. The position of Jupiter in the 2nd year makes it certain that Ravi Rāma cannot be identified with Rāma Kulaśēkhara.

Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Ūrār, Paraṭaiyār, Capaiyār, and Maṇalmaṇṟattu Iyakkan Cirikaṇṭan, Governor of Naṇṟuḻaināṭu, meet in the temple and unanimously agree to confiscate the house and property, and cancel all the rights and privileges, of Teñcēri Cēnnan Tāyan who committed theft from the temple treasury. With this property Maṇalmaṇṟattu Iyakkan Śṛīkaṇṭan instituted 'Pañcama Śabdam' in the temple. The procedure, fine for default, and the course of appeal are elaborated.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, No. 55, pp. 172-76. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record provides the only case of punishment for theft in the whole corpus of Cēra inscriptions. The reference to the Governor of Naṇṟuḻaināṭu as Nāṭuvāḻum Nāyar is significant as it indicates the emergence of Nāyar feudal militia as the ruling force.

No. **A. 65**

Place: Paṟamban Taḷi. Base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 3 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Ādityan Kōta (Varma), Kō alias Raṇāditya Cakṛavartikaḷ. Regnal year 5. Jupiter in Makaram. Month of Iṭavam. C. 1089 AD. The King's name was deciphered as 'Āticca Iruḷi Irāmar' (Āditya Ṛṣi Rāma) by the Government Epigraphists and this version was accepted by Prof. Eḷamkuḷam also. The present writer deciphers it as 'Āticcan Kōtai Varmar'. The script and language, as well as the title of Cakṛavartikaḷ as found in the case of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, suggest a late 11th century date.

Contents: Temple Inscription: The temple was inaugurated in the 5the year of Āticcan Kōtavarma alias Raṇāditya.

Publication: *K.S.P.*, Series II, pp. 341-5. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *T.A.S.* VIII. No.33, p. 39. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'Kōvāticcan kōtaivarmar' in place of 'Kōvaticcan iruḷi irāmar' L.1. This inscription gives the name of a Cēra king who is known also from another inscription of the 7th year from Nallūr in Feroke discovered by the present writer.

No. **A. 66**

Place: Nallūr, Feroke. Courtyard of the temple.

Material; Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on both sides. 34 lines (9 + 9 + 9 + 7). Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Ādityan Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 7. Jupiter in Mīṉam. C. 1089 AD. See Paṛamban Taḷi record of Ādityan Kōta, 5th year, Index no. A 65, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Amaiccuḷḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ, Paraṭaiyār, Potuvāḷ etc make some regulations for Pāratam, Cāntivirutti, Tiruvamirtu, Nandāviḷakku etc in the temple and the Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) there.

Publication: Unpublished. This record was discovered by the present writer in January 1970.

Remarks: Though fragmentary, this record brings out the name of the Cera king Ādityan Kōta, and the regnal year 7 of his reign. The position of Jupiter in Mīṉam in the 7th year agrees with that in Makaram in the 5th year from the Paṛamban Taḷi record, cited above.

No. **A. 67**

Place: Tiruvālūr. Built into the entrance of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ. Regnal year 3 (2 + 1), Jupiter in Makaram. This king Kulaśēkhara must be the same as Rāma Kulaśēkhara of the Perunna record, 10th year, (Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka) and Kollam record, 13th year, (Jupiter in Kaṉṉi, 278 ME or 1102 AD) and the position of Jupiter, Script, and language support this inference. The date of coronation of Rāma Kulaśēkhara being AD 1089, the present record may be assigned to 1092 AD. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam has wrongly identified this Kulaśēkhara with Bhāskara Ravi who is not known to have possessed such a title. See *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 55.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḷ meet in the presence of Kaṭaiṅgōṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Iravi Kōyil at the Āralūr temple and unanimously appoint the priests and fix the remuneration and terms of service.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, IV, No. 39, pp. 145-6. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'iṭaiyīṭu viṭakkaṭaviyan' in place of 'i-viṭakkaṭaviyan' in Ll. 12-13. Read 'irupattunālkkaḷaiññu' in place of 'irunnalkkaḷaiññu' in Ll. 13-14.

No. **A. 68**

Place: Perunna. West side of the central shrine in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on three sides. 72 lines (29 + 29 + 14). Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kulaśēkhara. Regnal year 10 (2 + 8). Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka, Month of Vricci-ka. 1099 AD. (Coronation 1089 AD) See Kollam inscription of 13th year. 278 ME, (1102 AD) for date.

Contents: Royal Order. The king sitting in council with Nālu Taḷi and Tirukkuṇṛappoḷai at Neṭiya Taḷi ordered the cancellation of Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) and Arantai (war tax) from Perunneyatal, and the institution of Namaskāram and Māpāratam with that amount and handed it over to the Ūr of Peruneyatal and Potuvāḷ. Royal orders to this effect were sent to the Kuṭippatis through messengers and these having assembled at the temple, caused a stone inscription marking the cancellation of Arantai to be erected there.

Publication: *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 340 ff. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, V. No. 12, pp. 37-40. Photo, Tamil transliteration Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 94. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes (Extracts).

Remarks: This record illustrates the full procedure by which a royal order is formulated, communicated and executed. It mentions the Perumāḷ's council of Nālu Taḷi and the new tax called Arantai.

No. **A. 69**

Place: Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi. Right side half-wall of the entrance corridor through the Vātilmāṭam of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rāma, Mā Kō. Regnal year 10 (2 + 8). Jupiter in Karkkaṭṭaka, Month of Mīṉam. The period of Manaṅgāṭṭu Kumaran Iravi as governor of the province and Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāticcan as Commander of the forces. This king Rāma, who is described as Mā Kō or great king (emperor or Cakṛavartikaḷ) may be identified with Rāma Kulaśēkhara Cakṛavartikaḷ. The position of Jupiter, script, language and style support this inference. See Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, Index No. A. 71 for date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāticcan, the Paṭai Nāyan (Commander of the forces) supervises the temple, making some arrangements in the temple.

Publication: No. 345 of 1924. *T.A.S.*, VIII, No. 33, VII, p. 42. Tamil transliteration. Eḷamkuḷam *Paścāttalattil*, pp. 83-4. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Paṭanāyaruḷpaṭavaccu' in place of 'Pa-ṭa-uḷpa-I' in Ll. 4.5. This record indicates the growing power of the military commanders – Nayars – in the provinces and even in temple.

No: **A. 70**

Place: Neḍumpuṟam Taḷī. Right side of half-wall of the entrance corridor through the Vāṭilmāṭam of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rāma. Regnal year 11. Jupiter in Ciṅgam. The king's name and regnal year are not mentioned in the record, but they are implied by the reference to persons and decisions of the record of the tenth year, Index no. A. 69 which is followed by the present record after one year, i.e., 1090 AD.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. In the year when Jupiter stood in Ciṅgam when Talaippulattu Kaṇṭan Kumaran was governor of the province, Kāññirappaḷḷi Iravi Kaṇṇapirān, Commander of the Neṭumpuṟaiyūrnāṭu forces, sitting in council in the temple decided to cancel the decision taken by Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāticcan, Paṭanāyar of the Neṭumpuṟaiyūrnāṭu. Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ of the Nityaviyārē-śwaram temple in the year when Jupiter stood in Karkkaṭaka and Manaṅgāṭṭu Kumaram Iravi governed the province. The new officer gave orders to this effect to Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ of Nityaviyārēśwaram temple. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 346 of 1924. *T.A.S.*, VIII, No. 33 V, p. 41. Tamil Transliteration. Eḷamkuḷam *Paścāttalattil*, pp. 82-3. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text, translation and notes.

Remarks: This record also indicates, like the one of the previous year in the same place, the growing power and status of the military commanders – Nāyars – in the province and in temple.

No: **A. 71**

Place: Kollam (Quilon). Pillar set up in the courtyard of Rāmēśwaram temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 151 lines (28+39+42+42). Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rāma Kulaśēkhara, Cakṟavartikaḷ. Regnal year 13 (2 + 11), 278 of Kollam era (1102 AD), Jupiter in Kaṉṉi, Month of Ciṅgam, 9th day (expired).

Contents: Royal order. The king, residing at the Paṇaiṅkāvu palace in Kurakkēṇi Kollam, sitting in council with Āriya Brahmins, Nālu Taḷi, Āyiram, Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Mānavikṟama alias Pūnturaikkōn, who governed Ēṟānāṭu, and other Sāmantar (feudatories), made amends for some offence against the Āriyar (Brahmins) by donating paddy for daily feeding of Brahmins and leasing out a Cērikkal (crown colony) for that purpose to Kumaran Utaiyavarman of Vēṇaṭu. The king also makes provision for Kūttu and offering at Tirukkuṇavāy Tirunaṭai. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, No. 13, pp. 40-46. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 94-5. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes (extracts only).

Remarks: Read 'putten paṟaiyāl' in place of 'putten aṟaiyāl' in Ll. 24-25. Read 'ēṟānāṭu vāḻkkai māṉavikkiramaṉāṉa pūnturaikkōn' in place of 'annāṭu vāḻkkaiyān vikkiramaṉāṉa....kkan' in Ll. 47-52. Read 'patineṇkalattāl' in place of 'patinainkalattāl' in Ll. 88-9. Read 'munnāḻikku' in place of 'annāḻikku' in Ll. 103-4

(Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record is of unique importance as it mentions the date in Kollam era, the regnal year, the Paṉaṅkāvil palace at Kollam, the members of the council like Nālu Taḷi and Āyiram and the names of two feudatories, Māṉavikṛama, governor of Ēṛānāṭu, the first among feudatories, and Kumaran Utaiya Varman, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, who is nominated as tenant of the Cērikkal. It also refers to Prāyaścittam by the Perumāḷ for having offended Brahmins, to Kūttu and to Tirukkuṇavāy, probably the famous Jain temple of that name.

No. A. 72

Place: Pantalāyaṉi Kollam. Courtyard of the Pantalāyaṉi Kollam Bhagavati temple. This seems to have disappeared rom the scene.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kulaśēkhara. Regnal year Nil. C. 1089. This Kulaśēkhara may be identified with Rāma Kulaśēkhara (coronation 1089 AD). The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Royal Order. The Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ orders that out of the Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) from Kollattu Pantalāyiṉi, the Ūr (village assembly) was granted five nāḻi out of every six nāḻi and the mēlpāti of Tattamaṅgalam.

Publication: No. 6 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 165, p. 69. The present writer could not trace the original stone. It is reported to have been destroyed following a dispute about the ownership of the temple. Read 'ūrāl kollumāṭṭaikkōḷ' in place of 'uril koḷḷāṭṭaikkōḷ' in Ll. 4-5. Read 'aṟunāḻiykku aññāḻi' in place of 'aṟunāḻi ------ aññāḻi' in Ll. 5-6. Read 'ūrkkuviṭṭa tattamaṅglamēlpāti' in place of 'ūrkkuniṭṭa --- tamaṅgala mēlpāti' in Ll. 7-9. (corrections by the present writer from estampage in the Government Epigraphists' office, Mysore). This short record confirms the extension of the authority of Rāma Kulaśēkhara to Pantalāyaṉi Kollam in the north also.

No. A. 73

Place: Tiruvalañjuḻi, Tanjore district, Tamilnatu. South wall of maṇḍapa in front of central shrine in Kapardīśwara temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script- Tamil. Damaged. Language – Tamil.

Date: King Vikṛama Cōḷa. Regnal year 4. 1122 AD. (Coronation 1118 AD) See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 342 for date of Vikṛama Cōḷa. Mentions Cēramānār Rāma.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Mentions a number of gifts to the temple. Mentions a gift of 14 Kācu for a tumbai garland to the deity for the benefit of Cēramānār Rāma Varma.

Publication: No. 623 of 1902. *S.I.I.*, VIII, No. 221, pp. 114-15. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This record shows that Cēramānār Rāma, who must be the same as Rāma Kulaśēkhara Cakṛavartikaḷ (coronation 1089 AD) of the Kollam inscription of the 13th year (1102 AD), lived and ruled at least up to his 33rd regnal year in 1122 AD, the 4th year of Vikṛama Cōḷa. Perhaps this is the last known contemporary epigraphic reference to a Cēra sovereign. It is likely that the gift was made by some relative of his in the Cōḷa country after his death or disappearance.

No. **A. 74**

Place: Iriññāḷakkuḍa. Inside wall of the first Pṛākāra in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 19 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi? Mentions 'Bhāskara Nampirānār' as donor. The title 'Kō' is absent here. Regnal year – Nil. Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka. C. 10th century.

Contents: Royal charter. It is ordered that a plot called Paṭiññāyiṟṟu pōṭṭai given by Cōkirattu Potuvāḷ is re-named Bhāskarapura. The names of four Maṇikkirāmattār and their obligations to the temple as well as their rights and privileges are mentioned. Protection is entrusted to the six hundred of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu.

Publication: *R.V.R.I.B.*, IX, I, pp. 44. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is one of the few records which throw light on the foundation of a small township in Kerala. It also gives the names of the four Maṇikkirāmam people who were tenants of the Nakara.

No. **A. 75**

Place: Talakkuḷattūr. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 22 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King.... Tiruvaṭi, Kō. Regnal year Nil (Damaged). C. 883 AD. The portion containing king's name and regnal year is damaged. It reads 'Kō..... Tiruvaṭikkuccellāniṉṟa-yāṇṭu....' The letters 'kko' are faintly visible after 'Kō' and therefore it may be identified with Kōta Ravi, but this is by no means established. The orthographic and linguistic features indicate the 9th-10th centuries.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Some land is set apart for Nandāviḷakku in temple by paying gold. Fine for default is prescribed. Terms like 'Kōyil Atikārikaḷ' and 'Kaḻaiñcu' are mentioned.

Publication: No. 2 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VIII, No. 161. Tamil transliteration. This record helps to assign the dilapidated temple with fine architectural and sculptural features to the 10th century.

No. **A. 76**

Place: Chēḻannūr. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one surface and narrow side. 28 lines (22+ 6) Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King. Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 5? (Damaged). The paleographic and linguistic features indicate late 11th century.

Contents: Temple Inscription. The object is not clear. Mentions Nandāviḷakku and fine for violation of rules. Terms like "Perumān Aṭikaḷ' 'kaḻaiññu' and 'perumakkaḷ' are found there. The scribe's name is stated as Kāri alias Peruntaccan. The narrow side of the stone has name 'Kuṭummanattu Kīran Kāriyāyiṉa Ūrāḷan'.

Publication: Unpublished. The present writer discovered and deciphered the inscription on information from Vijayan, teacher, near the temple.

Remarks: The present writer deciphered part of the regnal year as 'yāṇṭaikketirayyāṇṭu' meaning 5th year. This maybe the original endowment of the temple.

No. A. 77

Place: Tiruvangūr. Rock surface near the temple.

Material: Stone. Rock wall of a tank. 9 lines, the second half of all the lines damage. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language Old Malayalam.

Date: King Nil (Damaged), Kō. Regnal year after 5 (? + 5). 11th century. The king's name has disappeared but the script and language suggest the end of the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century, the same period as that of another inscription of the balikkal in front of the shrine belonging to Bhāskara Ravi, 35th year, (C Series) given above.

Contents: Temple inscription. Tiruvakkiram instituted in the temple. Fine prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 15 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 175, p. 74.

Remarks: Since part of the rock has fallen off, the lost passages are irrecoverable.

No. A. 78

Place: Muduvallūr. Broken pillar of the ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Surface of a big pillar. 16 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 7 (7 + 0), 10th century. The king's name is illegible, but the year is clearly stated.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, Iḷaiyār, Akappotuvāḷ, and Puṟappotuvāḷ of Mutovallūr, meet in the presence of Kaṭapparpaḷḷi Aiyyam Paramēccuvaran, the Vaḷañciyar, and unanimously decide to dedicate certain lands for Perutirukkōyil Tēvar temple.

Publication: Unpublished. This record was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: Kaṭapparpaḷḷi, from where the Vaḷañciyar (merchant) donor comes, appears as the home town of Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati in Eramam-Cālappuṟam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, cited above. A certain merchant from Kaṭapparpaḷḷi in Malaināṭu figures as donor in Cōḷa inscription of Rājarāja, 19th year, from Tiruvaḍandai, Chingelpet dt, Tamilnadu also (No. 273 of 1910).

No. A. 79

Place: Tirunellāi, Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 24 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 20. 11th century. The kin's name is illegible. Only the last part of the name 'Tiruvaṭi' can be deciphered. The script and language suggest an 11th century date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift for temple expenses. The institution of Nālppattenṇāyiravar is mentioned.

Publication: No. 241 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the fragmentary text from the original stone.

Remarks: The institution of Nālppatteṇṇāyiravar appears to have been connected in some way with Jainism since it is mentioned in two Jain temple inscription, one from Tāḻakkāvu, Index No. B. 1 and the other from Ālathūr, Index No. C. 16.

No. **A. 80**

Place: Tiruvalla. Originally kept in the temple but transferred to Trivandrum and now in the custody of the Archaeological Department of Kerala.

Material: Copper plate. Forty three plates with writing on both sides. Eight plates missing (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 16, 32, 34, 41). It is likely that some plates at the end also have disappeared. 630 lines - 9 lines on one side. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: King Vīra Cōḷa (Cōḷa Parāntaka 907 AD to 955 AD) and his queen Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ mentioned. (Ll. 99 and 109) King Manukulāditya (Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi alias Manukulāditya. 962 AD to C. 1021 AD) mentioned as donor while he was crown prince (L. 285) and while he was the sovereign (L. 302). The contents evidently belong to different periods and were collected, rearranged and edited at a later date. The script and language suggest the middle of the 11th century. The absence of reference to 'accu' which became popular by the middle of the 12th century would preclude the idea of the plates belonging to a later date.

Contents: Temple committee resolutions. The donations made at different times by different persons for different types of offerings in the temple like Tiruviḷakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi, Akkāratalai, Snāpanam, Pañcamaśabdam, Dvādaśi celebration, Āvaṇi Ōṇam celebration, etc are registered along with the details of lands or gold contributed or leased out, and the conditions of tenure and service. Mūḻikkuḷattu Kaccam and Śankaramaṅgalattu Kaccam are quoted. Fine and other punishments are prescribed for violation of rules. A large number of district governors, merchants and others are mentioned and different measures like eṇṇāḻippaṛa, onpatināḻippaṛa and patināḻippaṛa are indicated. The prices of several articles are listed.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, III, pp. 131-207. Photos, Tamil transliteration, and Eng. Abstract of contents, with Index of personal names, villages and plots, and tables of Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters and numerical symbols.

Remarks: This unique collection of copper plates gives a chance to see at a glance the whole development of a representative Grāmakṣētra which was also a big Vaiṣṇavite centre, through the 9th 10th and 11th centuries. It is a mine of information regarding temple rituals, deities, festivals, castes, professions, personal names, plot names, prices etc in this period. It provides a contemporary record of the growth of temple-centered feudalism in Kerala.

Records Dated or Datable without Regnal years and Royal name

No. B. 1

Place: Tāḻakkāvu in Pūtāḍi, Wynad. Originally buried in the ground, near Jain Basati. Discovered by K.K.N. Kurup, student in the Department of History, Calicut University, in 1970, and recently taken over by the Archaeological Department of Kerala.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 31 x 2 1/2'. 13 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with mixture of Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year 137 of Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar. C. 850. The script and language suggest the later part of the 9th century.

Contents: Kuṭampāṭi 24 poti and Nākerpoṛai 12 poti are set apart for Ney and Viḷakku by Nālpatteṇṇāyiravar in the 137th year of Tirukkuṇavāy. Those who obstruct this would be considered as offenders against Tirukkuṇavāy.

Publication: Unpublished. It was discovered by K.K.N. Kurup, student in Department of History, Calicut University, in 1970. The present writer has reconstructed it from an eye copy by Mr. M.R. Raghava Varier.

Remarks: This record reveals that Tirukkuṇavāy was the model of Jain temples in Kerala and suggests that Tirukkuṇavāy was founded in the early part of the 8th century.

No. B. 2

Place: Pāḻiyam, Cēnnamaṅgalam, Cochin.

Material: Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides. 78 lines (10 + 16 + 22 + 30) Script-Tamil in the first side of the First plate and Nāgari in the rest of the plates. Language-Tamil and Sanskrit.

Date: King Varaguṇa, Lord of Viḻiññam. Regnal year 15. 28th December 898 AD. Cēra king Vijayarāga is probably referred to in a Ślōka through double entendre. Thursday, Mrigaśirā (Makayiram) Nakṣatra, Lunar Month of Puṣya, Solar month of Makara, Śuklapakṣa, Dvādaśi. T.A. Gopinatha Rao suggested Thursday, 35th December, 868 AD. This iswrong as Karunantaṭakkan, predecessor of Varaguṇa, is known to have lived up to 879 AD. Prof. Ḷamkuḷam suggested Thursday, 29th December, 925 AD. This too is wrong since it would not suit the 15th regnal year, for Karunantaṭakkan could not have ruled for 53 years, his last known regnal year being 28 only. The present writer accepts 28th December, 898 which suits the astronomical data, regnal year and other historical evidence.

Contents: Thirteen Sanskrit Ślōkas. The First one praises the Buddha. The second praises Dharma and Sangha. The third Ślōka praises Avalōkitēśvara. The fourth, fifth and sixth Ślokas praise the warlike fame, wealth, and nobility of the king's dynasty which is described as Vriṣṇikula in the seventh Ślōka. The second half of the eighth Ślōka (the first part is lost) describes the king as Lord of Viḻiññam. The ninth Ślōka yields the regnal year and the astronomical data and refers to the Tamil portion for details of the plot donated. The tenth Ślōka mentions Vīra Kōta, appointed by the king (evidently the Cēra king since Śṛīmūlavāsa Vihāra was located in central Kerala) as protector of the property handed over to the Vihāra. The tenth and eleventh slōkas contain a request to the king's descendants to uphold dharma and protect the land of donation. The thirteenth Ślōka contains a general appeal to all people to turn to acts of benevolence. The Tamil portion describes the boundaries of the land donated.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, I, XII A, pp. 187-93. Photo, Tamil and Nāgari transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, I, pp. 100-35; III, pp. 1-35. Mal. Translation and notes. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 10-44. Mal. Transliteration and notes. See also 'Pāṇḍyan suzerainty over the Āy kingdom', *Proceedings of Seminar of Pāṇḍyan History*, Madurai University, 1971.

Remarks: This is the only epigraphic record registering a gift to Śṛīmūlavāsa Buddhist vihāra in central Kerala near Ambalappuḻa and that too by the Āy King of South Kerala. who was vassal of the Pāṇḍyan king. The Vihāra is otherwise known from the *Mūṣakavamśa Kāvya*. Besides giving the date of coronation of Āy king Varaguṇa Vikṛamāditya and showing his Buddhist leanings, this record reveals his friendly relations with the Cēra and the Cēra patronage of the Buddhist Vihāra. Both Gopinatha Rao and Prof. Eḷamkuḷam have assumed that some plates are lost but as it is the record is complete.

No. **B. 3**

Place: Rāmantaḷi at the foot of Ēḻimala. Courtyard of Narayankaṇṇūr temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides. 38 lines (17+21). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali year 4029 in words and the chronogram 'Panthāvakēsavōya'- Kali day 147471 according to Kaṭapayādi rule. This corresponds to 929 AD. The Government Epigraphist deciphered this as 'Panthāvakēśavōya' reading 'śa' in the place of 'sa' and calculating 3976 in place of 4029- evidently a mistake. Mūṣaka prince Validhara Vikṛamarāma is mentioned as donor – a fact which the Govt. Epigraphist missed.

Contents: Nampiyār vikkirama Rāma donates land for Nandāviḷakku and Nivēdyam to Narasiṅga Viṇṇakar Tēvar. The tenants are mentioned by name. Mūḻikkaḷattu cavatai is quoted. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Maṇikkirāmam is appointed as guardian.

Publication: No. 474 of 1926. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 93-113. Vaṭṭeḻuttu text, Mal. Transliteration, Mal. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The Government Epigraphist's decipherment of the chronogram as 'Panthāvakēsavōya' was evidently wrong as it disagreed with the statement of the Kali year in the first line. They have not published the text and they did not see the reference to the name of the Mūṣaka prince Validhara Vikṛamarāma. Besides, their notice contained a reference to 'Maṇattuṇai Muṇṭan Koṟṟāṭai' a name which does not occur in the inscription. This record brings out the name and period of a Mūṣaka

prince Validhara Vikṛamarāma who was otherwise known only from the *Mūṣakavamśa Kāvya*. Validhara, the name of Vikṛamarāma's predecessor, is also mentioned in the first part of the royal name. The reference to Mūḻikkaḷam in this Mūṣaka inscription shows the inclusion of this territory in the Cēra sphere of influence. The presence of Maṇikkirāmattār is mentioned. For the importance of this record, See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavamśa', *Proceedings of The All India Orientalists Conference*. Jadhavpur, 1969.

No. **B. 4**

Place: Parumala. Site of the ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali Day 1474082 in words. 934 AD.

Contents: Kulivilaikkunṟan Cāttan, a scribe under Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan alias Brahmādhirājan constructs a balipīṭham and endowment for Oḻukkavi with nāḻi rice.

Publication: V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 156-58. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Temple Inscription. The present writer could not trace the site. No estampage of the record is available. It may be suspected that the name deciphered as 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramatiyan' in Ll. 3-4 is actually Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan. Moreover, the epigraphist has interpreted 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramatiyaṉāyiṉa' in Ll. 3-4 is actually Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan. Moreover, the epigraphist has interpreted 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramatiyaṉāyiṉa Piramātirāyan' as meaning 'Paramēśwara the Pramāthi' and taken it as denoting the deity in the temple. The present writer takes it as denoting a person called Paramēśwaran Subrahmaṇyan alias Brahmādhirājan (Piramātirāyan) the employer of the donor.

No. **B.5**

Place: Kaviyūr. North and west bases of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines running across the stones. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali 4051 in words. 951 AD. This must fall in the 7th year of Indu Kōta's reign.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Makiḻañcēri Tēvan Cēntan makes land gift for Tiruviḷakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Tiruccantanam and Tiruppukai. Mūḻikkaḷattu kaccam is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, I, No. XVII C, p. 289. Photo, Tamil transliteration (fragmentary) and notes. *T.A.S.*, V, No.3, p.7. Tamil transliteration of revised text.

Remarks: This appears to be the original endowment for the temple.

No. **B. 6**

Place: Kaviyūr. South and east bases of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines running across all the stones. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali year 4052 in words. 952 AD. This must fall in the 8th year of Indu Kōta's reign.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Ūrār of Kaviyūr meet in the presence of the Kōyil and unanimously accept the land gift made by Maṅgalattu Nārāyaṇan Kēcavan and Nārāyaṇan Kiriṭṭan for Nandāviḷakku, Tiruvamirtu, and Tiruvakkiram. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Mūḻikkaḷattoḻukkam is quoted. Tenants are nominated.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, I, No. XVI B, p. 288. Photo, Tamil transliteration (fragmentary) and notes. *T.A.S.*, V, No. 2, p. 6. Tamil transliteration of revised text.

Remarks: A prohibitory order to the effect that even the unanimous meeting of the Ūrār has no power to alter this decision is a unique feature of this inscription.

No. **B. 7**

Place: Trikkākara. East base of central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Panṛitturutti Yakkan Kuṛappōḷan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu. C. 950 AD. Iḷamturutti Kōtai Kēraḷan who figures in this record must be father of Iḷamturutti Kēraḷan Nārāyaṇan of Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year. Index No. A. 25. Similarly Puḷḷippaḷḷi Cańkaran Cirikaṇṭan of the present record must be brother of Puḷḷippaḷḷi Cańkaran Kumaran mentioned there. Therefore the date is about a generation earlier than the 16th year of Indu Kota (960 AD), i.e. the beginning of the reign of Indu Kōta.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Registers an order prohibiting the practice of lending gold from the temple. Prescribes fine and suspension for violating the rule. Iḷanturutti Kōtai Kēraḷan, the author of the agreement, and Puḷḷippaḷḷi Cańkaran Cirikaṇṭan, the scribe, are mentioned by name.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, No: 39 pp.174-75. Tamil transliteration English text and notes.

Remarks: This is a rare instance of a prohibitory order on lending gold belonging to the temple. It probably indicates the Ūrāḷar's anxiety that the wealth of the temple shall not be misused or lost in course of time.

No. **B. 8**

Place: Trikkākara. South and east bases of cuṛṛumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Panṛitturutti Yakkan Kuṇṛappōḷan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu. C. 950 AD. Jupiter in Ciṅgam. The Governor is the same as that of the previous Trikkākara inscription, Index No. B.7. Therefore the present record belongs to the same period as the previous one, i.e., the early years of Indu Kōta if not the last years of his predecessor. The position of Jupiter shows that it could be 936 AD or 948 AD or 960 AD.

Contents: Temple Inscription. A Certain individual institutes Viriccikaviḷakku and the Governor provides land for Tiruviḷakku in the temple.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, No. 38, pp. 173-174. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Nil.

No. **B. 9**

Place: **Trikkākara. East base of the cuṛṛumaṇḍapa.**

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 5 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Kaṇṇan Puṟayan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu, 958 AD. This governor figures in the 16th and 17th years of Indu Kōta. Index No. A. 25, 26. However, the position of Jupiter in Mithuṉam would indicate either the 14th year or the 26th year of Indu Kōta. The latest year of Indu Kōta so far known being the 17th, the present record may be safely attributed to the 14th, i.e. 958 AD.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. While Kaṇṇan Puṟayan was governing Kālkkaraināṭu, a resolution is passed prohibiting the practice of lending gold from the temple. Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.* III, No. 41, pp. 177-179. Tamil transliteration, Engl. Translation and notes.

Remarks: A decision to prohibit the practice of lending gold from the temples mentioned here.

No. **B. 10**

Place: Trikkākara. South and east bases of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of stone, with writing on one side. 5 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: Jupiter in Kaṉṉi – 961 AD. Kārilattu Kaṇṇan Kumaran who figures as the donor in the present record, figures in the same capacity in a record of Indu Kōta, 17th year, (960 AD) Index No. A.26. Therefore this record cannot be far removed from 960 AD in time. The position of Jupiter in Kaṉṉi suggests that the year 961 AD is a possible date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Records the donation of 36 Kaḻañcu of gold by Kārilattu Kaṇṇan Kumaran. This is invested on land which is then leased out for fixed revenue.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, No. 40, pp. 176-77. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Mentions the coins called 'paḻan kāśu', the measures called 'tēvar tuṭavu' and 'tēvar paṟai' and the tax called 'kaṭamai'.

No. **B. 11**

Place: Māmpaḷḷi. Originally owned by Māmpḷḷi Maḍham, near Trivandrum and now preserved at Padmanabhapuram Museum by the Department of Archaeology, Kerala.

Material: Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. 26 lines (14 + 12) Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Kollam year 149 in words. November 9th, 973 AD. (See Kielhorn quoted in *T.A.S.*, IV, pp. 4-5.) Jupiter in Tulām. Month of Vriccikam. Sunday. Aśwati nakṣatra. This must be placed in the 11th year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series).

Contents: Royal Order. While Tiruccenkuṉṟūr Paruṭai Perumakkaḷ were assembled in the high mansion of the Paṉaiṅkāvil palace at Kollam, Śrīvallavan Kōtai, Governor of Vēṇāṭu, gave away the sole rights of the Paṭṭārakar installed by Tirukkalaiyapurattu Āticcan Umaiyammai at Ayirūr and the land assigned to the deity to that lady, and that lady in turn gave what she received to Tiruccenkuṉṟūr as Kīḻiṭu with provision for the routine expenditure and the payment of protection fee to the Potuvāḷs. Fine is prescribed. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

Publication: *E.I.*, IX, p. 234 ff. Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, IV, No. I, pp. 1-11. Photo, Tamil transliteration of revised text, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Annatte Kēraḷam*, pp. 146-53. Mal. Transliteration of revised text, translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 181-88. Mal. transliteration of old text, translation and notes.

Remarks: This record is the earliest to mention the Kollam era. It registers a royal gift to a female and her gift to the temple witnessed by the governor, the village assembly etc. This double deed is a rare occurrence. This record mentions the Paṇaiṅkāvil palace at Kollam which is again mentioned in the Kollam record of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, 13th year, 1102 AD.

No. **B. 12**

Place: Māmpaḷḷi. Owned by Māmapḷḷi Maḍham.

Material: Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. Fragmentary. Some plates containing portions at the beginning and end are not traced. 26 lines (13 + 13) Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. King Nil. C. 973 AD. The record deals with the regulation of Rakṣābhōgam to be given to Tiruccenkuṇṟūr by Ayirūr and Ciṟṟūr and the Brahmasvam of the two last mentioned temples. As the foundation of these temples and their subjugation to Tiruccenkuṟūr forms the subject of Māmpaḷḷi plates of Śrīvallavan Kōta, 149 ME (973 AD) given as No. B. 11 above, the present record, showing the same characteristics in script and language, may be considered to be a companion of that and ascribed approximately to the same date.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Plots of land are set apart for expenses of Amāvāsi and Nāḷeṟṟam, and the payment of Rakṣābhōga on behalf of Ayirūr and Ciṟṟūr to Tirucceṅgunṟūr, and also for Brahmasvam.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, IV, I, No. 2, pp. 11-16. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Though this forms a fragment of a separate document it is a sort of companion or sequel to the royal grant (No. B. 11 above) by which the Ayirūr and Ciṟṟūr temples, of which details are provided here were established.

No. **B.13**

Place: Tiruvanmaṇḍūr. Base of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines, each spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, is mentioned. As the Māmpaḷḷi copper plate issued by this chieftain (No. B. 11 above) is dated in 149 ME corresponding to 973 AD the present record may be attributed to c. 973 AD in the absence of more precise information.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Śrīvallavan Kōtai, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, made land gift to the temple. Arrangements are then made for leasing out the lands. Perumān Aṭikaḷ is mentioned. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Full power to die and kill is granted to the Munnūṟṟuvar, appointed guardians of the endowment. Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam is mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, No. 4 (A), pp. 22-4. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The reference to Perumān Aṭikaḷ in this record shows that Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu (Vēṇāṭuṭaiya), was subject to the Cēra king though his three records (Māmpaḷḷi copper plate,) the present record and the one that follows) do not mention the regnal year of the sovereign.

No. B. 14

Place: Tiruvanmaṇḍūr. Base of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines, all spread out on stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, is mentioned. C. 973 AD. See Māmpaḷḷi plate of Śrīvallavan Kōta. Index no. B. 11 for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, made land gift to Tiruvāyampāṭi shrine. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Munnūṟṟuvar is mentioned. Mūḻikkaḷa Kaccam is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, No. 4 (B), pp. 24-5. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The two records - this and the previous one - might be the products of the same year and date, for they register gifts by the same person to two different shrines in the same temple.

No. B. 15

Place: Dēvīdēvēśvaram. Owned by Kollūr Maḍham.

Material: Copper. Sixteen plates with writing on both sides. 284 lines. (8 lines in some and 9 lines in others) Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Kollam year 364. 1189 AD. Reissue of charter issued earlier (C.973 AD) by mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta. Month of Dhaṉu, 1st day, Saturday, Catayam nakṣatra, King Vīra Udaya Mārttāṇḍa (Varma), King of Vēṇaṭu. The record is claimed to be reissued by the king on request from the Sabha of Dēvīdēvēśvaram since the original Praśasti issued by the mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta while the latter was ruler of Vēṇaṭu has decayed and become illegible. Therefore it may legitimately be expected to follow the same old lines as far as possible, i.e., to reproduce the system established in C. 973 AD.

Contents: Royal Charter. This is the renewal of the original endowment for the routine expenses of a temple and the maintenance of a Brahmin settlement around the temple. Provision is made by setting apart land for Akanāḻikai expenses, viḻas or festivals, Virutti of hereditary temple servants, and Jīvita for casual employees, and Brahmasvam for 23 families. Rules for the management of all the property are framed and fine prescribed for violating rules.

Publication: *T.A.S.* IV. No.7. PP. 22-65; Photos, Tamil transliteration, English abstract of contents, and Index of land assignments and place names.

Remarks: This inscription reveals the constitution of a typical temple-centered Brahmin settlement founded in the Cera period in Kerala.

No. B.16

Place: Tiruvaḍūr. Partly in the courtyard of the temple on either side of the Sōpāna and partly in the sanctum sanctorum.

Material: Stone. Three slabs of granite forming second, third and fourth parts of record with writing on one side. The first part is not traced. 32 lines (11 + 12 + 9) Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam and Sanskrit.

Date: Year Nil. C. 1020 AD. The scribe is mentioned as the royal goldsmith of the Mūṣaka king. The royal officer is mentioned as Irāman Cēmāni. From this it may be inferred that the record was executed when Cēmāni (Jayamāni) was Governor of Mūṣaka or soon after his time. This Jayamāni was the immediate predecessor of Valabha according to *Mūṣakavamśakāvya*. The kāvya says that the former sent his nephew Valabha to help the Kerala king preparing to oppose the Cōḷa invasion. This event gives a landmark in the region of Jayamāni which, according to the chronological scheme proposed by the present writer, may be placed in the last decade of the 10th century. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavamśa', *Proceedings of the A.I.O.C.*, Jadhavpur, 1969 and *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. XVI- XVII. Therefore the present record may be attributed to the last decade of the 10th century or the first two decades of the 11th century. The kāvya states that Valabha, the successor of Jayamāni, installed Ārya (Śāsta) at Vaṭukēśwaram (Tiruvaḍūr) and that his successor Śrīkaṇṭha renovated the temple. The present record may belong to the time of this renovation and may be assigned to C.1020 AD – a known date in the reign of Śrīkaṇṭha. See Eramam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, (A Series) No. A. 40 above.

Contents: Royal Charter. Creation and endowment of a Brahmin settlement with 24 members drawn from 5 old Brahmin settlements of central Kerala i.e. Vaikkam, Paṛavūr, Āvaṭṭiputtūr, Iriññālakkuḍa, and Peruvanam. Hereditary tenure is specified. Fines are prescribed for violation of rules. Witnesses are mentioned. The concluding portion in Sanskrit mentions Mūṣikēśavara suvarṇakāra, (goldsmith of the Mūṣaka king) and contains and invocation for divine grace.

Publication: Nos. 477 and 478 of 1926. Unpublished. They are noticed as two separate inscriptions but they really form part of one. The present writer examined the two blocks containing no. 477 of 1926 lying outside the shrine on 19-1-'69 and copied the text from there. It was not possible at that time to examine the block containing no. 478 of 1926 kept inside the sanctum sanctorum of the shrine. The text of this part was copied from the estampage in the Govt. epigraphist's office, Mysore.

Remarks: This record reveals the practice of selecting Brahmins from different old grāmas when a grāma settlement is established or enlarged. It brings out the close links between Kōlattunāṭu and other parts of Kerala in the 11th century and gives additional proof of the historical authenticity of the later chapter of *Mūṣakavamśa kāvya*.

No. **B.17**

Place: Veḷḷūr. Wall to the left of entrance in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu and Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam and Sanskrit.

Date: Kali Day 1510707 (expired) in words. (22nd of March 1035 AD) Month of Māgha. Saturday.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Records the construction of an ambalam at Tiruveḷḷūr. Ends with a benedictory verse in Sanskrit.

Publication: No. 66 of 1965-6. Unpublished.

Remarks: The Sanskrit Slōka at the end of an ordinary donative record is a rare feature.

No. B. 18

Place: Trikkākara. Outside wall of the south base of the Maṇḍapa at the proper right of entrance.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines, each of them spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Tirukkālkkarai Perumāḷ's year 105 in words. Jupiter in Mēṭam. Month of Kaṉṉi. C.1050 AD. The Government Epigraphist has deciphered the opening passage as 'Tirukkākaraipperumāḷ Tarvāticcanceytaruḷiccellāniṉṟa mūvāyiratteḻunūṟṟaiyyāmāṇṭaikketirāṇṭu'. Finding it impossible to assume that the temple was constructed 3705 years before the record, the script of which, according to him, showed 13th century characteristics, he thought that there might have been at least such a belief or tradition. The present writer would suggest 'nuṟāyirattoḍu' in place of 'mūvāyiratteḻu' so that actually the 105th year of the temple is intended. The earliest datable inscription from Trikkākara is on the 10th year of Indu Kōta (954 AD) and, it is likely that the temple was founded somewhere about the beginning of that century. Therefore the present record may belong to C.1050 AD. and the script and language really suggest the 11th century.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Cāttan Ci---n, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu, makes a gift on his birth day to the temple.

Publication: *T.A.S.* III, No. 44, pp. 184-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The date suggested by the Government Epigraphist is untenable and the present writer has put forward another interpretation of the passage. (See above.) This record yields at least an approximate idea of the period of the foundation of the foremost Vaiṣṇava shrine associated with Ōṇam Festival, besides providing another example of the popularity of temple eras in that age.

No. B. 19

Place: Trikkākara. South base of the Cuṟṟumaṇḍapa in temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 2 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date; Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Mithuṉam, Month of Ciṅgam. Script and language support this inference. C. 1065? For details, See B. 20 from Trikkaḍithānam temple.

Contents: Temple inscription. In the presence of Aṭikaḷ Māḷuvakkōṉār and Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Tāmōtiran Eḻuvaraṭiyāḷ agree to pay fixed amount of rice as rakṣābhōgam for Taḻuvankuṉram. The Potuvāḷmār of Tēvar agree to protect the inhabitants of the village.

Publication: *T.A.S.* III, No. 47, pp. 188-9. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record reveals the title of Māḷuvakkōṉār used by the governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu. A certain Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu, and Aṟunūṟṟuvar are mentioned in Tiruvalla plates. (A. 80. L. 351) and a stone inscription from Trikkaḍithānam temple (B.20). The donor of this record cannot be far removed from Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōṉār mentioned in these places.

No. **B. 20**

Place: Trikkaḍithānam. Base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines, each spread on the stones. Script –Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 11th century. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Kumbam. Monday. Tiruvōṇam nakṣatra. References to Kaccam, 'kaḻaiññu' of gold, and the script and language indicate the 11th century. The astronomical data yields 1064 AD as a possible date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḻmār, meet in the presence of Kīḻmalai Aṟunūṟṟuvar, Nanṟuḻaināṭṭu Munnūṟṟuvar and Paṇi Uṭaiyavakaḷ and accept the gift of Cērikkal for Nandāviḷakku from Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kīḻmalaināṭu, and lease it out to Kōṭikkaḷattu Iyakkan Kōvinnan. The rent is fixed in terms of Paddy and gold. The scribe is mentioned by name.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, No. 59, pp. 181-3. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record gives the price of paddy in gold. 1 Kaḻañcu of gold = 2 Kalam of paddy.

No. **B. 21**

Place: Rāmantaḷi at the foot of Ēḻimala. Base of central shrine of Narayankaṇṇūr temple.

Material: Stone. Three blocks of granite with writing on one side. 9 lines (2 + 3 + 4). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali Day 1523929 expressed by the chronogram 'Dhareddhō Gurumukhyanāḷ', 1075 AD. The Government Epigraphist's report states the chronogram and Kali day but does not give its corresponding year in Christian era. A later report in 1970 (used by the Archaeological survey, southern circle) mentions the date as 1132 AD. Evidently they got this year by dividing the Kali day with 360 and finding the corresponding year in Christian era. Actually the Kali day is to be divided by 365 and not 360 and this result (1075 AD.) is justified by the king's name. King Kunda Āḷupar is mentioned. He is mentioned in a Sanskrit record of Kali 4168 (1068 AD) from Kadri Mañjunātha temple also. (See *S.I.I.*, VII, p.87).

Contents: Temple Inscription. Hiraṇyagarbhan caused the construction of the image. The Śṛīkōyil was built in granite with the help of Kunda Āḷḷuparāiyar. Candraśēkharan constructed the shrine. This was done in the times of Kuṇṟan Bhaṭṭan and Bhaṭṭa Nārāṇan.

Publication: No. 475 of 1926. The Government Epigraphist's version has not been published. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 106-109. Vaṭṭeḻuttu text, Mal. translateration, translation and notes.

Remarks: This short record shows the time of the renovation of the temple where an original endowment is registered in 928 AD. (No. 474 of 1926. No. B.3 above) It is the second dated inscription of Kunda Āḷupa who probably exerted influence in this region.

No. **B. 22**

Place: Tirukkulaśēkharapuram. Step in front of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temple year 195. Month of Makaram. Uttiram nakṣatra. C. 1075 AD. The foundation of this temple must be associated with the royal Vaiṣṇavite saint Kulaśēkhara, as it is the biggest Viṣṇu temple of the Cēra capital. The only Kulaśēkhara known to epigraphy before the last Perumāḷ is Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (844–883 AD). If he is identified as the royal saint and the foundation of the temple placed in the end of his reign, somewhere about 880 AD, we get c. 1075 AD as the date of the present inscription. The script and language suggest the latter part of the 11th century.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ meet and Vempalanāṭṭu Pōḻan Iravi, the keeper of the treasury, accept gold from Nakkanaḻiyakattu Kōvinna Tāmotiran for instituting a kūttu (dance drama) in conformity with the rules of the temple.

Publication: No. 226 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 790, 340. Tamil transliteration. *T.A.S.*, VI, II, pp. 193-4. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'taḷikkuccellāniṉrayāṇṭu' in place of 'taḷikkuc....rayāṇṭu' in Ll. 1-2. (correction by the present writer from original stone). This record gives an approximate idea of the foundation of the temple. It mentions a treasure of the temple and Kūttu (dance dram) conducted there.

No. **B. 23**

Place: Kiṇālūr. Site of ruined temple. The stone is not to be traced.

Material: Stone. Slab of granite with writing on two sides. 53 lines (32 + 21). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Tirukkāḻiyappaṭāra's consecration year 189. Jupiter in Makaram. Month of Mēṭam. Wednesday. Aviṭṭtam nakṣatra. 1083 AD. Mentions Vijayarāgīśwaram, i.e. temple of Vijayarāga (883 - C. 913 AD). Since Vijayarāgēśvaram must have been founded between 883 and 913 AD, the 189th year must be found between 1072 of 1102 AD. In these years, February 22nd of 1083 AD agrees with the astronomical data furnished.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Provision is made for Tiruppali Cānti, Kuṭai, Cantaṉam, Paḷḷittāmam, Nandāviḷakku, Akkiram and Kūttu by Arappan Kuñci alias Kuṟumpuṟai who donated lands to Kuṇavāynallūr and leased them out to Cāttan Arukkaṭi of Tiruvañcikkaḷam, and Kuṉṟan Cirunaṅkai and Cāttan Cirukaṇṭan. Manukulaicēkaranallūr is mentioned. Munnūṟṟuvar and Muvāyiravar are mentioned.

Publication: No. 14 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 174, p. 74. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'Kāḻiya' in place of Kalica' in L.1. Read 'Tiruvabhiṣēkan' in place of 'Tiruva....n' in L.2. Read 189 in place of 159 in L.3. Read 'Kuṇavāynallūr' in place 'Kuṇaviyanallūr' in L.6 and Ll. 44-5. Read 'Paḷḷikku' in place of 'Paṭārarkku' in L.7. Read 'Celuttavallātākkil' in place of 'Celutta....' In L.22. Read 'Celuttavallātākkil' in place of 'Celutta....' in L.22. Read 'Kūttuncelutti' in place of 'kuttarecelutti' in Ll. 47. Read 'kaṭavor munnūṟṟuvarum' in place of 'kaṭaveḻunūṟṟuvarum' in Ll. 50-51. (Corrections by the present writer from estampage in Government Epigrahist's office, Mysore). This record is important in many ways. It brings out the existence of a paḷḷi (Jain temple) called Vijayarāgīśvaram and another called Manukulai-cēkaranallūr. The former throws light on Vijayarāga's contacts with this part of the country described in *Mūṣakavamśa kāvya*. It refers to Munnūṟṟuvar, probably of the junior prince of Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, for the first time. It refers to

Kuṇavāynallūr as a Jain temple, thereby suggesting the importance of Kuṇavāy, near the capital, as a Jain centre.

No. **B. 24**

Place: Kaṇṇapuram. Fixed on a platform outside the Prākāra of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides. 71 lines (16 + 20 + 21 + 14). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Udayavarma alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar is mentioned. Regnal year Nil. C. 1122 AD. A certain Udayavarma of Kōlattunāṭu is mentioned as feudatory of the last Cēra Perumāḷ in *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle. If this last Perumāḷ is identified as Rāma Kulaśēkhara, the Mūvar (king of Kōlattunāṭu) of the present record may be assigned to c. 1122 AD. The script and language would support this inference.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Gives details of land set apart for the routine expenses of Tirukkaṇṇapuram Tēvar, like Oḻukkavi, Tiruviḷakku, Cāntivirutti etc. A certain Nākasvāmi and Pairavasvāmi created the Praśasti in the presence of Utaiyavarma alias Ramakuṭa Mūvar. A certain Kuṇṛan Kaṇṇan alias kuṇṛamaittiṭṭai Nampiyār and son are stated to have made the pratiṣṭha.

Publication: No. 476 of 1926. Unpublished. The present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier copied the text on 27-9-'69 from the original stone.

Remarks: The name of Udayavarman alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar of the beginning of the 12th century is brought to light by this inscription. It corroborates the statements of *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle regarding the last phase of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.

No. **B. 25**

Place: Māḍāyi. Within the Muslim mosque.

Material: Copper. Single slab with writing on one side. Script-Arabic. Language-Arabic.

Date: Hijera 518. This year corresponds to 1124 AD.

Content: Commemoration plaque in the Muslim mosque. States that the mosque was founded in Hijera 518 (1124 AD)

Publication: No. 446 of 1929. Unpublished. Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix XXI, p. ccl XVIII. English abstract. Innes and Evans, *Malabar*, pp. 25, 424. English abstract.

Remarks: This record is of crucial importance to a controversial problem. There is a tradition, supported by Hindu chronicles like *Kēraḷōlpatti* and Muslim works like *Tohfutul-Mujahideen*, that the last Cēra Perumāḷ embraced Islam and left the country for Mecca and afterwards his messengers founded the first ten mosques of Kerala including the one at Māḍāyi. The date of the mosque at Māḍāyi found in the present record has to be placed against this background. However, when this record was first noticed, its relevance to this Cēramān problem was not realised as it was believed that the Cēra kingdom disintegrated in the 9th century. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam showed that the Cēra kingdom continued until 1102 AD. The present writer maintains on the strength of the reference to Cēramānār Rāmar in the Tiruvalañjuḻi inscription that the kingdom continued for twenty years more, i.e., until 1122 AD. This brings us near the date of the Māḍāyi mosque founded in 1124 AD and lends more authenticity to the Cēramān legend regarding the last king's conversion to Islam and his message.

Table C.

Records undated but approximately datable

No. C. 1

Place: Trichambaram. Base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Two blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 (8 + 4) lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Dhaṉu. C. 11th century.

Contents: Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, Governor of Ēṛānāṭu creates endowment for Tiruviḷakku at Tiruccemmaram. A certain Kāpāli Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭavijayan, some land, and the arrangements for weekly supply of oil are also mentioned.

Publication: Nil. This was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in November, 1970.

Remarks: The name of Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, Governor of Ēṛānāṭu is interesting as it appears in the same way as in the Cochin Jewish Copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi, 38th year (A series), 1000 AD, no. A. 34 above. This appears to be a hereditary title for the governors of the division.

No. C. 2

Place: Māṇiyūr. Outside the Prākāra of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides. 75 lines (20 + 12 + 19 + 24). Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Karkkaṭaka. C. 11th century. The script and language as well as the references to Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam and Kaḻañcu and Kāṇam would support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḷ of Māṇiyūr and the Kōyil unanimously make regulations regarding the lands assigned for the routine expenses in the temple. Mūḻikkaḷa Caṅkētam is quoted. The Akappotuvāḷmār and Uvaccakaḷ are made tenants of the temple.

Publication: No. 447 of 1929. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, in November 1969 from the original stone.

Remarks: The extension of the sway of Mūḻikkaḷattu kaccam to Kōlattunāṭu in the 11th century is established by this inscription.

No. **C. 3**

Place: Kuṟṟiyāṭṭoor. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on both sides. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Nil. C. 11th century. The script would suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift to temple.

Publication: No. 524 of 1930. Unpublished.

Remarks: Nil.

No. **C. 4**

Place: Vēḷam. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides and above. 62 lines (12 + 13 + 16 + 17 + 4). Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Nil-C. first half of 12the century as shown by script and language.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Lays down punishment for those who obstruct Tiruvārātinai, pūmi, and puruṣar of Vēḷattu Tēvar as well as their accomplices.

Publication: No. 525 of 1930. Unpublished. The present writer copied the fragmentary text in December 1964 from the original stone.

Remarks: Nil.

No. **C. 5**

Place: Kāḷiyampaḷḷi. Courtyard of the temple, near the balipīṭha.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 15 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil C. 11th century. The Script and language would suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Sabhai and kaṇṭan Raṇamāni alias Polaivar, probably the Governor Pōlaināṭu, makes provision for Viḷakku in the temple.

Publication: No.8 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 167, p. 70. Tamil transliteration.

Remark: Read: 'Kaṇṭan Raṇamāni' in place of 'Kaṇṭanaraṇmāni o Ll. 1-2. Read 'Kūṭi' in place of 'Kāṭi' in L. 2. Read 'tirukkoyiliṟkkāṟum' in place of 'tirukkōyilirkkūṟum' in L.8. This record suggests that that Pōlanāṭu mentioned in *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle existed in the 11th century in this region.

No. **C. 6**

Place: Kāḷiyampaḷḷi. In the corner of the courtyard of a small shrine outside the main Bhagavati temple. A fragmentary copy of this inscription is found in a neighbouring compound also.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language and the use of dots to denote a pure consonant would suggest the date.

Contents: Vīrakkal inscription. States that Cuvāmikaḷkaṭimalar Cēvakan Pirantapa Mārttāṇṭan died there.

Publication: No. 231 of 1960–1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text from the original stone in February 1969.

Remarks: This is very important as no other Vīrakkal inscription has been found so far in the Cēra kingdom. The present writer discovered a fragmentary copy of this inscri-ption in a neighbourning compound and the sculpture of a warrior-like figure on a stone which was, according to the owner, once part of the inscription. This finding confirms the present writer's decipherment and the identification of the record as a Vīrakkal inscription.

No. **C. 7**

Place: Karikkāḍ, near Mañjēri. Floor of the entrance corridor through the Vātilmāṭam of the Ayyappa shrine.

Material: Stone. Two slabs with writing on one side. 27 lines (17 + 10). Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The Script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. The beginning and end of each line is cut off so that sentences cannot be reconstructed. Mentions Tacciyūr, cantaṉam (irupalam), Cālaippu(ṛam), Eṇṇaikkāṭu, Praśasti, mātṛparigr(ham), tirukkōyil etc.

Publication: No. 234 of 1960. Unpublished.

Remarks: The Govt. epigraphist's summary in the annual report mentions 'kiṭaippuṛam' but this is actually 'cālaippuṛam' meaning land assigned to Śālai or vedic college. This record is perhaps the earliest (10th century) recovered from Karikkāṭṭu grāma-kṣētra. This is one of the 32 original Brahmin settlements mentioned in *Kēraḷōlpatti* chronicle.

No. **C. 8**

Place: Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmaṇya shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language and reference to Kaḻañcu and Kāṇam support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Paiyyanāṭṭu Iravi Kēḷan, the Uvaccan, makes land gift for Uttamākkiram for Tirukkarikkāṭṭu Mēltēvar with land that he purchased. Fine prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 235 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text in April 1970 from original stone.

Remarks: Though the wording is similar to those which quote Mūḻikkaḷa kaccam it is not mentioned here.

No. **C. 9**

Place: Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmaṇya Shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines? Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language are of the same type as that of the previous one.

Contents: Temple inscription. Tiruvakkiram is instituted at Tirukkarikkāṭu. Iyakkan Irāman received gold and made over his land for the purpose.

Publication: No. 236 of 1960–1. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text in April 1970 from the original stone.

Remarks: Middle and end portions damaged.

No. **C. 10**

Place: Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmaṇya shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines. Damaged, incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language are of the same type as that of the two previous ones (C.8 and 9 above). 'Kaḻañcu' is mentioned.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land is purchased for gold and assigned for Tiruvakkiram in Tirukkarikkāṭu temple. Items for feast like ghee and curd are mentioned.

Publication: No. 237 of 1960–1. Unpublished.

Remarks: Highly damaged.

No. **C. 11**

Place: Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Floor of the sanctum sanctorum.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language would support this inference. They are of the same type as that of three previous ones. (C. 8, 9 and 10 above). 'Kaḻañcu' mentioned.

Contents: Temple inscription. Prohibition of obstruction to cultivation in temple property. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 238 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text in May 1970 from estampage in the Government Epigraphist's office, Mysore.

Remarks: This is only a fragment, probably the last part of an inscription.

No. **C. 12**

Place: Pulpaṟṟa, near Mañjēri. Base of the shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 21 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language and references to Kaḻañcu and Kāṇam support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Pulappoṟṟai Ūr, Kōyil, Ēṟāḷanāṭṭu Aṟunūṟṟuvar and Eṭattiṟaināṭṭu Munnūṟṟuvar unanimously make provision for 'ūṭṭu' by assigning land to the temple. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Ūrāḷar are authorized to take over from Pāṭṭavāḷan in case of obstruction.

Publication: No. 282 of 1969. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text on 13th April, 1970 from the original stone.

Remarks: This record mentions for the first time the Aṟunūṟṟuvar Ēṟāḷanāṭu and the Munnūṟṟuvar of Eṭattaṟanāṭu, the two offices or bodies being unknown to other sources. Eṭattaṟanāṭu, a subdivision of Ēṟāḷanāṭu, is mentioned for the first time.

No. **C. 13**

Place: Muduvallūr. Broken pillar in the Perumṭṛkōvil temple.

Material: Stone. Four slabs of granite with writing on one side. 55 lines. (16 + 15 + 11 + 13). The last two pieces are completely damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Potuvāḷmār etc. make provision for Ōṇam celebration by the assignment of land for the purpose. Tiruvamutu, Tiruviḷakku etc are mentioned.

Publication: Nil. This inscription was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: The temple itself is completely ruined but is being renovated.

No. **C. 14**

Place: Rāmanāṭṭukara. Courtyard of Parihārapuram temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite forming part of an inscription, with writing on one side. 13 lines. Fragmentary. Script- Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The Script and language and the reference to Mūḻikkaḷattu kaccam support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūrāḷan, Potuvāḷ, etc. make some arrangements probably in connection with land gift to the temple. Mūḻikkaḷattu Kaccam quoted. Only a fragment without beginning and end has been discovered.

Publication: Unpublished. The present writer discovered and deciphered it in June 1963 from original stone.

Remarks: This inscription proves the antiquity of the temple.

No. **C. 15**

Place: Tirumaṟṟakōḍe, near Pattambi. Balikkal of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. The script exhibits characteristics of this period in Kerala.

Contents: Temple inscription. Object is not clear. Seems to record land gift for food offering to the temple.

Publication: No. 62 of 1945. Unpublished.

Remarks: The record in itself is unimportant since it is fragmentary and undated but it calls attention to the antiquity of the temple. This is important as Kulaśēkhara

Āḷvār mentions certain Tiruviṟṟuvakōṭu in *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi* and while some scholars have identified this with a place in Tamilnatu, others have identified it with this temple. See Index No. A. 52 also.

No. **C. 16**

Place: Panniyūr. Courtyard of the temple near the entrance.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 23 lines. Highly damaged Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language would support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāḷ, Aṟunūṟṟuvar and a person belonging to Intiyanūr meet on the maṇḍapa and make some agreements regarding property of a temple. The gift of Ūrāṇmai, Tāṇam, and Paraṭai of another subsidiary temple to the Ūrār of Panṟiyūr is registered. The scribe is mentioned by name.

Publication: No. 214 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 778, p. 336. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: The record in itself is unimportant, being fragmentary and undated. However, it establishes the antiquity of the grāmakṣētra of Panniyūr which played a prominent part in the medieval history of Kerala. Read 'Ūrārkkūrāṇmaiyum' in place of 'Ūrārkkaranmaiyum' in L.13. Correction made by the present writer in December, 1963, from original stone.

No. **C. 17**

Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Eastern side of courtyard in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 22 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The Script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Iḷaiyār of Cōkiram meet in the presence of Kōyil and receive a kīḻiṭu from Iravi Tēvi Amman for Tiruviḷakku and entrust it to Taviraṇūr Pāṭṭavāḷan. Taviraṇūr kaccam is quoted. Limits are imposed on the rights of Ūrāḷar in the kīḻiṭu.

Publication: No. 208 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 772, p. 334. Tamil transliteration. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, p.53. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Paraṭaiyāru kōyilunkūṭi' in place of 'paral (pāl) iruyilaiyāmankalattum' in Ll. 2-3. Read 'valayai ceyavuppeṟār' in place 'palayai ceyyapperār' in L.17. Read 'ūrāḷarikkaccam' in palce of 'U...kaccam' in Ll. 20-21. This is one of the two records - the other being a Tripṛaṅgōḍe inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year, 910 AD - quoting Tavaraṇūr kaccam. in elaborating the rules it includes a prohibition of 'Kaṭṭilēṛal', i.e, concubinage by Ūrāḷar in the kīḻiṭu region. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). A dot is employed above the line to show the pure consonant in germination.

No. **C. 18**

Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Base of the second pillar of Vātilmāṭam in the temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 19 lines (4 + 5 + 5 + 5). Damaged. Script –Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Irāyiravar (Rājaśēkhara), Potuvāḷ, Āḷkōyil, Ūrār etc conferring Ūrāṇmai, Tāṉam, and Paraṭai of some temple on some persons. The Ūrār of the two villages are enjoined to supervise temple affairs in the two places.

Publication: No. 209 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 773, p. 334. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'Cōkirattu Ūrārum Irāyacēkaraṉēṉa Irāyiravaru vaḷḷuvaru potuvāḷum' in place of 'Cōkirattu toravam muriya cōkiraṉēṉa Irāyiravaru vivatavūr potuvāḷum' in Ll. 1-3. Read 'Tēvakāriyamum' in place of 'Tēvaka----yamuva' in L.16. (Correction by the present writer from original stone.) This record refers to the foundation of a new settlement under the supervision of Cōkiram.

No. **C. 19**

Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Base of the first pillar of the Vātilmāṭam in temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 15 lines (4 + 4 + 3 + 4) Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. A number of persons whose names are given are stated to have founded and donated a Dēvasvam for which they themselves are made Ūrāḷar by Cōkirattu kaccam.

Publication: No. 210 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 774, p. 335.

Remarks: Read 'ūrāṇmaikaḷai' in place of 'ūrāmaikalai' in Ll. 14-5. (Correction by present writer from original stone). This record refers to the foundation and constitution of a new temple-centered village.

No. **C. 20**

Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Stone built into the pavement of the courtyard in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 17 lines. Incomplete script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. Close of the 9th century. This mentions the original Tavaraṉūr kaccam which is quoted in a Tripṛaṅgōḍe inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year (910 AD) cited as no. A. 13 above. The script and language also agree with the close of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, Iḷaiyār of Cōkiram, Kōyil, and Irāya Cēkara the Vaḷḷuvar jointly take action to bring under their protection Taviraṉūr and the property for its maintenance. A series of prohibitions are mentioned. This must be the original Taviraṉūr kaccam which supplied the model for others in the neighbourhood also.

Publication: No. 211 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 775, p. 335. Tamil transliteration. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 53-4. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'paruṭaiyāru iḷaiyārum kōyilāy Irāya cēkararāyiṉa' in place of 'paruṭaiyāru.... Varum... yiḷay Irāyacēkarāyaiṉa' in Ll. 1-2. Read 'koḷḷuvituncelutti koḷḷapperār' in Ll. 12-13. Read 'ūrāṇmai' in place of 'kārāṇmai' in L.14. This is the only case of a record where the original of a model kaccam is recovered at least in part from a temple. For details, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 45-60.

No. **C. 21**

Place: Rāyiranallūr, Naḍuvaṭṭam. Near the wall in the Bhagavati temple. Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides. 15 lines. (8 + 7) Fragmentary and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Damaged. Paraṭaiyār, Akappotuvāḷ etc of Rāyiranallūr make arrangements for supply of rice for offering in temple.

Publication: No. 353 of 1924. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer examined the estampage in the Government Epigraphists' office, Mysore. It is largely illegible. Rāyiran being the short form of Rājaśēkhara, which is the hereditary title of the Vaḷḷuvar or the governor of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Rāyiranallūr mentioned in this record in Vaḷḷuvanāṭu region might be a village name after the chieftain.

No. **C. 22**

Place: Painkaṇṇūr, Vaḷāñcēri. South side of the passage to Subrahmaṇya temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines. Partly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 11th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paruṭaiyār and Ūrār of Painkaṇṇūr and Aṭikaḷ Irāyacēkarar make an agreement to the effect that those who obstruct or plunder property set apart for Nāḷpaṅku, Nandāviḷakku, Pali etc would be ostracized form the village.

Publication: No. 480 of 1926. No. 1 of 1927-8 of Kerala. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer copied and deciphered the fragmentary text from the original stone. Though this record does not quote any kaccam as such it clearly states that offenders will be ostracized from the village.

No. **C. 23**

Place: Pūkkōṭṭūr, Eḍaiyūr. Courtyard of temple.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 22 lines (10 + 12). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. Reference to Kaḻaiññu of gold and Mūḻikkaḷaccavatai as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, Ūrpaṭṭār, Āḷkōyil, Potuvāḷ and Vaḷḷuvar unanimously decide to accept land gifts for Tiruviḷakku and Nivēccam, and prescribe fine for violation of rules. Mūḻikkaḷaccavatai is quoted. The arrange-ments are made as long as the sun and moon endure.

Publication: No. 349 of 1924. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer copied the text form the original stone. The name of 'Mānavijayan' reminds us of 'Mānavēdan' one of the three hereditary male names in the family of the Zamorins of Calicut. Words like 'Niveccam' and 'cantirāti-ccaval' illustrates certain linguistic peculiarities.

No. C. 24

Place: Alanallūr, Mēlāttūr. Base of the central shrine of Mēttrikkōvil temple, to the right of entrance.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 7 lines. Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Mūḻikkaḷakkarakkaccam and Kaḻaiññu of gold as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. The stone contains the imprecatory portion at the end of a record. Registers the donation for rice by Nirccampukkāṭṭu Kaṇṇannanpi. Fine is prescribed for violating rules. Mūḻikkaḷakkarakkaccam is quoted.

Publication: Unpublished.

Remarks: This record was discovered by P.E.D. Nambūdiri and deciphered by the present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. It serves to identify the approximate age of the temple.

No. C. 25

Place: Alanallūr, Mēlāttūr. Base of Ñaraḷattu Śrī Rāma temple, to the left of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines, each running across the stones. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Mūḻikkaḷakaccam as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Full sentences cannot be reconstructed. Mentions Mūttār, Kōtan, Ūrāḷar, Mūḻikkaḷakaccam etc.

Publication: Unpublished.

Remarks: This record was discovered by P.E.D. Nambūdiri and deciphered by the present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. It serves to identify the approximate age of the temple.

No. C. 26

Place: Polpuḻḻy, Palghat. Site of the ruined temple in Ambalapparambu.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 12 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. Reference to Kaḻañcu as well as the script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Cēntan Kuṇran donates 50 Kaḻañcu of gold for Nandāviḷakku and Nivēdyam to Koḷappaḷḷi Tēvar.

Publication: No. 283 of 1959. Unpublished.

Remarks: The record serves to date the temple.

No. C. 27

Place: Karippōḍe, Koḍuvāyūr. Site of ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on three sides. 10 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 11th century. The script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Kaṇṭa Nārāyaṇan of Uḷpāṭṭu Illam, Āḷkōyil, and Putuvāḷ enter into an agreement regarding provision for akanāḻikai expenses.

Publication: No. 459 of 1929. No. 19 of 1966-7 (Kerala). Unpublished.

Remarks: The temple has disappeared completely leaving behind a few scattered stones in the site.

No. **C. 28**

Place: Gōdapuram, Ālathūr. Originally found in the ruined site of a Jain temple along with images. Now transferred to Trichur Archaeological Museum.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 21 lines. Partly Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The Script and language support this inference.

Contents: Jain temple inscription. Nālppatteṇṇāyiravar, two paṭṭakaḷ, the Adhikārar of Tirukkuṇavāyil Tēvar, Patiṉeṭṭu nāṭṭār etc. make arrangements for management of Vaḷañciyar paḷḷi. Those who obstruct its property are to be treated as offenders against Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar and as those committing the five great sins. The last line seems to mention the year in illegible Grantha characters.

Publication: No. 561 of 1908. No. 238 of 1960. Unpublished. See N.G. Unnithan, 'Jain Relics of Ālathūr', *J.I.H.*, XLIV, II, pp. 537-43 for background and photo.

Remarks: This is probably the only Jain stone inscription from the Cēra kingdom proper. The references to 'Nālppatteṇṇāyiravar' (the forty eight thousand), Vaḷañciyar paḷḷi, Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar, etc throw much new light on the early history of Jainism in Kerala.

N0. **C. 29**

Place: Peruvamba. Palghat. South wall of central Shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines (4 + 2 + 1). Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Object not clear. Mentions Ceṭṭikaḷ, Patiṉeṇbhūmi tiśai Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar and Vaḷañciyar, and Rājēndra Cōḷa also.

Publication: No. 402 of 1940; No. 196 of 1943-4; No. 4 of 1967-8 (Kerala). Unpublished.

Remarks: The Madras Epigraphist's report says that it mentions Ceṭṭikaḷ, Patiṉeṇbhūmi tiśai Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar and Vaḷañciyar. The Kerala epigraphist's report says that the record bears a direct reference to Rājēndra Cōḷa. This record indicates the extension of merchant guilds into Kerala in the wake of the Cōḷa invasion of Kerala.

No. **C. 30**

Place: Paṟamban Taḷi. Base of ruined Nālambalam in front of central Śiva shrine.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines? Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C.11th century. Jupiter in Mēṭam. Month of Mithuṉam. The Script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr of Tiruppaṛampil, Ānāyomukku Kōyil, meet unanimously in the reign of Parappūr Pūmitara Rāyirar and create a cankētam. Four 'Cērikkallu' and Cantanamanuccan are set apart as property for the temple. Fine is prescribed for violating rules.

Publication: No. 109 of 1956-7. *T.A.S.*, VIII, p.39. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This record provides a rare instance of 4 Cērikkal properties being jointly handed over to a temple.

No. **C. 31**

Place: Tripṛayār. Wall of the shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines (8 + 3). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C.10th century. Reference to 'Mūḻikkaḷam kaccam and 'kaḻañcu' as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḷ of Tiruppuṛaiyār meet in the presence of Murukanāṭṭu Caṅkaran Kuṛappōḻan and unanimously enter into an agreement making provision for Nandāviḷakku, Nivēccam, Kīḻiṭu, Akkiram etc. Fine prescribed for violation of rules. Mūḻikkaḷaccavattai quoted.

Publication: *R.V.R.I.B.*, IX, II, p. 137. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'irunnu ceyta' in place of 'irineyvetak' in L.2. (Correction by present writer from original stone). This record appears to contain the original endowment of the temple.

No. **C. 32**

Place: Tirukkulaśēkharapuram, Koḍuṅgallūr. Floor of the courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 16 lines. Damaged and incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Eḍavam. Month of Tulām. Ayppiyattiruvōṇam day. The script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist assigns the script approximately to the end of the 12th century but this is untenable.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. The four Taḷis unanimously agree to divide among themselves the revenue from a land called Neytaṛṛalai Mēkkāṭu. Those who quarrel with king's servants or Potuvāḷ shall forfeit their kārāṇmai.

Publication: No. 227 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 791, p. 340. Tamil transliteration. *T.A.S.*, VI, II, pp. 192-3. Tamil transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This unique record establishes the joint administration of Nālu Taḷi or the four temples of the capital and their system of sharing revenue from certain sources. It also highlights the practice of ostracizing offenders with drumbeating and proclamation.

No. **C. 33**

Place: Kīḻtaḷi, Koḍuṅgallūr. Slab originally found in the courtyard of Śiva temple. Transferred to Trichur archaeological museum.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 3 lines. Fragmentary and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. Early part of the 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Refers to the offering of rice and to places like Kanniyūr and Airāṇikkuḷam.

Publication: *A.R.A.D.C.* 1100 ME (1924-25 AD), App. E, No. 36, p. 21. English Summary. *A.R.A.D.C.* 1103 ME (1927-8), p.4.

Remarks: This fragmentary inscription brings out the antiquity of Kīḻtaḷi Śiva temple, one of the four chief Taḷi temples of the capital. It also reveals the connection between this temple and Airāṇikkuḷam Brahmin village.

No. **C. 34**

Place: Chēnnamaṅgalam. Built into the Ardhamaṇḍapa of Kṛṣṇaswāmi temple in Kōṭṭakkōvilakam.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. Early part of the 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paṛaiyūr Ūrār, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple and unanimously fix the amount of ghee payable as rent by a person on behalf of certain plots of land which are leased out to him. The committee agrees to cancel its rights over the land and the settlers there and guarantee that they shall not increase the amount of ghee.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, VI, II, No. 135, pp. 189-90. Tamil transliteration, English translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 75-6. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: This record throws light on the relation between the temple authorities and the temple tenants. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam attributes it to the 9th century and considers it as one of the earlier records of Kerala. However, it is not significantly different in language or script from Kōta Ravi inscriptions and may be attributed to the early part of the 10th century.

No. **C. 35**

Place: Airāṇikkuḷam. Courtyard of Umāmashēśwara temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Grantha for the first two lines and Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha for the rest of the inscription. Language-Sanskrit in the first two lines and Old Malayalam in the remaining portion.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. Jupiter in Kumbham. Month of Vriccika. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Ūr of Tiruvallavāḻ, Ur of Ayirāṇikkuḷam, and the Potuvāḷs of the two Grāmas, meeting at the temple and unanimously deciding to

amalgamate Tiruvallavāḷ, Ayirāṇikkaḷam and Cērakēśwaram temples, their properties, wealth, honour, dishonor and everything else in order to form an 'ēkagrāma' (single village). The Ūrāḷar of both villages are hereafter required to behave accordingly or lose their position and place in the village. Kaitavārattu kaccam is quoted.

Publication: *R.V.R.I.B.*, IX. II, p. 134. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: This is a unique record registering the voluntary amalgamation of two Brahmin settlements. It throws light on the process by which the settlement of Airāṇikkulam, called Girijāgrahāra in the Sanskrit passage, developed into one of the four leading Brahmin settlements with a representative in the Perumāḷ's council. The procedure of the unification called 'ēkagrāmam' is mentioned. Kaitavāram kaccam is brought to light for the first time. The Cērakēśwaram (Jayarāgēśwaram) temple commemorates the Cera king Jayarāga or Vijayarāga.

No. C. 36

Place: Airāṇikkuḷam. Courtyard of Umāmashēśwara temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 9th century. The script and language support this inference. The Govt. epigraphists of Cochin have also placed it in the 9th century. The record may be slightly later than those of Sthāṇu Ravi.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Ūrār of Airāṇikkuḷam meet and unanimously decide to assign certain cērikkal lands for Tiruvārātanai and prescribe the 'irai' for them. Fine and excommunication are prescribed for violation of rules. The author of the resolution is mentioned by name: Nenmeṇimaṅgalattu cuvākara nārāyaṇan

Publication: *R.V.R.I.B.*, IX, II, p. 134. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'puram' in place of 'aram' in L.10. Read 'piḻaiyey' in place of 'piṇayey' in Ll. 12-13. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). The imprecatory portion specifies that offenders shall be considered as those who murdered their upādhyāya (spiritual preceptor) and father and kept the mother as wife.

No. C. 37

Place: Uḷiyannūr. Built into the floor of namaskāra maṇḍapa in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 33 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language –Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Amaicculḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and Kāṇam of gold as well as the script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist assigned this to the 12th century but this is untenable.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāḷ, Amaicculḷuritti Kōyilatikārikaḷ etc. meet in the temple and unanimously make a decision regarding land and tenants in a plot assigned for Nandāviḷakku. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, VII, II, No. 15, p. 98. Tamil transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This fragmentary record serves to prove the antiquity of the temple.

No. **C. 38**

Place: Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi. Half wall of Vātilmāṭam in entrance corridor of temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 12 Lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Gold 'Kaḻaiñcu' is mentioned. Script and language agree with Rāma inscriptions in the same place. Index No. A. 69 and 70.

Contents: Temple Inscription. It records an arrangement by which a person mortgages his land in return for gold from the temple and agrees to pay rice by way of interest for the sum borrowed.

Publication: No. 18 of 1106 ME from Cochin State. *T.A.S.*, VIII, p. 45. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This inscription reveals the gold-paddy ratio. 1 kaḻañcu of gold = 20 Nāḻi of paddy.

No. **C. 39**

Place: Trikkākara. Base of the Cuṟṟumaṇḍapa to the proper right of entrance.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Tulām, month of Kaṉṉi. The Govt. Epigraphist has ascribed this to the 13th century but this is untenable. The script and language are not substantially different from that of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions in the same temple. Gold 'Kaḻaiññu' is also mentioned.

Contents: Temple inscription. While Pōḻan Iravi is governor of the Nāṭu, some persons donate dress and ornaments to the temple.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, No. 45, p. 185. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record gives an example of donation of dress and ornaments to the temple.

No. **C. 40**

Place: Kāmapuram, Ambalappuzha. Base of central shrine of Karumāḍi temple.

Material: Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C.11th century or early 12th century. The script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. States that Putukkōṭṭāttu Iravi Irāmam and Kōtai Iravi constructed the Tirikkōl (sanctum sanctorum).

Publication: No. 58 of 1966. Unpublished.

Remarks: Read 'putukkōṭṭattu' in place of 'arukkōṭṭattu' in L. 1. (Correction by the present writer from estampage in Govt. Epigraphist's office, Mysore). This is one of the few records to give the name of one who caused the construction of a shrine.

No. **C. 41**

Place: Tiruvanmaṇḍūr. Base of the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines, each of them spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century, Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka, Month of Vriccika. Reference to Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ, Mūḷikkaḷam rules, Kaḷaiññu of gold, as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Kuraṭṭikkāṭṭu Etiran kaviran purchases land and donates it to Tiruvanmaṇḍūr Ūrār for Nandāviḷakku and the Ūrār entrust it to five Kaṇattār who are named here. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Mūḷikkaḷam rule is quoted. Naṉṟuḷanāṭṭu Munnūṟṟuvar are appointed for supervision.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, No. 9, pp. 31-3. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record throws light on the functions of the Kaṇattār in a temple.

No. **C. 42**

Place: Perunna. South base of central shrine of temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Kaṉṉi. Month of Kaṉṉi. Sunday. Aśwati nakṣatra. References to 'Kaḻaiññu' and 'Kāṇam' of gold as well as the script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Tirunāḷkkaṇattār and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple and unanimously accept land from a person on condition that he and his descendants are appointed as tenants in perpetuity. The land originally belonged to Āticcan Kōtai, governor of Muññināṭu, who mortgaged it to the present owner as surety for a loan of paddy. This land is now given to the temple for Brahmin feeding on ten festival days. Therefore a provision is incorporated to the effect that in case the original loan is repaid and the land taken back by Āticcan Kōtai, the Ūrāḷar must invest that amount in another land and nominate the present owner as their tenant again. If the tenant or his descendants withdraw from the commitments, the land is to be cultivated by the Kaṇattār and Potuvāḷ themselves. Fine is prescribed for offences. Etiran Kaviran and his women and children are taken under the protection of the temple committee.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, V, No. II, pp. 34-7. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record reveals a complicated situation which throws light on the motives of persons who made land-gifts to temples. In this case the donor is surrendering land which was mortgaged to him by the governor of a province for a huge loan. The difficulty in getting repayment anticipated by the creditor, or his fear of a political magnate, seems to have prompted him to seek the protection of the temple.

No. **C. 43**

Place: Kumāranallūr. North wall of Nālambalam of Bhagavai temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Kaṉṉi. References to Mūḷikkaḷattoḻukkam, Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ, and 'Kaḻaiññu' of gold as well as the script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist says that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the 13th century but this is untenable.

Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Ūr of Kumāranallūr meet in temple and unanimously make certain rules and regulations prohibiting quarrels and violence in temple precincts and aggression against tenants and prescribing fine for Brahmin and Śūdra offenders separately. Mūḻikkaḷattoḻukkam is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, No. 49, pp. 191-6. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record throws light on criminal laws and the relation between Brahmin Ūrāḷar and the Śūdra settlers in their village.

No. **C. 44**

Place: Nāvāykkuḷam, Āṟṟiṅgal. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Slab with writing on both sides. 25 lines (14 + 11). Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Mūḻikkaḷacavattai, kaḻeñcu, and the script and language support the inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Ēṟānāṭṭu Kumaran Kaṇṭan donates gold for Tiruviḷakku for Nāvākkuḷattu Tēvar. Regulations for pāṭṭam are specified. Mūḻikkaḷacavattai is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, VI, I, No. 68, p. 83. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The donation of Tiruviḷakku at Āṟṟiṅgal in South Kerala by a resident of Ēṟānāṭu in North Kerala suggests that probably the man from the North was there on his way to the battle-field where the Cēra army confronted the invading Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya forces.

No. **C. 45**

Place: Tirunandikkara. Pillar of the rock-cut cave temple.

Material: Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. 40 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḻuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. Reference to Mūḻikkaḷacavattai as well as the script support this inference. The Government Epigraphist assigned this to the latter half of the 8th or the first part of the 9th century on the basis of the script but he seems to have been misled by the cave site. In fact, this and the other inscriptions referring to Cōḷa king Rājarāja's invasion, (*T.A.S.*, I, No. XVI, E, pp. 291-2) and 'Kalam aṟukkal' (*T.A.S.*, III, No. 54, pp. 200-3 and *T.A.S.*, III, No. 56, p. 206) in the cave temple exhibit the same characteristics of script and must be attributed to the same period, i.e., close of the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century.

Contents: Temple inscription. Maṅgalaccēri Nārāyaṇan Civākaran makes land gift to Tirunandikkarai Paṭārar for Cāntippuṟam, Uvaccakaḷ, Kōyil Uṭaiyār, Paliyari, Tuṭaikkumavar and Nandāviḷakku. Mūḻikkaḷacavattai is quoted.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, III, No. 55, pp. 203-6. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Mūḻikkaḷacavattai' in place of 'Mūḻikkaḷakacca-' in L.39. This record shows the southern extension of the authority of Mūḻikkaḷacavattai to Tirunandikkara, formerly part of Āy territory, probably on the eve of Cōḷa Rājarāja's invasion.

Index

A

Abdul Rahiman Sāmiri 132,146
Abhiṣēkanāma 19, 156, 412
Abu Zaid 237, 344
Abul Fea 160
Ācāri 274, 275, 294, 412
Acci 351
Accu 381, 412
Achutha Menon 33, 39,54, 222
Adhikāran (also Adhikāri) 175, 184, 412
Adhikārar 192, 219,435,437, 495
Adhikārikaḷ 210, 248, 447, 456
Adhikṛta prāsāda 151, 412
Adhirājarāja 155
Āditya 19, 49, 63, 65, 72, 78, 79, 96, 97, 111, 155, 165, 363, 372, 388, 436, 466
Ādityan Kōta 71-3, 125, 150, 156, 190, 466 -7
Ādiyula 48, 382, 399
Afras 296
Agnivamśa (also Agnikula) 157, 185, 412
Ahichatra 90, 103, 285, 286
Aihōḷe 90, 103, 371
Ainūṟṟuvar 103
Airāṇikkuḷam 110, 218, 286, 346, 497, 498
Akampaṭi 131,232, 233, 234, 300, 412
Akattaṭikkumavar 312
Akkāraṭalai 267, 274, 412
Akkiram 164, 201, 212, 244, 249, 257, 266, 268, 276, 288, 324, 328, 347, 363, 412, 438, 446, 447-9, 484, 496
Akṣamāla 368, 412
Āḷ 223, 276, 277, 295, 325, 412
Al Idrisi 160, 221
Āḷakku 23, 307, 325
Āḷakōyil 157, 412
Alberuni 160
Āḷkāśu 240, 241
Āḷupa 17, 20, 42, 51, 104, 117, 131, 136, 155, 222, 227, 274, 286, 424, 483
Āḷvār 48, 49, 77, 152, 158, 330, 346, 383, 384, 400, 401, 412, 461, 462, 491
Amaiyamaṅgalattu Yakkan Cāttan 184
Amarabhujaṅga 116, 117
Amātya 165, 176
Āṉai accu 305, 323, 412
Añcaikkaḷam 152, 346
Añcuvaṇṇam 23, 152,168, 182, 192, 193, 205, 206, 207, 235, 240, 241, 251, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 284, 296, 297, 303, 314, 317, 412, 435, 437, 451
Aṅgāḍi 207
Añjumān 278, 297
Aññūṟṟuvar 177, 183, 236, 412
Antarāḷa 272, 412
Āntōḷakam 281
Apabhramśa bhāṣa 381, 412
Aṟam 219
Arantai 146, 163, 212, 244, 245, 258, 412, 467, 468
Arippon 242
Arthaśāstra 21-2, 80, 124, 236-7, 239, 241-2, 246, 252, 254, 256-8, 287, 292, 295, 324, 432
Aṟunūṟṟuvar 163, 177, 184, 185-6, 189, 192, 206, 231, 234-6, 247, 249, 252, 340, 412, 437, 458, 465, 469, 482-3, 489-91
Aryan settlements 16, 91, 103, 139, 157, 158, 162, 208, 245, 271
Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi 47, 387, 403, 404, 426
Āścaryamañjari 48, 56, 383, 387, 388, 403
Aśōkan edicts 150
Astronomy 16, 26, 47, 272, 390, 391, 392, 393
Āticcan Kōtai 72, 318, 466, 500
Aṭikaḷ 154, 412
Aṭimai 241, 413
Āṭṭaikkōḷ 163, 164, 180, 212, 244, 245, 257, 258, 360, 413, 454, 467, 470
Aṭṭippēṟu 322, 331
Atula 18, 26, 46, 178, 180, 197, 286, 391, 409, 426
Āvaṭṭiputtūr 159, 208-9, 224, 226, 228, 249, 259, 263, 286, 439-40, 481
Āyiram 85, 127, 130, 143-4, 152, 163, 231-4, 238, 250, 300, 413, 469

Ayirūr temple 211, 249
Ayyan Aṭikaḷ 65, 79, 107, 164, 383, 435, 437

B

Bādāmi 95, 105, 371
Bālacaritam 387
Bālaganēśa 167, 374
Bālakrīḍēśwara 102, 151, 152, 153
Bali 119, 217,242, 347,413, 438
Baliapaṭṭam 180, 196
Banavāsi 90,110, 252
Benjamin 160
Bhakti movement 16, 24, 48, 49, 350, 372
Bhārata 285, 348, 386
Bhārataguru 348, 386
Bhārgava 16, 76, 120, 121, 264, 285, 291
Bhāṣākauṭalīyam 27, 165, 176, 206, 221, 239-42, 252, 325, 381, 399, 427, 429
Bhāskara I 390, 408
Bhāskara Ravi (Manukulāditya) 19-20, 35, 40, 43, 45-6, 56, 63-4, 67- 70, 76-7, 81-4, 88, 111, 114, 116, 119, 121, 123-4, 135, 138, 140-1, 146, 155, 163-4, 168, 171, 174-5, 178, 180-1, 183-6, 189-90, 193, 214, 224, 233, 235-6, 240, 245, 274, 277, 279, 284, 297, 301, 308-9, 314, 324, 326, 344, 351, 377, 378, 386, 446-60, 467, 470-2, 478, 481, 486, 499
Bhāskarapura 207, 240, 241, 313, 470
Bhaṭasthali 180, 196, 392
Bhaṭṭa 54, 265, 332, 348, 362, 413, 420
Bhaṭṭāraka (also Bhaṭāra) 64, 93, 155, 413, 420, 435
Bhukti 201, 413, 422
Bhūta sankya 390, 391, 408
Bhūtagaṇa 372, 413
Brahadbhāskarīya 390, 408
Brahmakṣatra 263, 413
Brahmasvam 23, 210, 212, 214, 236, 246, 249, 265, 317, 331, 332, 379, 413, 441, 479, 480
Brahmin Settlements 15, 18, 20, 36, 54, 92, 104, 111-2, 153, 162, 174, 187, 208-9, 214-5, 217-20, 225, 244, 250, 262-5, 269, 271, 273, 277, 287, 288, 304, 321, 345-6, 382, 423, 481, 488, 498
Buddhists 338, 340, 380, 393, 417
Burnell 17, 32, 43, 58, 78, 82, 86, 198, 278, 358, 398, 428

C

Cākkai (also Cākyār) 272, 351, 352, 363, 364, 413
Cakṛavartikaḷ 72, 73, 125, 127, 151, 413, 466, 468, 469, 470
Cālai 413, 415
Cālukya 15, 17, 25, 51, 84, 89, 90-1, 93, 95, 103-5, 117, 135, 262, 264, 286, 366, 369, 371, 374-6, 379, 391, 395, 402
Candrāditya kula 107, 305, 413
Candravamśa 107, 157, 413
Caṅgātam 21, 234, 250, 251, 258, 413
Caṅgāti 233, 413
Cānrān 242, 255-6, 413
Canter Visscher 31, 37, 172
Caram 281, 283, 413
Catira Śikhāmaṇi 159, 445
Caṭṭar (also Cāttirar) 24, 135, 170, 268, 274, 285, 348--50, 361-2, 414, 445, 447, 501
Cāttirakkaḷi 350, 362, 414
Caturāṇaṇa Paṇḍita 100, 112
Cavattai 215, 227, 414, 416, 422, 423, 441
Cave architecture 367
Cāvēr 21, 126, 238, 253, 414
Cēkaṇḍi 352, 414
Cēkkiḻār 46, 49, 57, 60, 92, 105, 156, 166, 170, 172, 234, 251, 399, 427
Cellūr 46, 104, 180, 182, 196
Ceṅgaṉṉūr 192, 208, 263, 286, 387, 404
Cēnnan Tāyan 191, 212, 215, 248, 466
Cērakēśvaram 110, 218, 230
Cēraḷan Mātēviyar 71, 149, 166, 462
Cēraḷar 129, 144, 400
Cēramān 31, 38, 51, 53, 60, 74, 86, 101, 104, 129, 131, 134, 149, 150, 152, 166, 238, 344, 345, 346, 392, 414, 416, 485
Cēramān Paḷḷi 153
Cēramān Paṛambu 58, 89, 151,159, 168
Cēramān Perumāḷ 31-3, 37-8, 49, 52-4, 59, 74-5, 89, 91-2, 105, 129, 133, 144-5, 151, 154, 177, 196, 263, 316, 344, 359, 375, 382, 399, 427
Cēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār 19, 26, 38, 46, 48, 49, 54, 89, 92, 93, 94, 102, 149, 152, 156, 158, 234, 346, 363, 382, 399, 427
Cēramān Sword 133, 146
Cēramānār 66, 71, 73, 75, 79, 94, 106, 107, 125, 129, 144, 149, 150, 437, 442, 470, 485
Cēranāṭu 122
Cēras 11, 15, 17-9, 26, 33, 35-6, 40, 42-4, 46, 48, 52, 63, 67, 71, 75, 77, 80-1, 84, 88-90, 92-9, 101, 104-9, 114-6, 118-20, 122, 124-7, 129, 145, 150-1, 156-7, 159-60, 171-3, 177-8, 182-4, 191, 193, 259, 303-6, 354, 380-1, 393, 395, 427

Cērikkal 21, 159, 216, 217, 218, 220, 228, 229, 236, 239, 248, 249, 250, 259, 270, 276, 316, 318, 353, 414, 439, 453, 456, 458, 469, 483, 496, 498
Ceṟumar 276, 292, 414
Ceṭṭi 221, 273, 298, 314, 323, 329, 342, 414 431, 495,
Chitṟāḷ 25, 341, 342, 343, 357, 367, 369, 393
Cilappatikāram 24, 32, 38, 88, 136, 166, 250, 258, 279, 290, 291, 337, 340, 341, 443, 350, 351, 354, 356, 363, 426, 429, 465
Ciṅgapuram taḷi 152, 153, 162
Cochin State Manual 39, 41, 54, 176, 222, 290, 291, 293, 295, 301, 302, 326, 430
Cōkiram 25, 85, 111, 131, 164, 200, 208, 210, 217, 223, 229, 262, 270, 286, 288, 335, 345, 359, 362, 366, 371-2, 376-7, 393, 441, 491, 492
Cōkkūr 80, 214, 226, 246, 269, 287, 291, 310, 314, 335, 347, 351, 359, 371, 373, 376, 438
Cōḷa 15, 17-20, 23, 25, 28, 34-6, 42, 44-6, 49-51, 54, 59, 63, 65-6, 68-71, 73, 76, 78-84, 86, 88, 95-104, 107-9, 111-2, 114-29, 133-6, 138, 139-43, 146, 149-50, 154-6, 158-61, 163, 166, 171-2, 174, 178, 180-3, 186-7, 189, 191-8, 200-1, 203-4, 218, 222, 225, 238, 242-5, 252-3, 265-6, 272, 285, 288, 291-2, 298, 304-9, 314-6, 322-4, 326-31, 335, 337, 339, 349-51, 354, 356-8, 361, 366, 371-5, 377-80, 395-6, 399, 400, 410, 424, 428, 432, 436-7, 442, 452, 455-6, 460-5, 470, 472, 481, 495, 501
Cōḷa architecture 372, 374
Cōḷa -Cēra conflict 115, 125
Cōḷa temples 50, 373, 428
Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya invasion 20, 245
Cōḷapuram 74, 128, 142, 144, 203, 323, 369, 372
Cōḷas of Tanjore 95, 96, 97
Cōḷika 316
Commander of the fort 207
Cosmas Indikopleustes 75
Curṟṟampalam 51, 367, 370, 414, 418, 442

D

Daṇḍa (Taṇḍam) 118, 182, 198, 368, 414
Daṇḍin 16, 48, 270, 289, 385, 405
Daśarūpaka 389, 407
Daśavargika 414
Deccan 15, 21, 80, 95, 97-8, 177, 188, 194-5, 202, 225, 262, 286-7, 292, 298, 370-1, 390-1, 413
Dēvadānam 349, 414
Dēvadāsi 58, 313, 350, 363, 382, 414, 422
Dēvasvam 23, 210, 212, 214, 222, 223, 236, 249, 317, 379, 414, 441, 492
Dēvīdēvēśvaram 192, 208, 209, 213, 359 371, 375, 480
Dhanañjayam 405, 406
Diogo de Couto 31, 302, 303
Dravidian 15, 17, 24, 27-8, 103, 155, 157, 161, 222, 246, 250, 255, 272,-74, 277, 291,-2, 300, 428, 430
Duarte Barbosa 31, 36, 146, 292, 294, 428
Dutch 21, 31, 38, 78, 81, 123, 146, , 251, 280, 301, 429
Dvārapāla 25, 415

E

Eḍakal 103, 183
Eḍatrāḷpāḍ 415
Ēkagrāma 218,379, 415, 498
Eḷamkuḷam (P.N. Kunhan Pillai) 12, 16-9, 28, 35-6, 39-40, 43-4, 54-6, 58-9, 64, 77-87, 102, 104, 106-8, 110, 112, 115, 135, 140, 143-4, 167, 169, 171-3, 175, 195, 197, 204, 222-3, 225, 227, 250-57, 287, 292, 294, 297, 299, 300, 319, 324, 325, 327, 333-5, 354-5, 360-1, 363, 397-9, 402, 404, 407, 409, 425, 427, 430, 435-38, 442, 445-6, 448-56, 458-9, 465-68, 474-5, 479, 485, 497
Ēḷimala 56, 98, 110, 122, 123, 178, 180, 182, 195, 196, 214, 226, 279, 408, 475, 483
Ellis 17, 32, 81
Eḷunnūṟṟuvar 194, 199, 233, 415
Emperumān 312, 415
Ēṇikkāṇam 241, 242, 275, 415
Eṇṇāḷippaṛa 307, 308, 415, 473
Ēṟāḷanāṭu (Ēṟānāṭu) 20, 86, 130-1, 141, 146, 159, 163, 184-5, 193, 200, 234, 272, 423, 451, 465, 469, 486, 490, 501
Eramam 19, 56, 82, 123, 138, 140, 141, 168, 175, 180, 181, 287, 314, 359, 454, 472, 481
Ēṟāṭi 184, 415

F

Francis Buchanan 32, 38, 290, 295, 322, 428
Francis Day 32, 38
Friar Jordanus 160, 173

G

Gaṇa 191, 273, 318, 320, 332, 333, 335, 415, 416
Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram temple 369, 372
Gaṅgas 28, 35, 46, 98, 103, 154, 222, 253
Ghaṭaka 162, 263, 415
Ghaṭika 23, 29, 78,

Ghūrṇita 379, 397, 415
Gopinatha Rao 28, 34, 43, 45, 55-6, 76-9, 81-4, 86, 107-10, 135, 155, 175, 197, 221-3, 228, 254, 256, 258, 278, 281, 294, 296, 324, 354, 356-8, 361, 369, 394, 396, 397, 426, 451, 474-5
Gōpura 25, 51, 152, 195, 196, 371, 373, 415
Gōtramallēśvara 151, 153, 167
Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa 68, 69, 123, 244, 449, 450
Grāmakṣētra 415, 473
Granthavaris 32, 52, 145
Gundert 17, 32, 38, 53, 58, 60, 77, 78, 82, 102, 144, 171, 174, 175, 198, 242, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 278, 281, 294, 398, 427, 429, 435

H

Haider Ali 177
Hijera 37, 74, 130, 132, 144, 485
Hindu scriptures 130, 232
Hinduism 23, 336, 339
Hoysaḷa 52, 253, 376
Hultzsch 32, 43, 82, 140, 198, 325, 330, 361, 401

I

Ibn Kurdad Bah 344
Iḷaiyār 217, 436, 441, 442, 443, 461, 472, 491, 492
Īḻavar 207, 221, 241, 242, 256, 275, 277, 294, 340, 415, 422
Indu Kōta (also Indēśvaran Kōta) 63, 67-8, 76-7, 81-2, 101, 104, 114, 150, 174, 186-8, 190, 215, 224, 333, 343-47, 349, 376, 443-49, 457, 476-8, 482
Interest 309, 420
Iṟai 242, 325, 415, 465
Irāmakuṭa Mūvar 82, 122, 140, 141
Irāmar 72, 133, 466
Iravi Nīli 66, 100, 161, 158, 437, 442
Iravucōr 242
Irāyiran Śiriyan alias Kulaśēkhara Nambi 315
Iriññālakkuḍa 263, 286, 288, 359, 371, 402, 436, 470, 481
Irunnalakōḍe 25, 367, 368, 393, 397
Irupatteḻuvar 209, 439, 440
Īśāna II Mūṣaka 97, 110-11, 119, 173, 178, 180, 392
Islam 20, 24, 31,37, 38, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 144, 146, 232, 263, 336, 343-345, 485
Iṭaiyīṭu 219, 463
Iṭaṅgaḻi 307, 308, 309, 415
Iṭupati 281, 282, 415

J

Jains 340, 341, 342, 354, 380, 417
Jaṭāmakuṭa 368, 415
Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva 66, 442
Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha 125, 126
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 71, 462-64
Jayamāni 46, 56, 181, 195, 208, 392, 481
Jayarāga 45, 46, 66, 97, 98, 110, 170, 173, 178, 180, 195 , 298,498
Jayarātēśwara 153
Jewish Copperplate 171, 452
Jews 22, 24, 32, 133, 146, 163, 182, 192, 277-8, 280, 283-4, 297-8, 316, 343, 412, 452
Jīvitam 313, 328, 416

K

Kaccam 162, 180, 230, 414, 416, 462, 473, 480, 483, 490
Kadamba 15, 90, 95-6, 103, 108, 110, 135, 157, 172, 183, 198, 199, 362, 437
Kaitavārattu Kaccam 216, 218, 498
Kākaḻam 281, 282, 416
Kaḻakam 162, 263, 415
Kalam 23, 190, 208, 212, 243-5, 257-8, 265, 274, 307-10, 313, 318-9, 326-8, 349, 361, 416, 453, 483, 501
Kaḻañcu (also Kaḻañju) 23, 165, 246,249, 296 305-6, 309-10, 314-5, 323-5, 416, , 437, 478, 483, 486, 488, 489, 494
Kaḷarippayaṟṟu 274
Kalaśa 372, 416
Kalhaṇa 45, 253, 323, 391-2,407,409-10
Kali era 32, 42, 74, 78, 80, 144,180,390, 416, 438
Kāḷidāsa 26, 56, 386, 387, 388, 402, 404, 405
Kalivākya 32, 38, 53, 144, 399, 408, 416
Kaliyugarāyan paṇam 322
Kālkkarai nāṭu 141, 186, 187, 188, 193, 201, 249, 269, 319, 446, 447, 457, 477, 478, 481, 482
Kallil 24, 25, 341, 343, 367, 369, 393
Kammāḷar 221, 274, 282, 283, 293
Kaṇam 23, 208, 273, 320, 332, 334, 352, 353, 415, 416
Kāṇam 23, 306, 310-1, 313, 317-8, 320-1, 325, 331-2, 334, 353, 415-6, 486, 488, 489, 498
Kaṇattār 211, 353, 458, 500
Kaṇṇan Poṟaiyan 187, 188, 201, 269, 319, 325, 446, 447, 448, 478
Kāntaḷūr Śālai 98, 115-17, 122, 127, 128, 135-6, 349, 350, 362

Kāntaḷūr Śālai Kalamaṛutta 115, 135
Kaṇṭan Kāri 19, 45, 56, 119, 138, 140-1, 180, 181, 454, 455
Kaṇṭan Kumaran 189, 191, 201, 204, 206, 207, 266, 328, 332, 352, 468, 482, 483
Kāntarpikar 313, 328, 351, 352, 416, 439
Kappam 239, 416
Kārāḷar 206, 212, 214, 276, 317, 319, 331
Karaṇam 397, 416
Kārāṇmai 23, 202, 203, 211, 221, 246, 258, 317, 318, 320, 332, 333, 416, 496
Karunantaṭakkan 97, 107, 109-11, 135, 286, 288, 474
Karūr 15, 16, 19, 67, 80, 89, 90, 93, 94, 96, 101, 104, 109, 150, 151, 305, 306, 340
Kāśu (also Kācu)129, 241,305, 306, 323, 324, 416, 419, 452, 470
Kaṭam (also Kaṭan) 416
Kātam 131, 132
Kaṭamai 246, 258, 334, 416
Kāval 236, 416
Kāvalvirutti 416
Kaviyūr 25, 214, 215, 226, 247, 263, 269, 286, 346, 347, 359, 367, 368, 371, 393, 394, 476, 477
Kēraḷādhinātha 150, 153, 170, 335
Kēraḷakulacūḍāmaṇi 150, 153,
Kēraḷamāhātmyam 32
Kēraḷavamśa 92, 105, 166
Kēraḷavamśapradīpa 150
Kēraḷōlpatti 18, 20, 22, 312, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 58, 59-60, 86, 89, 90-2, 102-4, 112, 129-133, 139, 144-5 146, 149, 152-4, 158, 160, 162, 166, 173-4, 177, 182, 184, 186-7, 194, 196, 198, 200, 210, 225, 232, 239, 262, 264, 272, 281-2, 285, 289, 299, 316, 359, 402, 427, 485, 487, 488
Kielhorn 87, 117, 136, 297, 478
Kiḻān Aṭikaḷ 66, 96-100, 109, 158, 159, 266, 416, 437, 442, 445, 472
Kīḻīṭu 23, 318, 322, 333, 353, 440, 452, 465
Kīḻmalaināṭu 99, 132, 141, 185, 189, 190, 191, 204, 234, 236, 266, 272, 352, 482, 483
Kīḻśānti 247,311, 313, 417
Kīḻtaḷi 25, 152, 153, 162, 174, 169, 263, 287 374, 375, 497
Kiṇālūr 74, 170, 198, 236, 287, 308, 327, 335, 341, 343, 484
Koḍuṅgallūr 5, 11, 15, 35, 51, 54, 88-9, 100-2, 105, 110, 118, 121, 130, 138, 144-5, 152-3, 168-70, 222, 232-3, 240-1, 250, 263, 277, 281-4, 302, 313, 315, 345, 401, 465, 496
Kōkasandēśam 151, 152, 153, 154, 167, 168, 171, 174, 188, 201, 341, 357, 393, 427, 431
Kōlam 46, 75, 87, 178, 180, 195, 196, 330
Kōlattunāṭu 84, 118, 122, 123, 131, 141, 178, 180, 183, 193, 195, 196, 214, 266, 272, 316, 345, 355, 410, 454, 455, 464, 481, 485, 486
Kollam 19-20, 24, 31, 42, 51, 56, 63, 69, 73-9, 83, 85-88, 94, 102, 107, 112, 118, 125-7, 130, 132, 134, 138, 142-44, 146, 154, 158, 163, 164, 171, 173, 191-4, 200, 202, 205, 207, 231, 235, 240-1, 245, 255, 257, 275, 277-81, 283-4, 287, 302-3, 308, 313-4, 316, 322, 329-31, 343-46, 348, 351, 359, 390, 393, 409, 417, 435--7, 439, 442-3, 448, 460, 467-70, 478-80
Kollam Era 74, 87
Kolli Kāvalan 155, 384
Koṅgu 16, 19, 49, 65, 67, 71, 79, 80, 81, 90-97, 98, 99, 107, 108, 111, 117, 122, 136, 143, 155, 185, 304, 305, 323, 343, 359, 424
Kōta Kōta 67, 80, 114, 150, 323, 443
Kōta Kōta Kēraḷa Kēsari 67
Kōta Ravi 19, 35, 63-7, 76-7, 81, 97, 114, 159, 164, 186, 189, 197, 202, 214, 217, 224, 226, 229, 268-70, 291, 308, 347, 351, 379, 437-443, 465, 491-2, 497
Koṭṭi 348, 365, 417, 422
Kōyil (also Kōil) 144, 164, 165, 175-6, 200, 246, 247, 248, 368, 400, 417, 437, 441, 442, 447, 448, 449, 449, 460, 461, 463, 465, 467, 470, 477, 486, 489, 491, 492, 496, 498, 501
Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ 11, 44, 65, 71, 157, 164, 165, 175, 176, 190, 194, 211, 212, 244, 245, 247, 248, 275, 325, 345, 417, 437, 442, 448, 449, 459, 460, 463, 467, 470, 498
Kōyil manuccar 253, 257, 417
Krishna Ayar K. V 38, 60, 112, 146, 194, 199, 200, 221, 228, 250, 254, 259, 294, 295, 298, 360, 454
Krishna Menon T. K. 33, 34, 39, 102, 222, 250, 291
Kṛṣṇa I Akālavarṣa 107, 155
Kṛṣṇadēvarāya 53, 59, 104
Kṣatriya 20, 21, 22, 25, 91, 131, 156-160, 163, 164, 175, 178, 180, 183, 185, 189, 190, 192, 193, 211, 233, 263, 270, 272, 277, 289, 290, 292, 294, 381, 385, 412,

Kulapuri 102, 135, 152, 393
Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār 18, 19, 26, 38, 47, 48, 49, 56, 76, 77, 84, 155, 171, 315, 346, 359, 381, 383, 388, 389, 400, 426, 427, 461, 491
Kulaśēkhara Varma 24, 26, 48, 76, 77, 166, 172, 381, 403, 426
Kulottuṅga 20, 46, 86, 117, 125, 126, 127, 128, 135, 142, 143, 166, 192, 253, 288, 427
Kuṇavāyanallūr 387, 484
Kunnalakkōn 53, 185, 417, 421
Kūpaka 31, 98, 123, 128, 131, 141
Kuṟumpoṟai nāṭu 106, 178, 183, 184, 194, 233, 234, 235, 236, 272
Kuṟumpuṟai Perumtaṭṭān 184, 213, 275
Kuṭakkūttu 377, 378, 417
Kuṭanāḻi 243, 255, 417
Kuṭanāṭu 139, 151
Kuṭavūr 202, 218, 229, 258, 259, 265, 334
Kuṭikaḷ 221, 276, 289, 317, 318, 439
Kuṭimai 23, 229, 249, 317
Kuṭipati 193, 202, 245, 417, 420
Kutiraccetṭikaḷ 315, 323
Kūṭiyāṭṭam 24, 56, 338, 351, 352, 363, 364, 382, 387, 389, 392, 417, 423
Kūṭṭam 131, 238, 251, 353, 417, 422
Kūttampalam 364, 373, 382, 396, 417
Kūttikaḷ 351
Kūttu 267, 274, 351, 353, 363, 417, 450, 469, 484

L

Laghubhāskarīya Vyākhya 65, 88, 390, 426

M

Ma Huan 75, 87, 221, 330
Māḍāyi 144, 182, 344, 345, 485
Mādēvi 95, 266, 293, 308, 326, 418
Madhurāntaka 120
Mahābhārata 58, 91, 211, 245, 258, 272, 285, 321, 335, 348, 360, 364, 383, 386-89, 404, 410, 418
Mahājana 209, 224, 418, 420
Mahāmāgha 131, 145, 186, 200, 418
Mahāvīra 341, 342, 369
Mahōdayapura, 15-6, 26, 35, 47-8, 51, 65, 102, 151, 153, 155, 158, 207, 383, 389, 391
Malabar 31-33, 35-42, 50, 54, 57-60, 81-2, 85, 103, 119, 132, 144, 146, 167, 171, 172, 197-200, 221, 228, 239, 251, 253, 255, 278, 290, 292, 295, 297, 302, 303, 308, 316, 322, 327, 329, 331, 333, 344, 358, 395, 428-30, 438, 451, 485
Malaiyāḷan 99, 187,
Malik Ibn Habib 345
Māḷuvakkōn 99, 189, 204, 206, 266, 328, 332, 334, 352, 364, 365, 482, 483
Māmallapuram 371
Māmpaḷḷi copper plates 73, 192, 218, 450, 479, 480
Mānavikṛama 130, 163, 184, 185, 294, 469
Mānaviyata 163, 185, 486
Maṇigrāmam 23, 192, 205-208, 222, 240, 241, 278-81, 296
Maṇimēkhala (also Maṇimēkhalai) 32, 291, 350, 426
Maṇṇān (Vaṇṇān) 275, 294, 297, 418
Mannarkōyil 71, 82, 84, 121, 400, 461, 462-65
Manukulādiccamaṅgalam 116, 123, 378
Manukulāditya 19, 45, 48, 68, 70, 81, 84, 114, 123, 135, 157, 172, 266, 308, 385, 386, 403, 453, 454, 472
Māpāratam 163, 212, 245, 258, 348, 360, 418, 455, 456, 467
Mār Sāpir Īśō 65, 86, 94, 192, 205, 275, 277, 278, 283, 296, 303, 314, 317, 383, 423, 436, 437
Māṟavarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 71, 464
Marcopolo 160, 221, 238
Marumakkattāyam 292, 418
Masudi 344
Matilnāyakan 205
Mecca 31, 36, 37, 129, 134, 144, 232, 263, 316, 485
Mēnippon 242
Muciri 15, 88-91, 102, 104, 151, 240, 301, 452
Mukhamaṇḍapa 299, 370, 418
Mukkālvaṭṭam 175, 212, 229-30, 259, 332, 418
Mukundamāla 49, 57, 272, 315, 383, 384, 400, 401, 426
Mulai vilai 243, 276
Mūḻikkaḷam 21, 24, 54, 57, 84, 98, 111, 135, 153, 162, 169, 180, 208, 214-5, 219, 226, 263, 286, 346, 349, 377, 438, 441, 445, 446, 461, 476, 496, 500
Mūḻikkaḷam kaccam 214-16,220, 264, 287, 445, 453, 478-9, 486, 488, 496
Muñṇimarāyar 190, 203-4, 266
Muñṇināṭu 132, 190, 193, 204, 249, 259, 266, 318, 333, 500
Munnūṟṟuvar 177-8, 183, 185, 191, 194, 203, 232, 234-6, 250, 252, 444-5, 454, 458, 479, 483-4, 489-90, 500
Mūṣaka Kingdom 45
Mūṣakaparvata 178, 195

Mūṣakavamśakāvya (also Mūṣakavamśa) 19, 26, 34, 36, 40, 45-6, 55, 66, 97, 110, 160, 172, 176, 178, 180, 195, 197, 286, 336-338, 345, 347, 391, 409-10, 426, 455, 475, 476, 481, 484
Muslim 24, 31, 37, 86, 129, 133, 144, 153, 170, 196, 221, 274, 280, 292, 298, 316, 343, 344, 359, 380, 398, 419, 460, 485
Mūvaraśar 157
Mūvāyiravar 232, 484
Muyirikkōḍe 88, 90, 146, 152, 277, 281, 451, 452

N

Nagam Ayya 144, 174, 291, 301, 322
Nagara (also Nakaram) 19, 21, 89, 192, 196, 205-8, 220-1, 229, 239, 250, 255, 258, 277, 291, 293, 311, 313, 316-7, 321, 327, 329-30, 358, 460, 470
Nakarattār 321
Nālāyiraprabhandam 49, 384
Nāḷi 23, 164, 209, 216-7, 243, 249, 259, 307-13, 325-28, 351, 364, 417, 422, 460, 499
Naḷōdaya 48, 72, 85, 426, 466
Nālpaṅku 229, 347, 418, 493
Nālu Taḷi 20, 54, 73, 85, 88-9, 102, 127, 152, 158, 174, 207, 212, 219-20, 231-2, 245, 250, 264, 374, 467-69, 496
Nāṉādēśikaḷ 23, 152, 168, 181, 197, 222, 314, 419
Nāñcināṭu 128, 129
Naṅgacci 24, 348, 351, 419, 447, 456
Naṅgai 351, 419
Naṉṉan of Ēḻimalai 178, 195
Nanṛuḻaināṭu 68, 123, 132, 141, 164, 177, 187, 190-1, 193-4, 203, 211, 234-5, 244, 352, 444, 449-51, 458-9, 466
Nāṭṭār 209, 223, 224, 419, 420, 447, 456, 458
Nāṭu Uṭaiyavar 177, 419
Nāṭuvāḻi 165, 191, 212, 236, 247, 248, 325, 419
Nāyaka, 221, 274, 291, 292, 419
Nāyar 130-1, 133, 178, 189, 191, 193, 201, 221, 232, 250-2, 267, 270, 273-4, 277, 279, 290, 292-3, 403, 466, 419, 466
Neḍumpuṟam taḷi 63, 66, 73, 76, 80-1, 104, 209, 224, 274, 313, 349, 351, 371-2, 379, 437-442, 444, 447, 456, 468, 499
Neṭiya taḷi 73, 85, 100, 152, 153, 162, 163, 174, 175, 315, 355, 419, 447, 467
Neṭumpuṟaiyūr nāṭu 99, 163, 175, 187-8, 193, 201, 447, 468
Neṭumpuṟaiyūr taḷi 186, 187
Neṭunkālaināṭu 187, 193
Nilakanta Sastri 13, 19, 44, 49, 55, 105, 106-7, 109, 112, 117-8, 123, 140, 141, 143, 220, 223, 361
Niḻal 212, 233, 234, 235, 238, 239, 249, 250, 419, 450, 452, 458, 365
Niḻalōr 235, 465
Niṟaikkūli 241, 255, 309
Nirañjana Guru 100
Nīrāṭṭu paḷḷi 352, 419, 473
Nityaviyārēśvarattu 174, 209, 224, 447
Nūṟṟuvar 193, 234, 236, 238

O

Oḻukkavi 217, 347, 419, 443, 476, 485
Ōṇa nāṭu 131-2
Ōṇa nel 243, 257, 462
Ōṇam 24, 31, 76, 243, 247, 252, 298, 348-9, 351-2, 407, 419, 436, 443, 462, 473, 482, 490, 496
Onnukuṟai Āyiram 232, 233
Ōṭanāṭu 160
Oṭṭakkūttan 46, 142, 166, 427

P

Padmanabha Menon K. P. 33, 38-9, 59, 60, 87, 194, 196, 198, 222, 235, 254, 289
Padmapādācāryacarita 385, 402
Paiñcakkaṇṭiyum 255, 423
Pakalviḻakku 281, 282, 299
Pākūṭam 241, 255, 281
Paḻamkāśu 306, 460
Pāliyam Plates 110, 164, 202,
Pallava(s) 16-7, 25, 28, 35, 49, 54, 57, 64, 79, 80, 89-95, 101, 103-108, 135, 156-7, 171-2, 194, 238, 243, 270, 293, 325, 335, 351, 356, 362, 364, 366-69, 372, 374. 376, 379-80, 385, 387, 393-98, 403, 415, 424, 430
Paḷḷimār 338, 339
Paḷḷittāmam 311, 313, 419, 443, 484
Paḷḷivāṇa Perumāḷ 339, 356
Paḷḷiyār 205, 206, 276
Pañcamaśabda 266, 352, 419, 473
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam 126
Pāṇḍya-Cēra wars 93
Paṇi 274, 419, 450, 452, 458, 465, 483
Paṇiccavirutti 268, 274, 293, 320
Paṇiyuṭaiyavakaḷ 236, 274
Panniyūr 208, 223, 262, 286, 288, 335, 359, 371, 377, 491
Pantalāyaṉi 132, 200, 245, 279, 287, 313, 314, 344, 359, 448, 460, 469, 470
Paṟa 23, 307, 308, 310, 318, 325, 415, 419, 420

Paṟaiyūr 139, 208, 223, 286, 351, 363, 497
Paṟamban Taḷi 72, 73, 174, 287, 347, 372, 375, 466-7, 495
Parāntaka Cōḷa 63, 76, 96, 98, 99, 108-9, 112, 158, 166, 266, 315
Parāntaka Varaguṇa 75, 105
Paraśurāma 16, 53, 59, 91, 116, 117, 120, 121, 130, 136, 139, 178, 262-4, 270-1, 284-5, 287, 289, 302, 304, 322
Paraṭai 164, 191, 193, 208, 210-12, 215, 217-9, 332, 334, 420, 455-6, 458, 461, 491-2,
Paraṭaiyār 210-11, 217, 436, 444, 459, 466, 467, 472, 491-3, 497-8
Pārthivapuram 111, 116, 135, 161, 173, 349, 361, 371
Paṭai nāyar 187, 213, 274, 468
Paṭaiyaṇi nel 243, 244, 257, 462
Patakaram (also Paṭakara) 191, 210, 327, 332, 353, 420
Paṭamēl nāyar 130, 232
Paṭārar 210, 247, 272, 273, 360, 420, 501
Pati 188, 420, 447
Patināḻippaṟa 308, 310, 326, 420, 473
Patināṟumar 209, 219
Patiṉāyiram 232-3, 328
Patiṉeṭṭu Nāṭṭār 209, 223, 224, 420, 435, 447, 456, 495
Paṭṭakaḷ 312, 348, 351, 360, 495
Pāṭṭam 243, 257, 317, 325-6, 332, 353, 420, 501
Pāṭṭamāḷan 317, 420
Pēriḷamai 326, 420
Periñcellūr 104, 131, 180, 262, 263, 286, 288, 346, 347, 377
Periyapurāṇam 46-7, 49, 54, 57, 60, 68, 88, 92, 94, 102, 105, 153, 166, 170, 172, 238, 251, 253, 399, 427
Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi 20, 49, 171, 346, 359, 383-4, 389, 400-1, 406, 427, 451
Perumāṉaṭikaḷ 219, 230, 246, 296, 461, 462
Perumpaṭappu 131, 304
Perumtaccan 71, 164, 294, 420, 438, 463, 471
Perumtaṭṭān 184, 193, 199, 213, 226, 275, 294, 420
Perumutiyan 201, 225, 259, 269, 311, 328, 420, 446, 448, 455
Peruneytal 202, 212, 258, 331
Perunna Inscription 73, 85, 102, 162-3, 171, 190, 202, 212, 318, 331, 448-55
Peruvaṉam 195, 208, 286, 481
Piccaipparaṭaiyār 210, 211, 442
Pisharodi K. R. 34, 39, 102
Piṭi 255, 307, 331
Pliny 32, 142, 166, 301
Pōḻanāṭu 131, 146, 487
Polippon 242
Ponvaṇṇattandādi 48, 382, 427
Poṟaṅghāṭṭiri 80, 164, 214, 226, 246, 335, 347, 359, 371, 374, 375, 376
Portuguese 21, 31, 37, 42, 78, 123, 167, 251, 280, 292, 302, 303, 343, 358
Poṭṭāppi 79, 95, 108
Potuvāḷ 208-212, 216-218, 226, 245, 272, 273, 318, 331, 420, 441, 442, 444, 451, 453, 455, 459, 461, 465, 467, 470, 486, 490-493, 496-498, 500
Prākāra 51, 57, 213, 356, 370, 375, 393, 420, 436, 447, 463, 470, 485, 486
Praśasti 44, 63, 84, 88, 103, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128,143, 213, 321, 392, 480, 485, 488
Prāyaścitta 130, 145, 154, 158, 212, 216, 420, 469
Ptolemy 32, 142, 166, 198, 301
Pulaiyar 276, 277, 295, 446
Pullūr-Koḍavalam inscription 84, 180, 377
Puñcaippaṭakārattu 268, 332, 436
Puṉṉaittalai 79, 202-3, 435, 437
Pūnturakkōn 130, 143, 185, 199, 417, 421
Puṟaikiḻānāṭu 119, 141, 146, 159, 182, 183, 193, 204, 234, 236, 272, 452, 453
Puṟakiḻār 182, 198
Puṟanāḍ 182, 198
Pūrvaśikha 271, 289, 421
Putuppaṭṭaṇam 131
Putuvariyai 249, 258, 325

R

Rāhappa 107, 155, 171, 347
Rāja Kēsari 65, 78, 79, 108, 296, 308, 314
Rājādhirāja 19, 64, 84, 93, 98, 107, 116, 120-124, 135-6, 141, 151, 155, 156, 166, 181, 192, 238, 304, 379
Rājāditya 19, 72, 96, 99, 100, 109, 187, 466
Rājarāja 19-20, 46, 70-2, 84, 101, 115-121, 123-5, 138, 142, 149, 166, 184, 193, 236, 294, 315, 323-4, 340, 357, 363, 381, 398, 427, 432, 456, 464-5, 472, 501
Rājaśēkhara 19, 48, 56, 63-66, 72, 77, 79, 85, 91-93, 100, 104, 107, 114, 155, 156, 169, 172, 184, 186, 209, 215, 217, 222, 285, 303, 305, 362, 379-80, 382, 386, 387, 388, 403, 435, 492, 493
Rājasimha 19- 20, 57, 70-72, 77, 84-5, 93, 96, 98-9, 108, 111, 121, 124, 128, 140, 149, 164, 172, 275, 279, 393, 460-464

Rājēndra Cōḷa 19-20, 68-9, 71, 82, 84, 118-121, 127, 138, 140-1, 314, 329, 331, 400, 455, 460-5, 495
Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar 71, 84, 462, 464
Rakṣābhōga 216, 218, 238, 246, 249, 250, 258, 318, 333, 353, 379, 421, 479, 482
Rāma Kulaśēkhara 20, 63, 69, 72-4, 76, 83, 85, 88, 127, 129-31, 144, 146, 152, 154, 156, 158, 163, 171, 174-5, 193, 202, 304, 308, 348, 379, 439, 451, 466-70, 479, 485
Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣaka 122, 140, 178, 180
Rāmakuṭa Mūvar 123, 140, 178, 181, 266, 485
Ramanatha Ayyar 56-8, 63, 76-7, 82, 105, 142, 394, 397
Rāmanāṭṭukara 184, 214, 215, 227, 287, 359, 490
Rāmavaḷanāṭu 184, 185, 234, 465
Rāmēśwaram 101, 113, 348, 351, 469
Raṇāditya 19, 71, 72, 125, 156, 466
Rāśippaṇam 304
Rāṣṭra 177, 188, 194, 201, 220
Rāṣṭrakūṭa 308, 325, 328, 333, 424

S

Sabha 113, 191, 208-10, 219, 222, 225, 247-8, 272, 320, 379, 421, 441, 451-2, 480
Sabhaiyār 209, 212, 246
Śaivite 16, 18, 25, 26, 46, 48, 64, 92, 93, 105, 149, 153, 209, 234, 346, 347, 363
Śālai 24, 98, 103, 115-17, 127-8, 349, 350, 361-2, 413, 415, 488
Sāmanta 21,22, 127, 163, 178, 185, 186, 193, 272, 277, 290, 421, 469
Samayasēnāpati (Rājēndra Cōḷa) 82, 123, 138, 141, 314, 329, 455, 472
Samuel Mateer (Rev.) 32, 38, 86
Sangam age 26, 32-3, 40, 80, 89, 90-3, 102-3, 106, 150, 166, 182-3, 191, 200, 238, 253, 272, 289, 292, 306, 337, 381, 395
Sangam literature 38, 88, 90, 104, 106, 151, 178, 191, 198, 262, 273, 283, 302, 332, 357
Śankara 59, 64, 182, 351, 385, 387, 390, 401, 402, 404
Śankaramaṅgalattu Kaccam 216,218, 473
Śankaranārāyaṇa 18, 24, 47, 65, 150, 151, 157, 368, 390, 391, 408, 426, 435, 437, 443
Sankēta 265
Śānti 112, 120-1,188, 197, 211, 216, 217, 219, 247, 311, 313, 347, 354, 360, 402, 406, 413, 417, 421, 438, 455, 456-7
Śāntimattivu 120, 121
Sarvajñātma 26, 84, 385, 402, 426, 454
Satyāśraya 103, 104, 116-7, 136, 286
Sekhar A. C. 39, 44, 398, 425, 432
Sēnāmukha 102, 151, 167, 169, 278, 421
Shangoonny Menon 17, 32, 33, 38, 39, 59, 430
Sheik Zeinuddin 31, 37, 52, 129, 130, 144, 316
Śivānandalahari 64, 385
Soundaryalahari 384
Sreedhara Menon A. 36, 135, 167, 430
Śṛībali 352, 421, 443
Śrīkaṇṭha 19, 26, 45-6, 56, 81, 95, 97, 107-8, 138, 178, 181, 391, 455, 481
Śrīkaṇṭha Cōḷa 19, 95, 97, 107-8
Śṛīmūlavāsa (also Śṛīmūlavāta) 24, 162, 164, 337, 340, 393, 475
Śṛīrangam temple 126, 383
Śrīvallavan Kōtai 43, 68, 69, 73, 83, 84, 154, 190, 192, 204, 208, 213, 218, 276, 308, 321, 351, 450-1, 478-80
St. Thomas 37, 169, 222, 255, 284, 298, 301, 302, 344, 358
Stella Kramrisch 25, 58, 369, 373, 394-7
Sthalapurāṇa 38, 47
Sthānam 170, 215,217, 232, 421, 422
Sthāṇu Ravi 19, 35, 40, 46, 49, 55, 63-66, 74-79, 92, 94-6, 107-8, 112, 114, 146, 150-51, 155-6, 158-9, 162, 191, 202, 205, 209, 215, 240, 275, 279, 284, 383, 388, 390-1, 407, 409, 423, 438, 443, 484, 498
Subhadrādhanañjaya 48, 56, 166, 170, 290, 335, 352, 360, 387, 388, 400-1, 404-6, 426
Śūdra 22, 185, 193, 211, 219, 263, 272-3, 276, 288-90, 295, 412, 419, 501
Śukasandēśa 110, 153, 169, 426
Śulka (Ulku) 240, 254, 421, 422
Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 71, 121, 462-4
Sundaram Pillai P. 33, 42, 54, 55, 58, 87
Sundaramūrti Nāyanār 49, 92, 152, 427
Svarūpam 131, 132, 421
Syrian Christians 78, 146, 154, 207, 222, 255, 277, 283, 292, 293, 301-3, 316, 343, 418, 431

T

Taccar 22, 206, 243, 276, 277, 292
Takkōḷam 99, 100, 101, 191
Taḷaikkāṇam 241-2, 255, 275, 421
Talaivilai 243, 256-7
Talaiyār 141, 221, 281, 421
Tāḻakkāḍ 28, 71, 208, 222, 240, 243, 255, 279, 287, 291, 297, 375, 431, 461
Talakkuḷattūr 247, 287, 359, 371, 372, 376, 470
Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ 162, 210, 468, 469, 484
Taḷikkaṭutta Kirāmam 152, 168
Taḷiyātiri 162, 210, 429

Tamiḻakam 15-17, 90, 134, 380, 381
Tāṉam 164, 208, 211, 215, 218, 219, 421, 422, 491, 492
Tapatīsamvaraṇam 172, 383, 387, 388, 400, 402, 405-407.
Taṟa 131, 200, 263, 422
Tarisāppaḷḷi 277, 343, 393, 436, 437
Tavaranūr kaccam 216-18, 229, 270, 491-2
Tēvar 84, 165, 224, 246, 248, 309, 326, 327, 455, 472, 474-5, 482, 485, 494, 495, 501
Tēvartuṭavu 309, 478
Tēvaṭiccikaḷ 313, 351, 363
Tillaisthānam 63, 65, 76, 78, 81, 108, 436
Tināram 227, 305, 323
Tippu 50, 57
Tiruccāṇattumalai 342
Tirucceṅgaṉṉūr 218, 249, 346
Tirukkulaśēkharapuram(also Trikkulaśēkharapuram) 74, 152, 153, 174, 287, 346, 359, 376, 377, 378, 483, 496
Tirukkuṇavāy 24, 74, 340-3, 365-7, 465, 469, 474, 495
Tirumaṟṟakōḍe 20, 71, 141, 227, 287, 359, 371, 384, 460, 461, 490
Tirunandikkara 25, 52, 79, 97, 98, 116, 210, 215, 227, 287, 359, 367, 369, 371, 372, 393, 395, 437, 443, 501
Tirunāvāy 131, 144, 186, 200263, 346, 418
Tirunelli 69, 83, 84, 119, 183-4, 194, 198-9, 209, 212, 214, 219, 224, 226, 233, 235, 238, 244, 247, 287, 313, 332, 352, 359, 452, 455, 456-59
Tiruvaḍūr 46, 56, 174, 180, 182, 208, 264, 270, 286, 287, 359, 480, 481
Tiruvalanjuḻi 129, 470, 485
Tiruvalla 22, 24, 43, 70, 84, 109, 112, 119, 138, 161, 173, 182-3, 188-90, 198, 202-4, 206-7, 209, 212, 215, 218, 228, 249, 257, 264-7, 274, 277, 286-88, 291, 294-5, 302, 306-11, 314, 318, 320-1, 328, 335, 345, 347-9, 351-53, 357, 361-4, 371, 395, 435-6, 472, 482
Tiruvañcaikkaḷam 49, 169-70, 234, 346
Tiruvangūr 287, 359, 371, 374, 459, 471
Tiruvaṇṇūr 24, 72, 85, 247, 287, 340, 341, 359, 465
Tiruvanvaṇḍūr 81, 214-5, 235, 247, 287, 346, 444
Tiruvāṟṟuvāy 79, 105, 209, 223-4, 227, 246, 286-7, 323, 359, 435-6
Tiruvoṟṟiyūr 63, 76, 79, 100, 109, 112, 166, 177, 194, 437, 442
Tiyyamāḻvān 205, 207, 222, 275
Tohfutul Mujahidin 133
Tōlan 24, 48, 46, 352, 381-2, 399, 404
Toṇḍi 89-90, 110, 104, 113, 151
Travancore 17, 25, 27-8, 32-4, 38-9, 42, 50, 54, 57-9, 63, 78, 85, 116, 120, 144, 156, 164,174, 185, 188, 191, 197, 198-200, 251, 254-7, 288, 291, 295-6, 299, 301, 305, 322, 324, 327, 332, 335, 337, 342, 354-5, 357-8, 368, 373, 394, 424, 429, 430-1, 433, 442, 456
Trikkaḍithānam 54, 58, 68, 72, 203, 212, 215, , 377, 449-51, 453, 455, 458, 459, 466, 482-3
Trikkākara 24, 67, 74, 159, 174, 209, 210, 214-5, 219, 224, 226, 247, 269, 276, 307, 310, 313, 319, 324, 333, 443-49, 453, 457, 458, 477, 488, 492, 499
Trikkaṇḍiyūr 74, 287, 347, 402
Tripṛaṅgōḍe 217, 228-9, 246, 287, 346-7, 371, 375, 377, 491-2
Tripuradahana 48, 77, 91, 386, 402, 426
Tulākkūli 221-2, 241, 254-5, 309
Tuḷunāḍu 274
Tūṇi 23, 44, 50, 124-5, 244, 271, 307, 308, 323, 327, 363

U

Udaiyārguḍi 100, 315
Ulkku (Ulku) 221-2, 240-1, 243, 254, 257, 259, 421-2
Uḷkkuṭi 249, 259, 422
Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar 34, 133, 144, 291
Uḷpāṭan 201, 210, 225, 259, 311, 328, 422, 445-6, 448-9, 455, 457, 465,
Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam 186, 200
Uṇṇiyaccīcaritam 197, 198
Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam 154, 362, 427
Ūrāḷar 188, 208-212, 214-19, 222-24, 227, 236, 245-49, 257, 269, 270, 276, 277, 319-21, 331-34, 411, 422, 439, 440, 452, 454-5, 477, 490-92, 494, 498, 500-1
Ūrāṇmai 23, 208, 211, 215, 218, 230, 286, 317, 320, 331-2 , 422, 491-2
Ūrār 212, 225, 230, 291, 334, 422, 435, 462, 465-6, 477, 491-93, 497-8, 500
Ūruṭaiyavakaḷ 276, 440
Uvaccan 267, 348, 364, 417, 422, 488

V

Vaiṣṇavites 48, 383
Vaiśyas 273, 289

Valabha 46, 113, 118-9, 122-3, 138, 180-82, 196-7, 337-8, 358, 481
Valabhapaṭṭaṇa 46, 180, 196
Vaḷañciyar 23, 152, 168, 181, 197, 222, 314, 422, 455, 460, 472, 495
Vāḻappaḷḷi 64, 77, 92, 169, 215, 223-4, 264-5, 286, 305, 380, 435
Validhara 46, 56, 110, 173, 180-1, 475-6
Vāḻkaivāḻi 165, 188, 193, 202, 247-8, 325
Vaḷḷuvakkōnātiri 131, 132, 200
Vaḷḷuvanāṭu 98, 100, 131, 141, 146, 163, 175, 177, 185-6, 189, 193, 200, 234, 236, 272, 314, 362, 451, 470, 493
Vāmana 187-8, 388, 405, 419
Van Adriaan Moens 31, 38
Vāṉavan 104, 108, 150, 166, 422
Vāṉavarampan 166
Vañci 15, 89, 93-4, 102, 104-5, 122, 151, 250
Vaṅga 117
Vaṇikar (Vāṇiyan) 267, 273, 291, 294, 314, 329, 422, 462
Vaṇṇān 275, 294, 297, 418, 423
Vaṇṭi 275
Vārakkōlum 220, 255, 295, 423
Vāriyar 209, 272-3, 423
Vāsubhaṭṭa 48, 60, 64, 77, 91, 348, 360, 386, 426, 435
Vātilmāṭam 370, 453, 456, 461, 468, 488, 491-2, 499
Vaṭṭeḻuttu 11-12, 18, 25, 32, 35, 40, 64, 82, 132, 379, 380, 394, 397, 398, 423, 425, 435-7, 442, 451, 459, 465, 472-3, 475-9, 483, 486, 489, 490-1, 494, 497
Vāyaṇam (Vāyiṇam) 281, 423
Vēḷ 75, 93, 94, 106, 107, 166, 191, 423
Veḷḷāḷar 206, 243, 276-7, 423, 458
Veḷḷōḍi 186, 423
Vēḷnāṭu 94, 106
Vēḷvikkuḍi Plates 93
Vempalanāṭu 141, 188, 189, 272, 451
Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ 131, 226, 266, 307, 325, 383
Vēṇāṭu 34, 39, 43, 68-9, 73-76, 79, 83-4, 87, 94, 99, 106-7, 122, 123, 125-29, 131, 132, 134-5, 141, 143, 144, 154, 155-60, 164, 171, 185, 190-93, 208, 211, 213, 231, 234, 235, 238, 240, 244, 252, 266, 272, 277, 294, 304, 308, 383, 435, 437, 449-51, 458, 469, 478-80
Veṅganāṭu 132
Vidūṣaka 56, 352, 364, 381-2, 388-9, 392, 405-6, 423
Vihāra 24, 162-3, 164, 182, 197, 337-8, 340-1, 356, 366, 393, 475
Vijayālaya 95, 108, 371, 372, 401
Vijayālaya Cōḷēśvara 372
Vijayanagara 39, 52-3, 103, 362, 376
Vijayarāga 19, 45-6, 56, 63, 65-67, 76, 79, 97-8, 100, 109-10, 114, 119, 149, 158, 159, 161, 164, 170, 173, 175, 178, 197, 205, 337, 341, 392, 437-8, 442-445, 474, 484, 498
Vikṛama Cōḷa 46, 73, 117, 127-9, 142-3, 427, 470
Vikṛama Rāma 46, 56, 110, 173, 180-82, 197, 337-8, 355
Vikramāditya Varaguṇa 97, 109-111, 164, 337, 342
Viḻiññam 75, 93-4, 97, 106-7, 116-7, 127-8, 135, 143, 191, 379, 474-5
Villavan 122, 123, 140, 150, 423
Vīra Kēraḷa 74, 77, 80, 84, 122, 128-9, 136, 140, 144, 158, 171, 203, 304, 323
Vīra Kōta 110, 164, 337, 475
Vīrarāghava 222, 279
Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa 118, 125
Vīrarāyanpaṇam 304, 322
Virutti 313, 320, 335, 351, 416, 423, 480
Viṣṇu 25, 107, 111, 121, 139, 152, 154, 174, 187-8, 196, 198, 315, 346-7, 352, 368, 369, 375-6, 378, 383-4, 388, 396, 397, 410, 412, 419, 443, 484
Vyaṅgyavyākhya 48, 389, 404, 406-7, 426

W

Wages 23, 304, 309-10, 351
Weights and measures 23, 128, 241, 304, 306, 309, 423
William Logan 17, 33

Y

Yakkan Cirikaṇṭan 187, 191, 466
Yakkan Kuṟappōḻan 187, 201, 477
Yamaka kāvya 48, 54, 386, 392, 423, 466
Yudhiṣṭhiravijayam 48, 60, 65, 77, 222, 348, 360, 386, 402, 426

Z

Zahar 133
Zāmorins 28, 38, 60, 104, 112,, 133, 146, 184, 185, 194, 199-200, 221, 228, 250, 254, 259, 280, 294, 298-300, 421, 423, 428, 493

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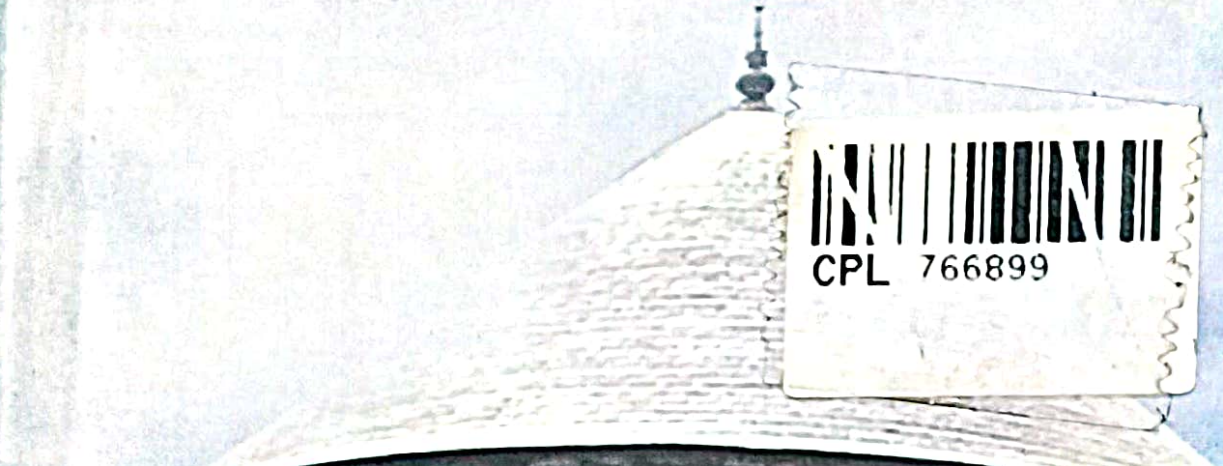

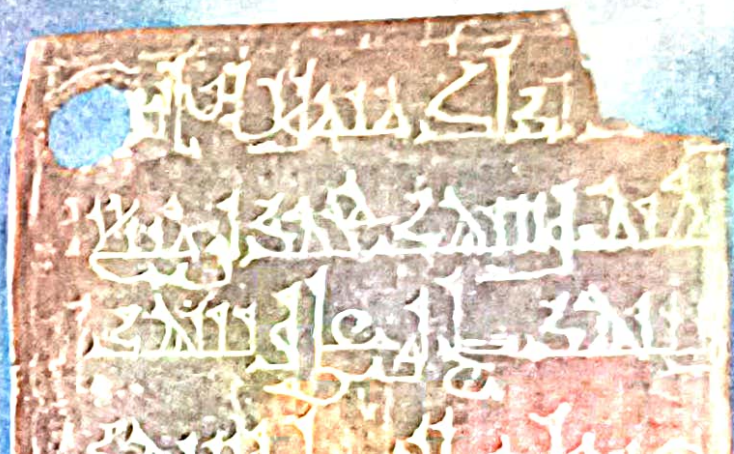

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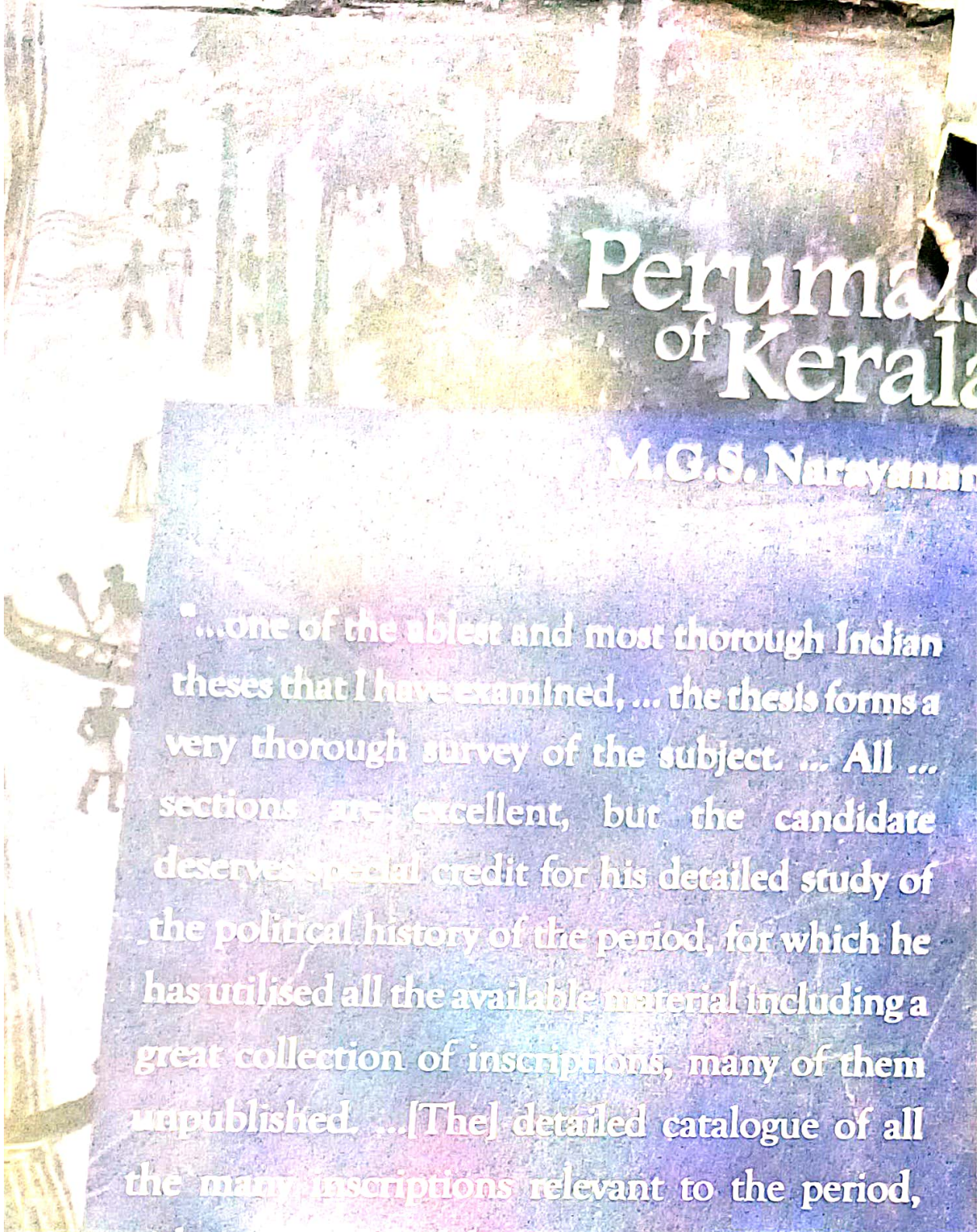

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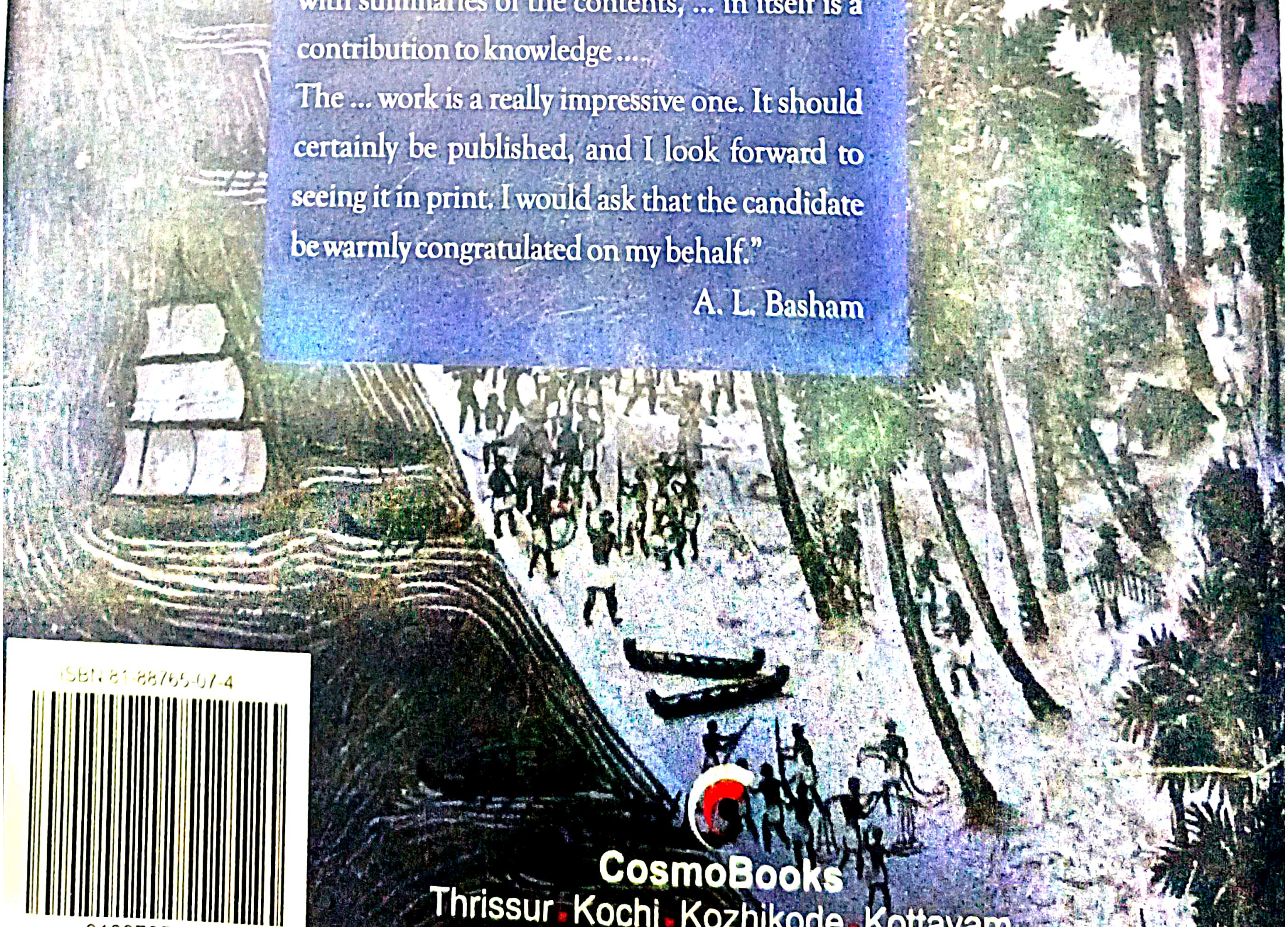

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